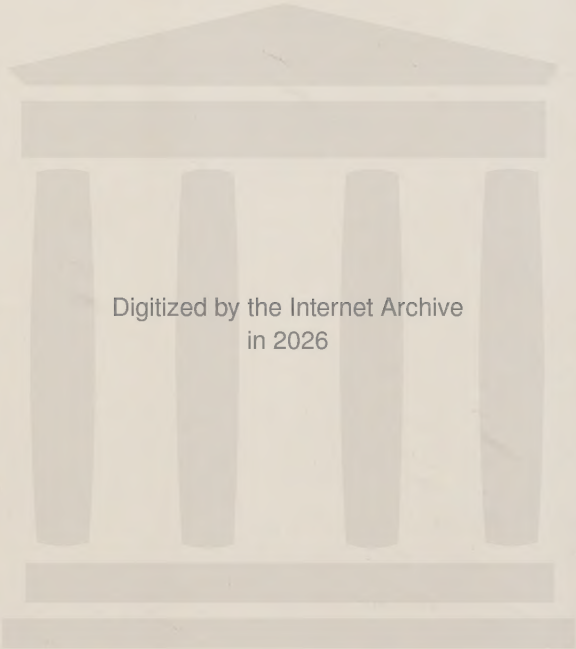

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A

COLLECTION

OF

THEOLOGICAL TRACTS,

IN SIX VOLUMES.

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SECOND EDITION.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

Printed for T. EVANS in the Strand, and in the Great Market, Bury St. Edmund's; J. and J. MERRILL, Cambridge; J. FLETCHER, and PRINCE and COOKE, Oxford; P. HILL, Edinburgh; and W. M'KENZIE, Dublin.

M.DCC.XCI.

SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY
AT CLAREMONT
California

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OF THE

SECOND VOLUME.

A History of the Apostles and Evangelists, Writers of the New Testament. In three Volumes. Containing general Observations upon the Canon of the New Testament, and a History of the four Evangelists, with the Evidences of the Genuineness of the four Gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles, the Times when they were writ, and Remarks upon them. By NATHANIEL LARDNER, D. D. *Lond.* 1760.

THIS book of Dr. Lardner, otherwise intitled the Supplement to the Credibility of the Gospel History, was published in 1756-7. It is so full and judicious on the Subject of the Canon of the New Testament, that it may of itself be sufficient to give the Reader very satisfactory information on that Point. Du Pin published a complete History of the Canon and Writers of Books of the Old and New Testament, which was translated into English in 1699, 2 Vols. Fol. Bp. Cosin published a Scholastical History of the Canon of the Holy Scripture, in 1672, 4to. In Carpzovius's Introduction to the Canonical Books of the Old Testament, the Reader will find many learned Remarks on the Constitution of the Canon of Scripture. He may also, if he thinks fit, consult Jones's full Method of settling the Canonical Authority of the New Testament; Mills' Prolegomena; Richardson's Defence of the Canon of the New Testament, against Toland; Dr. Clarke's Reflexions on Amyntor, &c. Dr. Owen published a sensible Tract in 1764, intitled, Observations on the four Gospels, tending chiefly to ascertain the Times of their Publication, and to illustrate the Form and the Manner of their Composition; his Scheme of the Times, &c. is printed at the End of this Volume. Much information on the same subject may be had in Macknight's Preliminary Dissertations; in Michaelis's Introductory Lectures; in Georgii Pritii Introductio in Lectionem Novi Testamenti, and in a variety of other Authors.

A HISTORY OF THE APOSTLES AND EVANGELISTS, WRITERS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

CHAP. I.

General Denominations of the Collection of sacred Books, received by Christians.

I. *Scripture.* II. *Bible.* III. *Canon.* IV. *Old and New Testament.* V. *Instrument.* VI. *Digest.* VII. *Gospel.*

Scripture.

I. ONE of the general denominations of sacred books is *Scripture*, or *Scriptures*, literally, and primarily signifying writing. But by way of eminence and distinction the books in the highest esteem are called *Scripture*, or *the Scriptures*.

This word occurs often in the New Testament, in the Gospels, the Acts, and the Epistles. Whereby we perceive, that in the time of our Saviour and his Apostles this word was in common use, denoting the books received by the Jewish People, as the rule of their faith. To them have been since added by Christians the writings of Apostles and Evangelists, completing the collection of books, received by them as sacred and divine.

Some of the places, where the word *Scripture* is used in the singular number for the books of the Old Testament, are these. 2 Tim. iii. 16. *All scripture is given by the inspiration of God.* And Luke iv. 21. John ii. 22. Acts i. 16. viii. 32. 35. Rom. iv. 3. Gal. iii. 8. James ii. 18. 23. 1 Pet. ii. 6. 2 Pet. i. 20. *Scriptures*, in the plural number, in these following, and many other places. Matth. xxi. 42. xxii. 29. xxvi. 54. Luke xxiv. 27. 32. 45. John v. 39. Acts xvii. 2. 11. xviii. 24. 28. 2 Tim. iii. 15. 2 Pet. iii. 16.

St. *Peter* applies this word to the books of the New, as well as of the Old Teſtament, to St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles, in particular. 2 Pet. iii. 16. . . *as alſo in all his epiſtles . . which they that are unlearned, wreſt, as they do alſo the other ſcriptures, unto their own deſtruction.* Plainly denoting, that St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles are *Scriptures* in the higheſt ſenſe of the word.

Bible. II. *Bible* is another word, which has now been long in uſe among Chriſtians, denoting the whole collection of writings received by them, as of divine Authority.

The word, primarily, denotes book. But now is given to the writings of Prophets and Apoſtles by way of eminence. This collection is *the Book*, or *Bible*, the book of books, as ſuperior in excellence to all other books. The word ſeems to be uſed in this ſenſe by *Chryſoſtom* in a paſſage already (*a*) cited. "I therefore exhort all of you to procure to your-"ſelves *Bibles*, βιβλία. If you have nothing elſe, take care to have the "New Teſtament, particularly, the Acts of the Apoſtles, and the Goſ-"pels, for your conſtant inſtructors." And *Jerome* ſays, "That (*b*) the "Scriptures being all writ by one Spirit, are called one book." We likewiſe ſaw formerly a paſſage of *Auguſtin*, where he informs us, "That (*c*) "ſome called all the canonical ſcriptures one book, on account of their "wonderful harmonie, and unity of deſign throughout." And I then ſaid: "It is likely, that this way of ſpeaking gradually brought in the general uſe of the word *Bible*, for the whole collection of the ſcriptures, or the books of the Old and New Teſtament."

In ſhort, the ancient Chriſtians were continually ſpeaking of *the Divine Oracles*, and *the Divine Books*, and were much employed in reading them, as *Chryſoſtom* directs in a paſſage, tranſcribed (*d*) below: where he recommends the reading the divine books daily, forenoon and afternoon. At length the whole collection was called *the book*, or *the bible*.

Dr. *Heumann* has *an Epiſtle*, or ſhort Diſſertation (*e*) concerning the origin of this name of our ſacred collection of books. And for ſome while he was of opinion, that (*f*) it was ſo called, as being the moſt excellent of all books: in like manner as the Jews had before called their collection *the Scriptures*, by way of eminence. So Acts xviii. 24. and 28. But (*g*) afterwards he ſuſpected, that the origin of this name was in thoſe

* Hac parte (quod bene notandum eſt) Petrus canonizat, ut ita loquar, id eſt, in canonem ſacrarum ſcripturarum aſcribit, atque canonicas facit epiſtolas Pauli. Dicens enim, *ſicut & ceteras ſcripturas*, utique ſignificat, ſe etiam illas in ſcripturarum numero habere. De ſacris autem ſcripturis eum loqui, in confeſſo eſt. *Eſt. in loc.*

(*a*) *Vol. X. p.* 349. (*b*) *The ſame. p.* 158. (*c*) *The ſame. p.* 256.

(*d*) Αλλὰ δεῖ πάντα καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον ἡγεῖσθαι πρὸς τὴν τῶν πνευματικῶν λόγων διαλεξιν. . . . . Δυνησόμεθα κὴ ἐπὶ οἰκίας διατρίβοντες, κὴ μετὰ τὴν ἐγιάσιν, κὴ πρὸ τῆς ἐγιάσεως μετὰ χεῖρας λάβοντες τὰ θεῖα βιβλία τὴν ἐξ αὐτῶν καρπώσθαι ὠφέλειαν. *In i. Gen. hom. x. T. 4. p.* 81. *C. Bened.*

(*e*) De origine nominis Bibliorum. *Heum. Poecile. Tom. i. p.* 412. . . 415.

(*f*) Suſpicari deinde cœpi, ideo *Biblia* dictum eſſe ſacrum codicem, quod tanquam liber omnium præſtantiſſimus κατ' ἐξοχὴν dictus ſit τὰ βιβλία. Suppetias conjecturæ huic ferre videbatur illa appellatio, qua idem divinum opus vocari ſolet αἱ γραφαί, e. gr. Act. xviii. 24. 28. *Id. ib. p.* 413.

(*g*) *Ib. p.* 414.

those words of *Paul*, 2 Tim. iv. 13. *The cloak that I left at Troas with Carpus, when thou comest, bring with thee, and the books, καὶ τὰ βιβλία.* For he believed, that thereby the ancient Christians understood the sacred code. But he afterwards acknowledgeth, that he had not found any instance of that interpretation in ancient writers. It seems to me therefore, that this conjecture should be dropt, as destitute of foundation: and that it should be better for us to adhere to the forementioned origin of this name, which appears to have in it a good deal of probability.

III. *Canon* is originally a Greek word, signifying a rule or standard, by which other things are to be examined and judged. *Canon.*

As the writings of the Prophets and Apostles and Evangelists contain an authentic account of the revealed will of God, they are the rule of the belief and practice of those who receive them.

Sometimes *canon* seems equivalent to a list or catalogue, in which are inserted those books, which contain the rule of faith.

Du Pin says, "This (*h*) word signifies not only a law or rule, but "likewise a table, catalogue, list. Some have supposed, that the cano- "nical books were so called, because they are the rule of the faith. But "though it be true, that they are the rule of our faith; yet the reason of "their being called canonical, is, because they are placed in the cata- "logue of sacred books."

Perhaps, there is no need to dispute about this. For there is no great difference in those two senses. And there may be passages of ancient writers, where it would be difficult to determine, which of them is intended.

St. *Paul* has twice used the word *canon*, or rule. Gal. vi. 16. *As many as walk according to this rule.* Upon which verse *Theodoret*'s comment is to this purpose: "He (*i*) calls the forementioned doctrine a rule, "as being strait, and having nothing wanting, nor superfluous." Again, says St. *Paul*, Philip. iii. 16. *Whereunto we have already attained, let us walk according to the same rule.* Where he speaks of the doctrine of the gospel in general, or of some particular maxim of it: not of any books, containing the rule of faith. However, his use of the word may have been an occasion of affixing that denomination to the books of scripture. For it is of great antiquity among Christians.

Iræneus, speaking of the scriptures, as the *words of God*, calls (*k*) them the *rule*, or canon *of truth*. Here *canon* is not a catalogue, but the books, or the doctrine contained in the books of scripture.

Clement of *Alexandria*, referring to a quotation of the Gospel according to

(*h*) Le mot signifie non seulement une loi, une regle, mais aussi une table, un catalogue, une liste. . . . Quelques-uns ont cru, que les livres canoniques étoient ainsi appellez, parcequ'ils sont la regle de la foi. Mais quoique cela soit vrai, ce n'est pas ce qui leur a fait donner le nom de canoniques, qu'ils n'ont que parceque l'on a nommé canon le catalogue des livres sacrez. *Diss. Prelim. l.* 1. *ch.* 1. *§ ii.*

(*i*) Κανόνα ἐκάλεσε τὴν προκειμένην διδασκαλίαν, ὡς εὐθύτητι κοσμουμένην, καὶ μήτε ἐλλείπων τι μήτε περιττὸν ἔχουσαν. *Theod. in loc.*

(*k*) Nos autem unum et solum verum Deum doctorem sequentes, et regulam veritatis habentes ejus sermones, de iisdem semper eadem dicimus omnes. *Iræn. l.* 4. *c.* 35. *al.* 69. *f. p.* 277.

to the *Egyptians*, says with indignation: "But (*l*) they who choose to "follow any thing, rather than the true Evangelical Canon [or the ca-"non of the Gospel] insist upon what follows there as said to *Salome*." In another place he says: "The (*m*) ecclesiastical canon is the consent "and agreement of the Law and the Prophets with the testament deli-"vered by the Lord."

Eusebe, as (*n*) formerly quoted, says of *Origen*: "But in the first book "of his Commentaries upon the Gospel of *Matthew*, observing (*o*) the "ecclesiastical canon, he declares, that he knew of four Gospels only."

I shall add a few more passages from later writers, chiefly such as have been already quoted in the foregoing volumes: to which passages therefore the reader may easily have recourse.

Athanasius (*p*) in his Festal Epistles speaks of three sorts of books, the *canonical*, the same which are now received by us, such as were *allowed to be read*, and then of such as are *apocryphal*: by which he means books forged by heretics.

In the *Synopsis of Scripture*, ascribed to him, but probably not writ till above a hundred years after his time, near the end of the fifth centurie, is frequent mention (*q*) of canonical and uncanonical books.

The council of *Laodicea*, about 363, ordains, that (*q*) "no books, not "canonical, should be read in the church, but only the canonical books "of the Old and New Testament."

Rufin, enumerating the scriptures of the Old and New Testament, makes (*r*) three sorts of books, such (*s*) as are *included in the canon*, such as are *not canonical*, but *ecclesiastical*, allowed to be read, but not to be alleged for proof of any doctrine, and lastly, *apocryphal* books, which were not to be publicly read.

Jerome likewise often speaks of the canon of Scripture, as we saw in his chapter, where he says: "*Ecclesiasticus*, (*t*) *Judith*, *Tobit*, and *the* "*Shepherd*, are not in the canon:" and "that (*u*) the Church reads, or "allows to be read, *Judith*, *Tobit*, and the *Maccabees*, but does not re-"ceive them among the canonical scriptures: and that they, and the "books of *Wisdom* and *Ecclesiasticus*, may be read for the edification of "the people, but not as of authority, for proving any doctrines." And for the Old Testament he recommends (*x*) the true *Jewish* canon, or *Hebrew*

(*l*) *See Vol. ii. p. 529. or 527.*

(*m*) Κανὼν δὲ ἐκκλησιαστικὸς ἡ συνῳδία καὶ ἡ συμφωνία νόμου τε καὶ προφητῶν τῇ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ κυρίου παρουσίαν παραδιδομένη διαθήκη. *Cl. Strom. l. 6. p. 676. C.*

(*n*) *Ch. 38. Vol. iii. p. 235.*

(*o*) . . . τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν φυλάττων κανόνα. *Ap. Euseb. l. 6. c. 25. p. 226. B.*

(*p*) *See Vol. iii. p. 228. 229.* (*q*) *The same. p. 243. . . 245.*

(*q*) *The same. p. 291.* (*r*) *See Vol. x. p. 187. 188.*

(*s*) Hæc sunt, quæ patres intra canonem concluserunt, & ex quibus fidei nostræ assertiones constare voluerunt. . . . Sciendum tamen est, quod alii libri sunt, qui non sunt canonici, sed ecclesiastici a majoribus appellati sunt. . . Quæ omnia legi quidem in ecclesiis voluerunt, non tamen proferri ad auctoritatem ex his fidei confirmandam. Ceteras vero scripturas apocryphas nominarunt, quas in ecclesiis legi noluerunt. *Rufin. citat. ubi supra p. 185. not. (g)*

(*t*) *Vol. x. p. 41.* (*u*) . . . *p. 43.* (*x*) . . . *52.*

Hebrew verity. I refer below (*y*) to another place relating to the books of the New Teſtament.

The third Council of *Carthage*, about 397. ordains, "that (*z*) nothing "beſide the canonical ſcriptures be read in the Church under the name "Divine Scriptures."

Auguſtin, in 395. and afterwards, often (*a*) ſpeaks of *canonical ſcriptures*, and *the* (*b*) *whole canon of ſcripture*, that is, all the ſacred books of the Old and New Teſtament. We "(*c*) read of ſome, ſays he, that *they* "*ſearched the ſcriptures daily, whether theſe things were ſo.* Acts xvii. 11. "What ſcriptures, I pray, except the canonical ſcriptures of the Law and "the Prophets? To them have been ſince added the Goſpels, the Epiſtles "of Apoſtles, the Acts of the Apoſtles, and the Revelation of *John*." Of the ſuperior authority of the canonical ſcriptures to all others, he ſpeaks frequently in paſſages afterwards alledged (*d*) in the ſame chapter.

Chryſoſtom in a place already cited (*e*) ſays: "They (*f*) fall into "great abſurdities, who will not follow the rule [or canon] of the divine "ſcripture, but truſt entirely to their own reaſoning." I refer to another place (*g*) to the like purpoſe.

Says *Iſidore* of *Peluſium*, about 412. "That (*i*) theſe things are ſo, we "ſhall perceive, if we attend to the rule [canon] of truth, the divine "ſcriptures."

And *Leontius*, of *Conſtantinople*, about 610. having cited the whole catalogue of the books of ſcripture from Geneſis to the Revelation (*k*) concludes: "Theſe (*l*) are the ancient and new books, which are re-"ceived in the Church as canonical."

By all which we diſcern, how much the uſe of theſe words, *canon* and *canonical*, has obtained among Chriſtians, denoting thoſe books, which are of the higheſt authority, and the rule of faith: as oppoſed to all other whatever, particularly to eccleſiaſtical, or the writings of orthodox and learned catholics, and to *apocryphal*, the productions, chiefly, of heretics, which by a ſpecious name and title made a pretenſion to be accounted among ſacred books.

Old and New Teſtament.

IV. The moſt common and general diviſion of the canonical books, is that of *ancient and new*, or *the Old and New Teſtament*. The Hebrew word, *berith*, from which it

(*y*) *Vol. x. p.* 86. (*z*) . . . *p.* 193. (*a*) . . . *p.* 207.

(*b*) Totus autem canon ſcripturarum . . his libris continetur. *Ib. not.* (*r*). *p.* 208.

(*c*) . . . *p.* 252. (*d*) *See p.* 253. 256. 259. . . 268.

(*e*) *Vol. xii. p.* 126.

(*f*) Ὁρᾷς, εἰς ὅσην ἀτοπίαν ἐκπίπτουσιν οἱ μὴ βουλόμενοι τῷ τῆς θείας γραφῆς κατακολουθεῖν κανόνι. κ. λ. *In Gen. cap.* 33. *hom.* 58. *T.* 4. *p.* 566. *B.*

(*g*) *Vid. hom.* 33. *in Act. Ap. ſub fin.*

(*i*) Ὅτι δὲ ταῦτα ἔτως ἔχει, τὸν κανόνα τῆς ἀληθείας, τὰς θείας φημὶ γραφὰς, καταπεύσομεν. *Iſid. ep.* 114. *l.* 4.

(*k*) *See Vol. xi. p.* 381.

(*l*) Ταῦτά ἐστι τὰ κανονιζόμενα βιβλία ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, τά παλαιὰ καὶ νέα. *Conſtant. ibid. p.* 380. *not.* (*e*)

it is tranſlated, properly ſignifies (*m*) covenant. St. *Paul*, 2 Cor. iii. 16. . . . . 18. ſhewing the ſuperior excellence of the goſpel-covenant, or the diſpenſation by *Chriſt*, above the legal covenant, or the diſpenſation by Moſes, uſeth the word *teſtament*, not only for the covenant itſelf, but likewiſe for the books, in which it is contained. At leaſt he does ſo, in ſpeaking of the legal covenant. For, repreſenting the caſe of the unbelieving part of the Jewiſh People, he ſays, v. 14. *Until this day remaineth the ſame vail untaken away in reading the Old Teſtament.*

It is no wonder therefore, that this way of ſpeaking has much prevailed among Chriſtians. *Melito*, Biſhop of *Sardis*, about the year 177. went into the Eaſt, to get an exact account of the books of the Law and the Prophets. In his letter to his friend *Oneſimus*, giving an account of his journey, and reckoning up the books in their order, he calls them (*n*) *the ancient books*, and (*o*) *the books of the Old Teſtament*. *Euſebe* calls it (*p*) "a catalogue of the acknowledged ſcriptures of the Old Teſtament." Our Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorian elſewhere (*q*) ſpeaks of the ſcriptures of the New Teſtament. I ſhall remind my readers of but one inſtance more. *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem*, introducing his catalogue of ſcriptures received by the Chriſtian Church, ſays: "Theſe (*r*) things we are taught by the di-"vinely inſpired ſcriptures of the Old and New Teſtament." Many other like examples occur in the preceding volumes of this work.

Inſtrument. V. Inſtead of *teſtament* Latin writers ſometimes uſe the word *inſtrument*, denoting writing, charter, record. We find it ſeveral times in *Tertullian*, reckoned the moſt ancient Latin writer of the Church now remaining. In a paſſage already (*s*) cited he calls the Goſpels, or the New Teſtament in general, the Evangelic Inſtrument. And ſays, "How (*t*) large chaſms *Marcion* has made in the "epiſtle to the *Romans*, by leaving out what he pleaſes, may appear from "our entire Inſtrument:" or our unaltered copies of the New Teſtament, particularly of that epiſtle. Speaking of the Shepherd of *Hermas*, he ſays, it (*u*) was not reckoned a part of the Divine Inſtrument: thereby meaning, as it ſeems, the New Teſtament. Which paſſage was quoted (*x*) by

(*m*) Notandum, quod *Brith*, verbum Hebraicum, Aquila συνθήκην, id eſt, *pactum*, interpretatur: LXX ſemper διαθήκην, id eſt, *teſtamentum*: et in pleriſque ſcripturarum locis teſtamentum non voluntatem defunctorum ſonare, ſed pactum viventium. *Hieron. in Malach. cap. ii. T. 3. p.* 1816.

(*n*) Επι δὲ κ᾽ μαθεῖν τὴν τῶν παλαιῶν βιβλίων ἐθελήθης ἀκρίβειαν. κ. λ. *Ap. Euſeb. l.* 4. *c.* 27. *p.* 148. *D.*

(*o*) . . . Καὶ ἀκριβῶς μαθὼν τὰ τῆς παλαίας διαθήκης βιβλία. *Ib. p.* 149. *A.*

(*p*) *Ibid. p.* 148. *D.* (*q*) *See Vol. viii. p.* 197.

(*r*) *The ſame. p.* 267. (*s*) *See Vol. ii. p.* 577.

(*t*) Quantas autem foveas in iſta vel maxime epiſtola [ad Romanos] Marcion fecerit, auferendo quæ voluit, de noſtri inſtrumenti integritate patebit. *Adv. Marcion. l.* 5. *cap.* 13. *p.* 601.

(*u*) Sed cederem tibi, ſi ſcriptura Paſtoris—divino inſtrumento meruiſſet incidi. . . *De Pudicit. cap.* 10. *p.* 727. *A.*

(*x*) *See Vol. ii. p.* 638.

by us formerly. He calls (*y*) the Law and the Prophets the Jewish Instruments; that is, writings, or scriptures. He speaks of the antiquity (*z*) of the Jewish Instruments, or Scriptures. He (*a*) seems in one place to use the word *instrument*, as equivalent to scriptures, containing the doctrine of revelation, or the revealed will of God.

Digest.

VI. *Digest* is another word used by *Tertullian* in speaking of the scriptures. "*Luke*'s (*b*) Digest, he says, is often ascribed to *Paul*." He calls (*c*) the Gospels, or the whole New Testament, *our Digest*, in allusion, as it seems, to some collection of the Roman Laws digested into order. Those two passages were cited in the chapter of *Tertullian*. I now transcribe the latter below (*d*) more at large, it having also the word instrument, as equivalent to the New Testament. He likewise calls the Jewish Scriptures (*e*) *Sacred Digests*. He seems to use the word digest (*f*) elsewhere, as equivalent to writing, or work, in general.

I shall not take notice of any other general denominations of the sacred scriptures.

Gospel.

VII. My chief concern is with the New Testament, which, as is well known, consists of Gospels, the Acts, and Epistles. The only word, that needs explanation, is the first.

Gospel is a translation of the Greek word εὐαγγέλιον, the Latin word *evangelium*, which signifies any good message or tidings. In the New Testament the word denotes the doctrine of salvation, taught by Jesus Christ, and his Apostles. Which indeed is gospel by way of eminence, as it is the best tidings that ever were published in this world. Says *Theodoret* upon Rom. i. 1. "He (*g*) calls it *gospel*, as it contains assurance

(*y*) Aut nunquid non justi Judæi, & quibus pœnitentia non opus esset, habentes gubernacula disciplinæ, & timoris instrumenta, Legem & Prophetas. *De Pudicitia. cap.* 7. *p.* 722. *B.*

(*z*) Primam instrumentis istis auctoritatem summa antiquitas vindicat. *Apol. cap.* 19. *p.* 19. *B.*

Sed quoniam edidimus, antiquissimis Judæorum instrumentis sectam istam esse suffultam. *Apol. cap.* 21. *in p.* 20.

(*a*) Sed quo plenius & impressius tam ipsum, quam dispositiones ejus & voluntates adiremus, instrumentum adjecit literaturæ, si quis velit de Deo inquirere. *Apol. cap.* 18. *p.* 18. *C.*

(*b*) *See Vol. ii. p.* 581. *or* 579. (*c*) *The same. p.* 629. *or* 630.

(*d*) Si vero Apostoli quidam integrum evangelium contulerunt, de sola convictus inæqualitate reprehensi, Pseudapostoli autem veritatem eorum interpolarunt, et inde sunt nostra digesta: quod erit germanum illud Apostolorum instrumentum, quod adulteros passum est? *Adver. Marc. l.* 4. *cap.* 3. *p.* 504. *B.*

(*e*) Sed homines gloriæ, ut diximus, et eloquentiæ solius libidinosi, si quid in sanctis offenderunt digestis, exinde regestum pro instituto curiositatis ad propria verterunt. *Apol. cap.* 47. *p.* 41. *B.*

(*f*) Elegi ad compendium Varronis opera, qui rerum divinarum ex omnibus retro digestis commentatus, idoneum se nobis scopum exposuit. *Ad Nation. l.* 2. *cap. i. p.* 64. *C.*

(*g*) Εὐαγγέλιον δὲ τὸ κήρυγμα προσηγόρευσεν, ὥς: πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν ὑπισχνέιται χορηγόν. Εὐαγγελίζεται γὰρ τὰς τῦ θεῦ καλλιγαγός, τὴν τε διαλλαγὴν καλλιστην, τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων τὴν ἄφεσιν, τῦ θανάτυ τὴν σαῦλαν, τῶν νεκρῶν τὴν ἀνάστασιν, τὴν ζωὴν τὴν ἀίδιον, τὴν βασιλειαν τῶν ἐρανῶν. *In ep. ad Rom. T.* 3. *p.* 10. *B.*

"surance of many good things. For it proclaims peace with God, the "overthrow of Satan, the remiſſion of ſins, the aboliſhing of death, the "reſurrection of the dead, eternal life, and the kingdom of heaven."

Says St. *Matthew* iv. 23. *And Jeſus went about all Galilee, teaching in their ſynagogues, and preaching the goſpel of the kingdom.* Καὶ κηρύσσων τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς βασιλείας· Mark xiii. 10. *And the goſpel* [τὸ εὐαγγέλιον] *muſt firſt be preached to all nations.* Ch. xvi. 15. *Go ye into all the world, and preach the goſpel to every creature.* Κηρύξατε τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. It is called *the word of truth, the goſpel of our ſalvation.* Epi. i. 13. And in like manner, in other places.

But by *goſpel*, when uſed by us concerning the writings of the Evangeliſts, we mean the *hiſtorie of Chriſt's preaching, and miracles.* The word ſeems alſo to be ſo uſed by St. Mark, i. 1. *The beginning of the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt.* Which may be underſtood, and paraphraſed thus: "Here (A) begins the Hiſtorie of the life and doctrine of Jeſus Chriſt, "the Son of God, and Saviour of mankind."

St. *Luke*, referring to the book of his Goſpel, ſays: Acts i. 1. 2. *The former treatiſe have I made, O Theophilus, of all that Jeſus began to do and teach, until the day in the which he was taken up, after that he through the Holy Ghoſt had given commandments unto the Apoſtles, whom he had choſen.* But St. *Luke*, as it ſeems, there puts the principal part for the whole. For he has therein writ alſo the hiſtorie of our Lord's miraculous birth, and divers extraordinarie events attending it: and likewiſe the hiſtorie of the birth of *John* the Baptiſt, and divers circumſtances of it, and his preaching and death.

In this ſenſe the word Goſpel is frequently underſtood by us. A Goſpel is the hiſtorie of Jeſus Chriſt, his doctrine, miracles, reſurrection, and aſcenſion: not excluding the hiſtorie of his fore-runner, who (B) alſo is ſaid to have *preached the goſpel*, that is, the doctrine of the goſpel, or the kingdom of God.

The Goſpel according to *Matthew*, *Mark*, *Luke*, *John*, is the hiſtorie of Jeſus Chriſt, as writ by thoſe ſeveral Evangeliſts.

(A) *That is Dr. Clarke's Paraphraſe.* But I am ſenſible it will not be allowed by all. *Oecumenius* ſays, that by Goſpel *Mark* does not intend his own writing, but Chriſt's preaching. Μάρκος, ἀρχὴν, φησὶ, τῦ ἐυαγγέλιυ ἰησῦ χριςῦ ἀλλὰ ὐ τὴν ἐαυτῦ συγγραφὴν καλεῖ ἐυαγγέλιον, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῦ χριςῦ κήρυγμα. *Oecum. in Act. Ap.* He proceeds to ſay, that the faithful afterwards called the writings of the Evangeliſts *Goſpels*, as truly containing the goſpel, that is, the doctrine of Chriſt. *See Vol. xi. p.* 413.

(B) Matt. iii. 1. 2. *In thoſe days came John the Baptiſt, preaching in the wilderneſſe of Judea, and ſaying: Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.* Compare Mark i. 4. Luke iii. 1. 2. And ſays St. Luke iii. 18. *And many other things in his exhortation preached he unto the people.* Πολλὰ μὲν ὖν καὶ ἕτερα παρακαλῶν, ἐυηγγελίζετο τὸν λαόν. Which may be literally rendered thus: *And exhorting many other like things, he evangelized* [or *preached the goſpel to*] *the people.*

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

General Obſervations upon the Canon of the New Teſtament.

I. THE canonical books of the New Teſtament received by Chriſtians in this part of the world, are the Four Goſpels, the Acts of the Apoſtles, Fourteen Epiſtles of St. *Paul*, Seven Catholic Epiſtles, and the Revelation.

II. There may be different canons of the New Teſtament among Chriſtians.

Indeed, there have been in former times, and ſtill are, different ſentiments among Chriſtians, concerning the number of books to be received as canonical. The (*a*) canon of the *Syrian* churches is not the ſame as ours. *Jerome* tells us, that (*b*) in his time ſome of the Latins rejected the epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, and ſome of the Greeks the book of the Revelation. From *Chryſoſtom*'s works we perceive, that (*c*) he did not receive the ſecond epiſtle of St. *Peter*, nor the ſecond and third of St. *John*, nor the epiſtle of St. *Jude*, nor the Revelation. And there is reaſon to think, that (*d*) *Theodoret*'s canon likewiſe was much the ſame with *Chryſoſtom*'s, and that of the churches in *Syria*. Nevertheleſs, we have obſerved in the courſe of this work, that about the ſame time the *Egyptians*, and the Chriſtians in divers other parts of the world, had the ſame number of canonical books, that we have.

But to come nearer our own time. *Calvin* (*e*), *Grotius* (*f*), *Le Clerc* (*g*), *Philip Limborch* (*h*), and ſome other learned moderns, have not admitted the epiſtle to the *Hebrews* to have been writ by St. *Paul*: though (*i*) they were willing to allow it to be the work of an apoſtolical man, and a valuable part of ſacred ſcripture. But I cannot ſay, that they were in the right in ſo doing. For it appears to me to have been a maxim of the ancient Chriſtians, not to receive any doctrinal or preceptive writing, as of authority, unleſs it were known to be the work of an

(*a*) *See Vol. ix. p.* 221. *Vol. xi. p.* 270... 275.

(*b*) *Vol. x. p.* 122. 123. (*c*) *The ſame. p.* 341.

(*d*) *Vol. xi. p.* 88. 89. 91.

(*e*) Ego ut Paulum agnoſcam auctorem, adduci nequeo. *Calvin. argum. ep. ad Hebr.*

(*f*) Facillima refutatu eſt poſtrema hæc opinio, ideo quod Paulinæ epiſtolæ inter ſe ſint germanæ, pari charactere ac dicendi modo: hæc vero manifeſte ab iis diſcrepet, ſelectiores habens voces Græcas, leniuſque fluens, non autem fracta brevibus inciſis, ac ſalebroſa .... *Grot. Proœm. in ep. ad Hebr.*

(*g*) *Hiſt. Eccl. Ann.* 69. *p.* 455... 461.

(*h*) *Prolegom. in ep. ad Hebr.*

(*i*) Hiſce argumentis utrinque attente expenſis dicendum videtur, Paulum illolæ hujus ſcriptorem non videri .... Quis vero illius ſcriptor ſit, certum eſt. Alii eam Lucæ, alii Barnabæ, alii Clementi adſcribunt ... verim divinam hujus epiſtolæ autoritatem agnoſcimus, multiſque aliis, quas Apoſtolis eſſe ſcriptas, conſtat, ob argumenti quod tractat præſtantiam referendam judicamus. *Limb. ibid. Vid. et Calvin. alii ſupra.*

an Apoſtle. Conſequently, the epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, if writ by an apoſtolical man only, ſhould not be eſteemed canonical.

Grotius (*k*) likewiſe ſuppoſed the ſecond epiſtle aſcribed to Peter, not to have been writ by the Apoſtle *Simon Peter*, but by *Simeon*, choſen Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* after the death of *James* the Juſt, whoſe epiſtle we have. Which *Simeon* lived to the time of *Trajan*, when he was crucified for the name of Chriſt. Upon which I only obſerve at preſent, that if this *Simeon* be the writer of this epiſtle, it ſhould not be a part of canonical ſcripture.

The ſame learned man ſuppoſeth (*l*) the ſecond and third epiſtles, called St. *John*'s, not to have been writ by *John* the apoſtle, but by another *John*, an Elder or Preſbyter who lived about the ſame time, and after him, at *Epheſus*.

And the epiſtle called St. *Jude*'s, he thought (*m*) to have been written by one of that name, who was Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* in the time of the Emperour *Adrian*, and not till after there had been ſeveral other Biſhops of that church, ſince the death of the forementioned *Simeon*. If ſo, I believe all men may be of opinion, that this epiſtle ought not to be placed in the canon of the New Teſtament.

It may not be thought right, if I ſhould here entirely omit Mr. *Whiſton*, whoſe canon conſiſted of the (*n*) Apoſtolical Conſtitutions, and divers other books, as ſacred, beſide thoſe generally received: and (*o*) the Conſtitutions,

(*k*) Jam olim veterum multi credidêre, non eſſe apoſtoli Petri, argumento tum dictionis ab epiſtola priore multum diverſæ, quod agnoſcunt Euſebius & Hieronymus, tum quod multæ olim eccleſiæ hanc non receperint . . Scriptorem autem hujus epiſtolæ arbitror eſſe Simeonem, ſive Simonem, epiſcopum poſt Jacobi mortem Hieroſolymis, ejuſdemque Jacobi, cujus epiſtolam habemus, ſucceſſorem & imitatorem . . . . . Unde etiam conſtat, vixiſſe hunc poſt excidium Hieroſolymitanum ad Trajani tempora, & tunc pro nomine Chriſti crucifixum. *Annot. in Ep. Petri ſecund.*

(*l*) Hanc epiſtolam, & eam quæ ſequitur, non eſſe Johannis Apoſtoli, veterum multi jam olim crediderunt, a quibus non diſſentiunt Euſebius & Hieronymus. Et magna ſunt in id argumenta. Nam duos fuiſſe Johannes Epheſi Apoſtolum, ac Preſbyterum, ejus diſcipulum, ſemper conſtitit ex ſepulchris alio hujus, alio illius: quæ ſepulchra vidit Hieronymus. *Grot. Annot. in ep. Joan. ſecund.*

(*m*) Quare omnino adducor, ut credam eſſe hanc epiſtolam Judæ Epiſcopi Hieroſolymitani, qui fuit Adriani temporibus, paullo ante Barchochebam. *Id. in Annot. ad ep. Judæ.*

(*n*) "The ſacred books of the New Teſtament ſtill extant, both thoſe in the 85. canon, and thoſe written afterwards, are the ſame which we now receive: together with the eight books of Apoſtolical Conſtitutions, and the epitome, the Doctrine of the Apoſtles, the two epiſtles of *Clement*, the epiſtle of *Barnabas*, the Shepherd of *Hermas*; and perhaps the ſecond book of apocryphal *Eſdras*, with the epiſtles of *Ignatius* and *Polycarp*." *Eſſay on the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions. ch. i. p.* 70. 71.

(*o*) "If any one has a mind to ſort the ſeveral books of the New Teſtament, he may in the firſt place ſet the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions, with it's extract, or Doctrine of the Apoſtles, as derived from the body, or College of the Apoſtles, met in Councils. In the next place he may put the four Gospels, with their appendix, the Acts of the Apoſtles. The Apocalypſe

Jo

Conſtitutions, in particular, as the moſt ſacred of all the canonical books of the New Teſtament.

Concerning which I beg leave to obſerve, *firſt*, that the receiving the Conſtitutions as a ſacred book, and part of the rule of faith, would make a great alteration in the Chriſtian ſcheme. Some might be induced to think it no great bleſſing to mankind, and ſcarcely deſerving an apologie. *Secondly*, Mr. *Whiſton*'s canon is not the canon of the Chriſtian churches in former times: as is manifeſt from the large collections, made by us in the preceding volumes, from eccleſiaſtical writers of every age, to the beginning of the twelfth centurie. *Thirdly*, Mr. *Whiſton*, notwithſtanding all his labours, made few converts to this opinion. Which I impute to the knowledge and learning of our times. And as the Chriſtian Religion is built upon facts, the ſtudie of Eccleſiaſtical Antiquity will be always needful, and may be of uſe, to defeat various attempts of ingenious, but miſtaken and prejudiced men.

III. A ſhort canon of Scripture is moſt eligible.

Religion is the concern of all men. A few ſhort hiſtories and epiſtles are better fitted for general uſe, than numerous and prolix writings. Beſides, if any writings are to be received as the rule of faith and manners, it is of the utmoſt importance, that they be juſtly entitled to that diſtinction. Otherwiſe men may be led into errours of very bad conſequence. If any books pretend to deliver the doctrine of infallible and divinely inſpired teachers, ſuch as Jeſus Chriſt and his Apoſtles are eſteemed by Chriſtians: great care ſhould be taken to be well ſatisfied, that their accounts are authentic, and that they are the genuine writings of the men, whoſe names they bear. The pretenſions of writings, placed in high authority, to which great credit is given, ought to be well atteſted.

Dr. *Jortin*, ſpeaking of the work called Apoſtolical Conſtitutions, ſays: "The (*p*) authors of them are, it is pretended, the twelve "Apoſtles and St. *Paul* gathered together, with Clement their amanuenſis.

"If their authority ſhould appear only ambiguous, it would be our "duty to reject them, leſt we ſhould adopt as divine doctrines the commandments of men. For ſince each Goſpel contains the main parts "of Chriſtianity, and might be ſufficient to make men wiſe to ſalvation; there is leſs danger in diminiſhing, than in enlarging the number "of canonical books: and leſs evil would have enſued from the loſs of "one of the four Goſpels, than from the addition of a fifth and ſpurious "one."

In

John alſo cannot be reckoned at all inferior to them, though it be quite of another nature from them. In the third rank may ſtand the Epiſtles of the Apoſtles, *Paul*, *Peter* and *John*. In the fourth rank may ſtand the Epiſtles of the brethren of our Lord, *James* and *Jude*. In the fifth and laſt rank may ſtand the epiſtles and writings of the companions and attendants of the Apoſtles, *Barnabas*, *Clement*, *Hermas*, *Ignatius*, *Polycarp*. All which, with the addition perhaps of apocryphal *Eſdras*, and of the *Apocalypſe of Peter*, and the *Acts of Paul*, were they now extant, I look upon, though in different degrees, as the ſacred books of the New Teſtament." *Ibid. p.* 72. 73.

(*p*) *Dr. Jortin's Remarks on Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. Vol. i. p.* 229.

In my opinion, that is a very fine and valuable obſervation.

And I ſhall tranſcribe again an obſervation of *Auguſtin*, formerly (*p*) taken notice of. "Our canonical books of ſcripture, which are of the "higheſt Authority with us, have been ſettled with great care. They "ought to be few, leſt their value ſhould be diminiſhed. And "yet they are ſo many that their agreement throughout is wonder-"ful."

IV. I have been ſometimes apt to think, that the beſt canon of the New Teſtament would be that, which may be collected from (*r*) *Euſebe* of *Cæſarea*, and ſeems to have been the canon of ſome in his time.

The canon ſhould conſiſt of two claſſes. In the firſt ſhould be thoſe books, which he aſſures us were then *univerſally acknowledged*, and had been all along received by all catholic Chriſtians. Theſe are the four Goſpels, the Acts of the Apoſtles, thirteen epiſtles of St. Paul, one epiſtle of St. Peter, and one epiſtle of St. *John*. Theſe only ſhould be of the higheſt authority, from which doctrines of religion may be proved.

In the other claſs ſhould be placed thoſe books, of which *Euſebe* ſpeaks, as contradicted in his time, though well known: concerning which there were doubts, whether they were writ by the perſons, whoſe names they bear, or whether the writers were apoſtles of Chriſt. Theſe are the epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, the epiſtle of *James*, the ſecond of *Peter*, the ſecond and third of *John*, the epiſtle of *Jude*, and the Revelation. Theſe ſhould be reckoned doubtful, and contradicted: though many might be of opinion, that there is a good deal of reaſon to believe them genuine. And they ſhould be allowed to be publicly read in Chriſtian aſſemblies for the edification of the people: but not be alleged, as affording, alone, ſufficient proof of any doctrine.

That I may not be miſunderſtood, I muſt add, that there ſhould be no third claſs of ſacred books: foraſmuch as there appears not any reaſon from Chriſtian antiquity to allow of that character and denomination to any Chriſtian writings, beſide thoſe above-mentioned.

In this canon the preceding rule is regarded. It is a ſhort canon. And it ſeems to have been thought of by ſome (A) about the time of the Reformation.

V. Nevertheleſs that, which is now generally received, is a good canon.

For

(*p*) *See Vol. x. p.* 289. (*r*) *Vol viii. p.* 90. 105.

(A) We learn from *Paul Sarpi*'s Hiſtory of the Council of *Trent*, that one of the doctrinal articles concerning ſacred ſcripture, extracted, or pretended to be extracted out of *Luther*'s works, was this; "that no books ſhould be "reckoned a part of the Old Teſtament, beſide thoſe received by the Jews; "and that out of the New Teſtament ſhould be excluded the epiſtle to the "*Hebrews*, the epiſtle of *James*, the ſecond of *Peter*, the ſecond and third of "*John*, the epiſtle of *Jude*, and the Revelation." And there were ſome Biſhops in that Council, "who would have had the books of the New Teſta-"ment divided into two claſſes: in one of which ſhould be put thoſe books "only which had been always received without contradiction: and in the "other thoſe, which had been rejected by ſome, or about which at leaſt "there had been doubts." And Dr. *Courayer*, in his notes, ſeems to favour this propoſal. *See his French tranſlation of The Hiſtorie of the Council of Trent Liv. 2. ch. 43. Tom. i. p. 235. and ch. 47. p. 240. and note* (*i*).

For it contains only thoſe books, which were acknowledged by all in the time of *Euſebe*, and from the beginning, and ſeven other, which were then well known, and were next in eſteem to thoſe before mentioned, as univerſally acknowledged; and were more generally received as of authority, than any other controverted writings. Nor is there in them any thing inconſiſtent with the facts, or principles, delivered in the univerſally acknowledged books. And moreover, there may be a great deal of reaſon to think, that they are the genuine writings of thoſe, to whom they are aſcribed, and that the writers were apoſtles. This evidence will be carefully examined, and diſtinctly conſidered, as we proceed.

In this canon likewiſe the above-mentioned rule is regarded. It is a ſhort canon. For out of it are excluded many books, which might ſeem to make a claim to be ranked among ſacred and canonical ſcriptures.

VI. There are not any books, beſide thoſe now generally received by us, that ought to be eſteemed canonical, or books of authority.

I ſuppoſe this to be evident to all, who have carefully attended to the hiſtorie in the ſeveral volumes of this work; and that there is no reaſon to receive, as a part of ſacred ſcripture, the epiſtle of *Barnabas*, *the epiſtle of Clement*, *the Shepherd of Hermas*, *the Recognitions*, *the Clementin Homilies*, *the Doctrine of the Apoſtles*, *the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions*, *the Goſpel of Peter*, *or Matthias*, *or Thomas*, *the Preaching of Peter*, *the Acts of Peter and Paul*, *of Andrew and John and other Apoſtles*, *the Revelation of Peter*, *and Paul*, *their Travels or Circuits*. That theſe books were not received, as ſacred ſcripture, or a part of the rule of faith, by Chriſtians in former times, has been ſhewn. Nor can they therefore be reaſonably received by us as ſuch.

The only writing of all theſe, that ſeems to make a fair claim to be a part of ſacred ſcripture, is the epiſtle of St. *Barnabas*, if genuine, as I (*s*) have ſuppoſed it to be. Nevertheleſs, I think, it ought not to be received as ſacred ſcripture, or admitted into the canon, for theſe reaſons.

1. It was not reckoned a book of authority, or a part of the rule of faith, by thoſe ancient Chriſtians, who have quoted it, and taken the greateſt notice of it.

Clement of *Alexandria* has (*t*) quoted this epiſtle ſeveral times, but not in a deciſive, and by way of full proof, as we ſhewed. Nor is it ſo quoted by (*u*) *Origen*. Nor is the epiſtle of *Barnabas* in any of (*x*) *Origen*'s catalogues of the books of Scripture, which we ſtill find in his works, that are taken notice of by *Euſebe*. By that Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorian, in one place it is reckoned (*y*) among *ſpurious* writings, that is, ſuch as were generally rejected and ſuppoſed not to be part of the New Teſtament. At other times it is called by him (*z*) *a contradicted* book, that is not received by all.

Nor

(*s*) *See Ch. i. Vol. i. p.* 23. . . .30.
(*t*) *See Vol. ii. p.* 521. . . . 523.
(*u*) *See Vol. iii. p.* 305. 306.
(*x*) *The ſame. p.* 234. . . . 243.
(*y*) *Vol. viii. p.* 97. 167.
(*z*) *P.* 96. 97.

Nor is this epistle placed among sacred scriptures by following writers, who have given catalogues of the books of the New Testament. It is wanting, particularly, in the Festal Epistle (*a*) of *Athanasius*, in (*b*) the catalogue of *Cyril* of *Jerusalem*, of (*c*) the Council of *Laodicea*, of (*d*) *Epiphanius*, (*e*) *Gregorie Nazianzen*, (*f*) *Amphilochius*, and (*g*) *Jerome*, (*h*) *Rufin*, (*i*) the Council of *Carthage*, and (*k*) *Augustin*. Nor has it been reckoned a part of canonical scripture by later writers.

2. *Barnabas* was not an Apostle.

For he was not one of the twelve Apostles of Christ. Nor was he chosen in the room of *Judas*. Nor is there in the Acts any account of his being chosen into the number of Apostles, or appointed to be an Apostle by Christ, as *Paul* was. What St. *Luke* says of *Barnabas* is, *that he was a good man, and full of the Holy Ghost, and of faith.* Acts xi. 24. And in ch. xiii. 1. he is mentioned among *Prophets and Teachers* in the church of *Antioch*. But St. *Luke* speaks in the like manner of *Stephen*, of whom he says, he was *a man full of faith, and of the Holy Ghost.* vi. 5. *full of faith and power.* v. 8. *full of the Holy Ghost.* vii. 55. And all the seven were *full of the Holy Ghost, and wisdom.* vi. 3.

That *Barnabas* was not an Apostle, I think, may be concluded from Gal. ii. 9. where *Paul* says: *And when James, and Cephas, and John, who seemed to be pillars, perceived the grace that was given to me, they gave to me and Barnabas the right hand of Fellowship.* By *grace* I suppose St. *Paul* to mean the favour of the apostleship. So Rom. i. 5. *By whom we have received grace and apostleship*, that is, the favour of the apostleship. Ch. xii. 3. *For I say, through the grace given to me*, meaning the especial favour of the apostleship. And see ch. xv. 15. 1 Cor. xv. 10. Eph. iv. 7 compared with ver. 11.

If *Barnabas* had been an Apostle, in the fullest sense of the word, St. *Paul* would not have said in the above cited place from the second to the *Galatians*, *when they perceived the grace given to me*, but, *when they perceived the grace given to me, and Barnabas.* And in the preceding part of the context, particularly, in ver. 7. 8. he twice says *me*, where he would have said *us*, if *Barnabas* had been an apostle. For he had been mentioned before, in ver. 1.

Indeed, in the Acts, where *Paul* and *Barnabas* are mentioned together, *Barnabas* is sometimes first named, as Acts xi. 30. xii. 25. xiii. 1. 2. and 7. xiv. 14. xv. 12. 25. Which I think not at all strange among persons, who were not intent upon precedence: when too *Barnabas* was the elder in years and discipleship. But in several other places *Paul* is first named, as in Acts xiii. 43. 46. xv. 2. 22. 35. on which no other reason can be well assigned, beside that of *Paul*'s apostleship.

Moreover, wherever they travelled together, if there was an opportunity for discoursing, *Paul* spake. So at *Paphos*, in the island of *Cyprus*

Acts

(*a*) *Vol viii. p.* 227. . . . 229.
(*b*) *P.* 269. 270.
(*c*) *P.* 291. . . 293.
(*d*) *P.* 303. 304.
(*e*) *Vol. ix. p* 133.
(*f*) *P.* 147. 148.
(*g*) *Vol. x. p.* 76. 77.
(*h*) *P.* 177. 178.
(*i*) *P.* 193. 194.
(*k*) *P.* 210. 211.

Acts xiii. 6. . . 12. And at *Antioch* in *Piſidia.* ch. xiii. 15. 16. See alſo ch. xiv. 12.

And that *Paul* was the principal perſon, appears from that early account, after they had been in *Cyprus.* ch. xiii. 13. *Now when Paul and his companie looſed from Paphos, they came to Perga, in Pamphylia.*

However, there are ſome texts, which muſt be conſidered by us, as ſeeming to afford objections.

Acts xiv. 4. *But the multitude of the city was divided. Part held with the Jews, and part with the Apoſtles:* that is, *Paul* and *Barnabas,* who were then at *Iconium.* And afterwards, at *Lyſtra.* ver. 14. *Which when the Apoſtles, Barnabas and Paul, heard,* . . . . Here *Barnabas* is ſtiled an *Apoſtle,* as well as *Paul.*

To which I anſwer, *firſt.* Both being now together, and meeting with the like treatment, might be called *Apoſtles*: though only one of them was, properly, ſo. *Secondly,* it is not unlikely, that *Barnabas* and *Paul* are here ſtiled by St. *Luke, Apoſtles,* in regard to what had been done at *Antioch,* as related by him. ch. xii. i. . . 4. when by an expreſs order from heaven, they were ſent forth from the church at *Antioch,* upon a ſpecial commiſſion, in which they were ſtill employed. That deſignation, however ſolemn, did not make either of them Apoſtles of Chriſt, in the higheſt ſenſe. It was not the apoſtolical, which is a general commiſſion. But it was a particular commiſſion, as appears from that whole hiſtorie, and from what is ſaid at the concluſion of the journey, which they had taken. Acts xiv. 26. *And thence they ſailed to Antioch, from whence they had been recommended to the grace of God, for the work, which they had fulfilled.* Nevertheleſs, they are not unfitly called Apoſtles upon account of it. So 2 Cor. viii. 13. *Whether any do enquire of Titus, he is my partner, and fellow-helper concerning you: or our brethren be enquired of, they (l) are the meſſengers of the churches,* literally, apoſtles of the churches, *and the glorie of Chriſt.* If thoſe brethren, which had been appointed by the churches to go to *Jeruſalem,* with the contributions, which had been made for the relief of the poor ſaints in *Judea,* might be called Apoſtles; there can be no doubt, but *Paul* and *Barnabas* might be called Apoſtles in regard to the work, to which they had been ſolemnly appointed by the church at *Antioch.*

Again 1 Cor. ix. 5. 6. *Have we not power to lead about a ſiſter, a wife, as well as other Apoſtles, and as the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas? Or I only, and Barnabas, have not we power to forbear working?*

Some may think, that *Barnabas* is here ſuppoſed to be an Apoſtle. I anſwer, that though *Barnabas* was not an Apoſtle properly, or equally with himſelf, yet *Paul,* out of an affectionate reſpect to his friend, companion, and fellow-laborer, might be diſpoſed to mention him, upon this occaſion, in the manner he has done. This is ſaid, ſuppoſing all before-mentioned to have been Apoſtles of Chriſt, in the higheſt ſenſe. But, *ſecondly,* it is not certain, that all, before-mentioned, were ſtrictly Apoſtles. It ſeems to be more likely, that by *the brethren of the Lord* ſome are intended, who were not Apoſtles. If ſo, *Paul* might reaſonably, and without offence, gratify his friendly diſpoſition: and inſert here the name

(*l*) ἀπόστολοι ἐκκλησιῶν.

name of *Barnabas*, who had ſhared with him many fatigues and difficulties in the ſervice of the goſpel, though he was not an Apoſtle.

I do not therefore diſcern any good reaſon from the New Teſtament, why *Barnabas* ſhould be reckoned an Apoſtle. But quite otherwiſe.

The ſenſe of the primitive Chriſtians is agreeable hereto. Few or none of them have thought *Barnabas* an Apoſtle.

Clement of *Alexandria* has quoted *Barnabas* (*m*) five or ſix times. Twice he calls him *Apoſtle*. In another place he calls him the *apoſtolic Barnabas, who was one of the ſeventy, and fellow-laborer of Paul.* Theſe are the higheſt characters, which he intended to give to *Barnabas*, and what he means, when he calls him *Apoſtle*, as is fully ſhewn in the place juſt referred to.

By *Tertullian*, as cited by us (*n*) formerly, *Barnabas* is plainly reckoned no more, than (*o*) a companion of Apoſtles.

Euſebe, in a chapter concerning thoſe who were diſciples of Chriſt, ſays: "The (*p*) names of our Saviour's Apoſtles are well known from "the Goſpels. But there is no where extant a catalogue of the ſeven- "ty diſciples. However, it is ſaid, that *Barnabas* was one of them, who "is expreſsly mentioned in the Acts, and in *Paul*'s epiſtle to the *Gala-* "*tians*." That learned writer therefore did not know, that *Barnabas* was an Apoſtle. In (*q*) another place of the ſame work, his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorie, he quotes a paſſage from the ſeventh book of *Clement*'s Inſtitutions or *Hypotopoſes*, where *Barnabas* is ſtiled one of the ſeventy. In his Commentarie upon *Iſaiah* (*r*) *Euſebe* computes fourteen Apoſtles, meaning the twelve, and *Paul* added to them, and equal to them, and *James* the Lord's brother, Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, whom *Euſebe* did not think to be one of the twelve. Nor does he here ſay, that (*s*) he was equal to them, or *Paul*. However, from all theſe places, we can be fully aſſured, that our learned Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorian did not ſo much as ſuſpect *Barnabas* to have been an Apoſtle, in the higheſt ſenſe of the word.

Jerome, in the article of *Barnabas*, in his book of Eccleſiaſtical Writers, ſays, *he* (*t*) *was ordained with Paul an Apoſtle of the Gentiles.* But authors, who write in haſte, as *Jerome* often did, do not always expreſs themſelves exactly and properly. *Jerome* did not think, that *Barnabas* was equally an Apoſtle with *Paul*. This may be concluded from what there follows: *He wrote an epiſtle for the edification of the Church, which is read among the apocryphal ſcriptures.* If *Barnabas* had been an Apoſtle ſtrictly ſpeaking, *Jerome* would not have ſaid, *he wrote an epiſtle for the edification of the Church.* Which any man might do. Nor would his epiſtle have been reckoned apocryphal, as *Jerome* here, and elſewhere cal-

(*m*) *Vol. ii. p.* 521. . . . 523. (*n*) . . . *p.* 606. . . . 608.

(*o*) Volo tamen ex redundantia alicujus etiam comitis Apoſtolorum teſtimonium ſuperducere, idoneum confirmandi de proximo jure diſciplinam Magiſtrorum. Exſtat enim & Barnabæ titulus ad Hebræos. *Tertull. de Pudicit. cap.* 20. *p.* 741.

(*p*) . . . Τῶν δὲ ἑβδομήκοντα μαθητῶν κατάλογος μὲν ἐδεὶς ἐδαμῆ φέρεται. Λέγεται μὴν εἷς αὐτῶν βαρνάβας. κ. λ. *H. E. l.* 1. *cap. xii.*

(*q*) *L.* 2. *cap. i. p.* 38. *D.* (*r*) *Comm. in Eſ. p.* 422.

(*s*) *See Vol. viii. p.* 154. 155. (*t*) *See Vol. x. p.* 142. 143.

(*u*) calls it. When *Jerome* ſays, that *Barnabas was ordained with Paul an Apoſtle of the Gentiles*; it is likely, he refers to the hiſtorie in Acts xiii. 1. . . . . 4. of which I have already ſaid all that is needful.

Theodoret, as formerly quoted, ſays: "The (*x*) all-wiſe Deity com-"mitted the culture of a barren world to a few men, and thoſe fiſher-"men, and publicans, and one tent-maker." And to the like purpoſe often. Which ſhews, that he did not reckon *Barnabas* an Apoſtle in the fulleſt meaning of the word. If he had, he muſt have added, *and one Levite*. The ſame obſervation may be applied to *Chryſoſtom*, who (*y*) in his many paſſages ſhewing the wonderful progreſſe of the goſpel, often mentions the Apoſtles *Peter*, a fiſherman, and *Paul* a tent-maker, but never *Barnabas* a Levite.

If then *Barnabas* was not an Apoſtle, an epiſtle writ by him cannot be received as canonical, or a part of the rule of faith: foraſmuch as no men, beſide Apoſtles, have the privilege of writing epiſtles, or other works, preceptive, and doctrinal, that ſhall be received by the churches, in that quality. This has been ſaid ſeveral times in the courſe of this (*z*) work. And I ſtill think it right.

Mark (*a*) and *Luke*, apoſtolical men, may write hiſtories of our Lord's and his apoſtles preaching, and doctrine, and miracles, which ſhall be received as ſacred, and of authority. But no epiſtles, or other writings, delivering doctrines and precepts, (except only in the way of hiſtorical narration,) can be of authority, but thoſe writ by Apoſtles.

Says *Jerome* of St. *John*: "He (*b*) was at once Apoſtle, Evangeliſt, "and Prophet: Apoſtle, in that he wrote letters to the churches as a "maſter: Evangeliſt, as he wrote a book of the Goſpel, which no other "of the twelve Apoſtles did, except *Matthew*: Prophet, as he ſaw "the Revelation in the iſland *Patmos*, where he was baniſhed by *Do-*"*mitian*."

Frederic Spanheim, in his Diſſertation concerning the twelve Apoſtles, readily acknowledgeth this to be one prerogative of Apoſtles: "That (*c*) they may write epiſtles, which ſhall be received as canonical, "and be of univerſal and perpetual authority in the Church."

3. *Barnabas* does not take upon himſelf the character of an Apoſtle, or a man of authority.

Near the beginning of the epiſtle he ſays: "I (*d*) therefore, not as a "teacher,

(*u*) *See again, as before, Vol. x. p.* 143.

(*x*) *Vol. xi. p.* 96. *See alſo p.* 97. 99. 103.

(*y*) *See Vol. x. p.* 366. . . . 370.

(*z*) See *Apoſtles* in the alphabetical Table of principal Matters.

(*a*) *See Vol. ii. p.* 525. (*b*) *Vol. x. p.* 101.

(*c*) Decimus nobis character apoſtolicæ ἐπιστροφῆς eſt poteſtas ſcribendi ad eccleſias plures, vel ad omnes, τοὺς καθόλου ἁγίους, hujuſmodi epiſtolas, quæ in canonem referri mererentur, id eſt, quæ forent canonicæ, univerſalis et perpetuæ in Eccleſia auctoritatis. *Diſſ. prima de Apoſtol. Duod. num. xi. Opp. T. 2. p.* 310.

(*d*) Ego autem non tanquam doctor, ſed unus ex vobis, demonſtrabo pauca, per quæ in plurimis lætiores ſitis. *Barn. ep. cap. i.*

" teacher, but as one of you, ſhall lay before you a few things, that you " may be joyful."

And ſomewhat lower: " Again, (*e*) I entreat you, as one of you."

He writes as a man, who had gifts of the Spirit, but not that full meaſure which was a prerogative of Apoſtles. " He (*f*) who put the " engraffed gift of his doctrine in us, knows, that no man has received " [or learned] from me a truer word. But I know, that you are " worthie."

I ſhall add a few more very modeſt expreſſions, not ſuitable to an Apoſtle.

" Thus (*g*) as much as in me lies, I have writ to you with great " plainneſſe. And I hope, that according to my ability, I have omit- " ted nothing conducive to your ſalvation in the preſent circum- " ſtance."

In the laſt chapter: " I (*h*) beſeech you: I aſk it as a favour of you, " whilſt you are in this beautiful veſſel of the body, be wanting in none " of theſe things."

And ſtill nearer the concluſion. " Wherefore (*i*) I have endeavoured " to write to you, according to my ability, that you might rejoice."

Upon the whole, this epiſtle well anſwers the character given of *Barnabas* in the Acts, particularly, ch. xi. 24. *He was full of the Holy Ghoſt.* The writer of this Epiſtle had the gift of the Spirit, though not that meaſure, which was peculiar to Apoſtles. *He was full of faith.* The writer of this epiſtle had an earneſt zeal for the truth and ſimplicity of the goſpel. He was alſo *a good man.* In this epiſtle we obſerve the mildneſſe and gentleneſſe, by which *Barnabas* ſeems to have been diſtinguiſhed. But we do not diſcern here the dignity and authority of an Apoſtle.

Conſequently, this epiſtle may afford edification, and may be read with that view. But it ought not to be eſteemed by us, as it was not by the ancients, a part of the rule of faith.

(*e*) Adhuc & hoc rogo vos, tamquam unus ex vobis. *Ib. cap.* 4.

(*f*) Οἴδεν ὁ τὴν ἔμφυτον δωρεὰν τῆς διδαχῆς αὐτοῦ θέμενος ἐν ἡμῖν ἐδεὶς γνησίωτερον ἔμαθεν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ λόγον. Ἀλλὰ οἶδα, ὅτι ἄξιοί ἐστε ὑμεῖς. *Cap.* 9.

(*g*) Ἐφ' ὅσον ἦν ἐν δυνατῷ κ) ἁπλότητι δηλῶσαι ὑμῖν ἐλπίζει με ἡ ψυχη τῆ ἐπιθυμία με μὴ παραλελοιπέναι μέ τι τῶν ἀνηκόντων ὑμῖν εἰς σωτηρίαν, ἐξεγωτων. *Cap.* 17.

(*h*) Ἐρωτῶ ὑμᾶς, χάριν αἰτέμενος. κ. λ. *Cap.* 21.

(*i*) Διὸ μᾶλλον ἐσπέδασα γρᾶψαι, ὡφ' ὧν ἠδυνήθην, εἰς τὸ εὐφρᾶναι ὑμας. *Ibid.*

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of the Method, in which the Canon of the New Teſtament has been formed.

THE canon of the New Teſtament is a collection of books, writ by ſeveral perſons, in ſeveral places, and at different times. It is therefore reaſonable to think, that it was formed gradually. At the riſe of the Chriſtian Religion there were no written ſyſtems or records of it. It was firſt taught and confirmed by Chriſt himſelf in his moſt glorious miniſtrie: and was ſtill farther confirmed by his willing death, and his reſurrection from the dead, and aſcenſion to heaven. Afterwards it was taught by word of mouth, and propagated by the preaching of his Apoſtles and their companions. Nor was it fit, that any books ſhould be writ about it, till there were converts to receive and keep them, and deliver them to others.

If St. *Paul*'s two epiſtles to the *Theſſalonians* were the firſt written books of the New Teſtament, and not writ till the year 51. or 52. about twenty years after our Saviour's aſcenſion, they would be for a while the only ſacred books of the new diſpenſation.

As the Chriſtians at *Theſſalonica* had received the doctrine taught by *Paul*, *not as the word of men, but, as it is in truth, the word of God.* 1 Theſſ. ii. 13. they would receive his epiſtles, as the written word of God. And himſelf taught them ſo to do, requiring, that they ſhould be ſolemnly *read unto all the holy brethren.* 1 Theſſ. v. 27. He gives a like direction, but more extenſive, at the end of his epiſtle to the *Coloſſians.* iv. 16. requiring them, after they had read it *amongſt themſelves, to cauſe it to be read alſo in the church of the Laodiceans: and that they likewiſe read the epiſtle, that would come to them from Laodicea.*

All the Apoſtle *Paul*'s epiſtles, whether to churches or particular perſons, would be received with the like reſpect by thoſe to whom they were ſent, even as the written word of God, or ſacred ſcriptures. And in like manner the writings of all the Apoſtles and Evangeliſts.

They who firſt received them would, as there were opportunities, convey them to others. They who received them, were fully aſſured of their genuinneſſe by thoſe who delivered them. And before the end of the firſt centurie, yea not very long after the middle of it, it is likely, there were collections made of the four Goſpels, and moſt of the other books of the New Teſtament, which were in the hands of a good number of churches and perſons.

From the quotations of *Irenæus*, *Clement* of *Alexandria*, *Tertullian*, and other writers of the ſecond centurie, of *Origen* in the third, and of *Euſebius* in the fourth centurie, it appears, that the greateſt part of the books, which are now received by us, and are called canonical, were univerſally acknowledged in their times, and had been ſo acknowledged by the elders and churches of former times. And the reſt, now received by us, though they were then doubted of, or controverted by ſome, were (*a*) well known, and approved by many. And *Athanaſius*, who lived not long after *Euſebius*, (having flouriſhed from the year 326. and afterwards)

(*a*) *See Euſebius, Vol. viii. p. 96. 97.*

wards) received all the ſame books, which are now received by us, and no other. Which has alſo been the prevailing ſentiment ever ſince.

This canon was not determined by the authority of Councils. But the books, of which it conſiſts, were known to be the genuine writings of the Apoſtles and Evangeliſts, in the ſame way and manner that we know the works of *Ceſar*, *Cicero*, *Virgil*, *Horace*, *Tacitus*, to be theirs. And the canon has been formed upon the ground of an unanimous, or generally concurring teſtimonie and tradition.

In the courſe of this long work we have had frequent occaſion to obſerve, that the canon of the New Teſtament had not been ſettled by any authority univerſally acknowledged, particularly, not in the time of (*b*) *Euſebius*, nor of (*c*) *Auguſtin*, nor of (*d*) *Caſſiodorius:* but that nevertheleſs there was a general agreement among Chriſtians upon this head.

That the number of books to be received as ſacred and canonical had not been determined by the authority of any Council, or Councils, univerſally acknowledged, is apparent from the different judgements among Chriſtians, in ſeveral parts of the world, concerning divers books, particularly, the epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, and the Revelation: which were received by ſome, rejected, or doubted of by others. Not now to mention any of the Catholic Epiſtles. There was no catalogue of the books of ſcripture in any canon of the Council of *Nice*. *Auguſtin* (*e*) giving directions to inquiſitive perſons, how they might determine, what books are cononical, and what not, refers not to the deciſions of any Councils. *Caſſiodorius*, in the ſixth centurie, has (*f*) three catalogues, one called *Jerome*'s, another *Auguſtin*'s, another that of the ancient verſion. But he refers not to the decree of any Council, as deciſive. And it ſeems to me, that in all times Chriſtian people and churches have had a liberty to judge for themſelves, according to evidence. And the evidence of the genuinneſſe of moſt of the books of the New Teſtament has been ſo clear and manifeſt, that they have been univerſally received.

The genuinneſſe of theſe books, as before ſaid, is known in the ſame way with others, by teſtimonie or tradition. The firſt teſtimonie is that of thoſe who were contemporarie with the writers of them. Which teſtimonie has been handed down to others.

That in this way the primitive Chriſtians formed their judgement concerning the books propoſed to be received as ſacred ſcriptures, appears from their remaining works. Says *Clement* of *Alexandria:* "This "(*g*) we have not in the four Goſpels, which have been delivered to us, "but in that according to the *Egyptians*." *Tertullian* may be ſeen largely to this purpoſe. Vol. ii. 576. . . 581. I paſs on to *Origen*, who ſays: "As (*h*) I have learned by tradition concerning the four Goſpels, "which alone are received without diſpute by the whole Church of God "under heaven." So *Euſebe*, in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, often obſerves, what books of the New Teſtament had been quoted by the ancients, and what not. And having rehearſed a catalogue of books univerſally

(*b*) *Vol. viii. p.* 105. (*c*) *Vol. x.* 207. . . 211. (*d*) *Vol. xi.* 279.
(*e*) *Vol. x. p.* 207. (*f*) *Vol. xi. p.* 303. . . 306.
(*g*) *Vol. ii. p.* 496. *and* 529. (*h*) *Vol. iii. p.* 235.

verſally received, and of others controverted, he ſays: "It (*i*) was need-
"ful to put down theſe alſo; diſtinguiſhing the ſcriptures, which ac-
"cording to eccleſiaſtical tradition are true, genuine, and univerſally ac-
"knowledged, from thoſe which are controverted, and yet appear [illegible]
"been known to many: that by this means we may know [illegible]
"ſuch as have been publiſhed by heretics, under the names of [illegible]
"Which books none of the eccleſiaſtical writers in the ſucceeding [illegible]
"the times of the Apoſtles have vouchſafed to mention [illegible]
"ings." I may not tranſcribe, but only refer to (*k*) [illegible]
Feſtal Epiſtle, to (*l*) *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem*, (*m*) *Rufin*, and [illegible]

However, beſide obſerving the teſtimonie of writers [illegible] they criticiſed the books, which were propoſed to them: examining their ſtile and contents, and comparing them with thoſe books which had been already received as genuine upon the ground of an unanimous teſtimonie, and undoubted tradition. Says honeſt *Serapion*, Biſhop of [illegible], in an epiſtle to ſome, who had too much reſpect for a writing, entitled *the Goſpel of Peter*: "We (*o*) brethren, receive *Peter*, and the other "Apoſtles, as Chriſt: but as ſkilful men, we reject thoſe writings, which "are falſly aſcribed to them: well knowing, that we have received no "ſuch." And he adds, that upon peruſing that work, he had found the main part of it agreeable to the right doctrine of our ſaviour: but there were ſome other things of a different kind. And *Euſebe* adds in the place tranſcribed above: "The (*p*) ſtile alſo of theſe books is en-"tirely different from that of the Apoſtles. Moreover the ſentiments "and doctrine of theſe writings differ from the true orthodox Chriſtianity. "All which things plainly ſhew, that they are the forgeries of heretics."

It has been ſometimes ſaid, that the Council of *Laodicea* firſt ſettled the canon of the New Teſtament. But it may be juſtly ſaid to have been ſettled before. At leſt there had been long before a general agreement among Chriſtians, what books were canonical, and what not: what were the genuine writings of Apoſtles and Evangeliſts, and what not. From the decree of the Council itſelf it appears, that there were writings already known by the title of canonical. That Council does nothing in their laſt canon, but declare, "That (*q*) private pſalms ought not to be "read in the church, nor any books not canonical, but only the cano-"nical books of the Old and New Teſtament." After which follows a catalogue or enumeration of ſuch books. The ſame may be ſaid of the third Council of *Carthage*, whoſe 47. canon is to this purpoſe: "More-"over (*r*) it is ordained, that nothing beſide the Canonical Scriptures be "read in the church, under the name of Divine Scriptures."

I ſhall now tranſcribe below a long and fine paſſage of Mr. *Le Clerc*, wherein he ſays: "We (*s*) no where read of a Council of the Apoſtles, "or

(*i*) *Vol. viii. p.* 97. 98. *See likewiſe p.* 99. . . . 102.
(*k*) *Vol. viii. p.* 225. (*l*) *P.* 268.
(*m*) *Vol. x. p.* 193. (*n*) *P.* 207. 208.
(*o*) *Vol. ii. p.* 558. (*p*) *Vol. viii. p.* 98.
(*q*) *Vol. viii. p.* 291. 292. (*r*) *Vol. x. p.* 193.
(*s*) Nuſquam quidem legimus, Collegium Apoſtolicum, aut cœtum ullum Rectorum Eccleſiarum Chriſtianarum coactum eſſe, qui pro auctoritate definierint

" or of any aſſemblie of the Governours of Chriſtian churches, convened, to determine by their authority, that ſuch a number of Goſpels, neither more nor fewer, ſhould be received. Nor was there any need of it, ſince it is well known to all from the concurring teſtimonie of contemporaries, that theſe four Goſpels are the genuine writings of thoſe whoſe names they bear: and ſince it is alſo manifeſt, that there is in them nothing unworthie of thoſe, to whom they are aſcribed, nor any thing at all contrarie to the revelation of the Old Teſtament, nor to right reaſon. There was no need of a ſynod of Grammarians, to declare magiſterially what are the works of *Cicero*, or *Virgil*. . . In like manner the authority of the Goſpels has been eſtabliſhed by general and perpetual conſent, without any decree of the Governours of the Church. We may ſay the ſame of the Apoſtolical Epiſtles, which owe all their authority, not to the deciſions of any eccleſiaſtical aſſemblie, but to the concurring teſtimonie of all Chriſtians, and the things themſelves, which are contained in them."

Mr. *James Baſnage* (*t*) has ſeveral chapters, ſhewing how the canon of the New Teſtament was formed, without the authoritative deciſions of Councils. I likewiſe refer to (*u*) Mr. *Jones* upon this ſubject. I muſt alſo remind my readers of (*x*) *Auguſtin*'s excellent obſervations, in his arguments with the *Manicheans*, concerning the genuinneſſe and integrity of the books of the New Teſtament. I ſhall tranſcribe from him here a few lines only, which are very much to the preſent purpoſe. " We (*y*) know the writings of the Apoſtles, ſays he, as we know the works of *Plato*, *Ariſtotle*, *Cicero*, *Varro*, and others. And as we know the writings of divers eccleſiaſtical authors: foraſmuch as they have the teſtimonie of contemporaries, and of thoſe who have lived in ſucceeding ages."

Upon the whole, the writings of the Apoſtles and Evangeliſts are received, as the works of other eminent men of antiquity are, upon the ground

nierint hunc numerum Evangeliorum eſſe admittendum, non majorem, nec minorem. Sed nec opus fuit, cum omnibus conſtaret, ex teſtimonio et conſenſu æqualium, quatuor hæc Evangelia eorum vere fuiſſe, quorum nomina præferunt: cumque nihil in iis legatur quod ſcriptoribus dignum non ſit, vel revelationi Veteris Teſtamenti, rectæve rationi, vel minimum adverſetur: aut quod inferius ævum, recentiorumque manus ullo modo recipiat. Non opus fuit ſynodo Grammaticorum, qui, pro imperio, pronunciarent ea ſcripta, verbi cauſſa, Ciceronis et Virgilii, quæ eorum eſſe non dubitamus, re verâ tantorum ingeniorum fœtus fuiſſe, et poſteritati ea in re conſulerent. Omnium conſenſus, non quæſitus, non rogatus, ſed ſponte ſignificatus, prout occaſio tulit, reſque ipſæ omnibus, qui poſtea vixere, dubitationem omnem anteverterunt. . . Sic et Evangeliorum auctoritas merito conſtituta eſt, et invaluit, perpetuo conſenſu, ſine ullo Rectorum Eccleſiæ decreto.

Idem dixerimus de Epiſtolis Apoſtolicis, quæ nullius eccleſiaſtici conventus judicio, ſed conſtanti omnium chriſtianorum teſtimonio, rebuſque ipſis, quas complectuntur, auctoritatem omnem ſuam debent. *Cleric. H. E. ann.* 109. *num. iii. iv. Vid. et. ann.* 29. *num. xcii.*

(*t*) *Hiſt. de l' Egliſe. l.* 8. *ch. v. vi. vii.*

(*u*) *New and full Method. Part. i. ch. v. vi. vii.*

(*x*) *See Vol. vi. p.* 375. . . 381. (*y*) *P.* 379.

ground of general conſent and teſtimonie. Nor does the canon of the ſcriptures of the New Teſtament owe it's eſtabliſhment to the deciſions of Councils: but it is the judgement of Chriſtian people in general. And ſo far as we are able to perceive, after a long and careful examination, it is a right and reaſonable judgement. And it may induce us to believe, that if men were encouraged to think freely, in other matters alſo, and to judge for themſelves, according to evidence, and proper aſſiſtances were afforded them, it would not be at all detrimental to the intereſts either of truth or virtue.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Time of writing the Goſpels, eſpecially the firſt three.

SECT. I.

That the Goſpels are not mentioned, nor referred to, in the Epiſtles of the New Teſtament.

EUSEBE intimates, that (*a*) many before him ſuppoſed, that when *Paul* in his epiſtle ſpeaks of *his own goſpel*, he intended the Goſpel according to *Luke*. We will therefore conſider thoſe texts, and ſome other of a like kind.

I. St. *Paul* ſays Rom. ii. 16. . . *in the day, when God ſhall judge the ſecrets of men, according to my goſpel.* The ſame phraſe occurs again ch. xvi. 25. and 2 Tim. ii. 8. *Remember, that Jeſus Chriſt, of the ſeed of David, was raiſed from the dead, according to my goſpel.*

In all which places, I apprehend, it muſt be reaſonable to underſtand, not any written Goſpel, or hiſtorie of Jeſus Chriſt: but the doctrine of the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, which had been preached by *Paul*. Which is alſo the opinion of learned modern interpreters in general.

II. 2 Cor. viii. 18. *And we have ſent with him the brother, whoſe praiſe is in the goſpel, throughout all the churches.*

Many have been of opinion, that St. *Luke* is the *brother* here intended, and that St. *Paul* refers to *Luke*'s written Goſpel. This (*b*) is ſaid to be *Origen*'s interpretation. But I do not clearly perceive it. *Origen* (*c*) ſpeaking of the four Goſpels, ſays: "The (*d*) third is that according to

(*a*) Φασὶ δὲ, ὡς ἄρα τῷ καθ' ἑαυτὸν εὐαγγελίῳ μιμνημονεύειν ὁ παῦλος εἴωθεν, ὑπονοῶν ὡς περὶ ἰδίου τινὸς εὐαγγελίου γράφων ἔλεγε, κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου. *Euſ. H. E. l. 3. c. 4. p. 73. D.*

(*b*) "Who this brother was, is much conteſted. Antiquity has carried it "for St. *Luke, worthy of praiſe in all the churches for the Goſpel, which he wrote.* "The authority of this aſſertion ſeems to reſt upon the words of *Origen*, the "interpolated *Ignatius*, and St. *Jerome*." *So Whitby upon the Place.*

(*c*) Καὶ τρίτον τὸ κατὰ λουκᾶν, τὸ ὑπὸ παύλου ἐπαινούμενον εὐαγγέλιον. *Ap. Euſ. l. 6. cap. 25. p. 226. C.*

(*d*) *See Vol. iii. p. 235.*

to *Luke*, commended by *Paul*." I say, I do not perceive it to be clear, that *Origen* had an eye to 2 Cor. viii. 18. He might intend Rom. ii. 16. or xvi. 25. or 2 Tim. ii. 8. However, whether it be *Origen*'s interpretation of that text, or not, it is *Jerome*'s: who writing the history of St. *Luke* in his book of illustrious Men, says: "He (*e*) wrote a Gospel, of which *Paul* makes mention, saying: *And we have sent with him the brother, whose praise is in the Gospel.*" To the same purpose (*f*) also in the prologue to his Commentarie upon St. *Matthew*: and likewise in (*g*) his Commentarie upon the epistle to *Philemon*.

Chrysostom upon the place speaks after this manner. "And (*h*) who "is this brother? Some say, *Luke*: and think, that the Apostle refers to "the history, writ by him. Others say, *Barnabas*. For by *gospel* he "intends unwritten preaching." *Theophylact* (*i*) speaks to the like purpose. *Theodoret* (*k*) by *the brother* understood *Barnabas*. And therefore could not think of any written Gospel, no such work having been ascribed to him by the ancients. *Oecumenius*'s note is to this purpose. "Many (*l*) say, this brother is *Luke*, mentioned upon account of the "Gospel composed by him. Many others suppose him to be *Barnabas*. "For, as they say, unwritten preaching is here called *gospel*. Which is "the more likely. For what follows is more suitable to *Barnabas*: "*whose praise is in the gospel*. As much as to say: he not only preaches, "but commendably." And afterwards. "The meaning is, he not "only evangelizeth, and preacheth the gospel admirably, and commend-"ably, but he has been chosen to travel with us, with this grace also." Such are the sentiments of the ancients upon this text.

Let us now observe the interpretations of some judicious moderns.

Grotius says: "he (*m*) does not dislike the opinion of those, who think *Luke* to be here intended. But he does not think, that St. *Paul* refers to his book of the Gospel, which was not then published: but to the office of an Evangelist, which *Luke* had discharged in several places, or to his preaching the gospel. And he says, that *in the gospel*, may be the same as *by the gospel*. So in ch. x. 14. of the same epistle."

Estius likewise says, that (*n*) by *gospel* is to be understood preaching: not St. *Luke*'s Gospel, which we are not certain was then published.

Le

(*e*) *See Vol. x. p.* 94. (*f*) *The same, p.* 83.

(*g*) De quo [Luca] et in alio loco: *Misi*, inquit, *cum illo fratrem, cujus laus est in evangelio per omnes ecclesias*. . . &c. *In Philem. T.* 4. *P. i. p.* 454.

(*h*) Καὶ τίς ἐστὶν ὁ ἀδελφός; τινὲς μὲν τὸν Λουκᾶν. Καί φασι, διὰ τὴν ἱστορίαν ἣνπερ ἔγραψε. Τινὲς δὲ τὸν Βαρνάβαν. Καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἄγραφον κήρυγμα εὐαγγέλιον καλεῖ. *In 2. ep. ad Corinth. hom.* 18. *Tom. x.*

(*i*) *In loc. p.* 389.

(*k*) Τὸν τρισμακάριον Βαρνάβαν τὰ εἰρημένα χαρακτηρίζει. *Theod. in loc. T.* 3. *p.* 243.

(*l*) *Oecum. in loc. Tom. i. p.* 663.

(*m*) Mihi non displicet sententia illorum, qui hic Lucam designari putant: ita tamen ut per evangelium non intelligatur liber, qui tunc editus nondum erat, sed ipsum munus evangelistæ, quod Lucas Pauli vice multis in locis fideliter obierat, sive ipsa evangelii prædicatio, ut infra x. 14. ἐν *in* pro διὰ *per*. *Grot. ad 2 Cor. viii.* 18.

(*n*) Neque enim Paulus de Evangelio scripto loquitur, sed quo modo passim alibi,

Le Clerc, in his French Testament, translates in this manner: *one of our brethren, who is praised on account of the gospel in all the churches.* And in his notes says, "that generally St. *Luke* is here supposed to be intended: though St. *Paul* refers rather to his preaching the gospel, than to the book of his Gospel."

Beausobre translates after this manner: *one of the brethren, who has made himself famous in all the churches by* preaching *the gospel.* And says in his notes: "that though some of the ancients have hereby understood St. *Luke* and his Gospel; he thinks, that by the *gospel* is here intended the preaching of the gospel. Besides, there is no proof, that St. *Luke* had as yet writ his Gospel. It is rather reasonable to think he had not."

Upon the whole, though we cannot certainly say who is *the brother, whose praise was in the gospel*: whether (*o*) *Luke*, or *Barnabas*, or *Silas*, or *Apollos*: I presume we are sufficiently warranted to say, that by *gospel* is here intended neither the gospel according to *Luke*, nor any other written Gospel whatever.

III. 1 Tim. vi. 20. *O Timothie, keep that which is committed to thy trust.*

Hereby some have been disposed to understand a written Gospel. But they are not favored by the best interpreters. *Grotius* says, that (*p*) this deposit, or thing committed to *Timothie*'s trust, is the sacred doctrine of the gospel. *Estius* (*q*) says the same. I place below likewise (*r*) a part of *Beza*'s note upon the text. *Le Clerc* in his notes explains it thus: "the doctrine of the gospel, which was a sacred deposit, committed by the Apostles to their disciples." And *Beausobre* thus: "the doctrine, which had been committed to, or entrusted with *Timothie*." See also, says he, 1 Tim. i. 18. and 2 Tim. ii. 2. I say no more to this text.

IV. 2 Tim. i. 13, 14. *Hold fast the form of sound words, which thou hast heard of me . . . . That good thing, which was committed unto thee, keep by the Holy Ghost, which dwelleth in us.*

Hereby some may understand a written Gospel, or history of Jesus Christ. Nevertheless, I think, I need not add much here to what has been already said of the preceding text, it being nearly parallel. The meaning of both is much the same. *Timothie* is here again exhorted, and required, to retain with all fidelity those *sound words*, that pure doctrine of the gospel, which he had been taught by the Apostle, and had often heard from him.

It

alibi, de evangelio prædicato. Deinde, nec satis constat, Evangelium Lucæ tum editum fuisse, quando Paulus hanc Epistolam scripsit. *Est. in loc.*

(*o*) *Vid. Est. in 2 Cor. viii.* 18. *et Beausobr. in ver.* 18. *et* 23.

(*p*) Vocat autem *depositum* sacram doctrinam evangelii, quia et res est alterius, nempe Christi, et pastoribus fida ejus custodia incumbit. *Grot. ad* 1 *Tim. vi.* 20.

(*q*) Iterum serio et graviter admonet, ut acceptam fidei doctrinam conservet, ne locum relinquat ulli peregrino dogmati. Nomine *depositi* metaphorice significatur doctrina successori credita, ac per manus tradita. *Est. in loc.*

(*r*) *Depositum* procul dubio vocat sanam evangelii doctrinam, et dona quæcunque ad Ecclesiæ ædificationem, veluti depositum, Deus commiserat Timotheo. *Bez. in loc.*

It does not appear, then, that there are in the apoſtolical epiſtles of the New Teſtament any references to written goſpels, or hiſtories of Jeſus Chriſt. I do not ſay, this is a proof, that no ſuch hiſtories were then written. Nevertheleſs, I have thought it not improper to ſhew, that there is no notice taken of any ſuch hiſtories in theſe epiſtles: and therefore they cannot afford any evidence of their being then writ and publiſhed. I think likewiſe, that it was not amiſs to embrace this occaſion to ſhew the true meaning of ſome texts, which have been often miſinterpreted.

SECT. II.

Obſervations of ancient Chriſtian Writers, leading to the true time, when the Goſpels were writ.

1. SAYS *Irenæus*, as formerly *(s)* quoted, "For *(t)* we have not "received the knowledge of the way of our ſalvation from "any others, than thoſe, by whom the goſpel has been brought "to us. Which goſpel they firſt preached, and afterwards by the will of "God committed to writing, that for time to come it might be the "foundation and pillar of our faith. Nor may any ſay, that they preached, before they had a compleat knowledge of the doctrine of the goſpel. For after that our Lord roſe from the dead, and they [the Apoſtles] were endowed from above with the power of the Holy Ghoſt "coming down upon them, they received a perfect knowledge of all "things. They then went forth to all the ends of the earth, declaring to "men the bleſſing of heavenly peace, having all of them, and every one "alike, the goſpel of God."

He then proceeds to ſpeak of the Goſpels of the four Evangeliſts ſeverally, and the times and occaſions of writing them. All which will be taken down by us hereafter in proper places. Here is ſufficient to induce us to think, that the written Goſpels, or hiſtories of Jeſus Chriſt, were not publiſhed, till ſome good while after our Lord's aſcenſion. For the Apoſtles firſt preached, he ſays, before they wrote.

2. Says *Euſebe* in a long paſſage formerly quoted: "Thoſe *(u)* admi-"rable and truly divine men, the Apoſtles of Chriſt,——neither knew, nor attempted, to deliver the doctrine of their maſter with the artifice "and

(s) *See Vol. i. p.* 353.

(t) Non enim per alios diſpoſitionem ſalutis noſtræ cognovimus, quam per eos, per quos evangelium pervenit ad nos: quod quidem tunc præconaverunt, poſtea vero per Dei voluntatem in ſcripturis nobis tradiderunt, fundamentum & columnam fidei noſtræ futurum. Nec enim fas eſt dicere, quoniam ante prædicaverunt, quam perfectam haberent agnitionem, ſicut quidam audent dicere, gloriantes, emendatores ſe eſſe Apoſtolorum. Poſtea enim quam ſurrexit Dominus noſter a mortuis, & induti ſunt ſupervenientis Spiritus Sancti virtutem ex alto, de omnibus adimpleti ſunt, & habuerant perfectam agnitionem, exierunt in fines terræ, ea quæ a Deo nobis bona ſunt evangelizantes, & cœleſtem pacem hominibus annunciantes: qui quidem & omnes pariter & ſinguli eorum habentes evangelium Dei. *Iren. adv. Har. l.* 3. *cap.* 1.

(u) *Vol. viii. p.* 90...92.

" and eloquence of words . . . Nor were they greatly concerned about " the writing of books, being engaged in a more excellent ministrie, " which is above all human power. Insomuch that *Paul*, the most able " of all in the furniture both of words and thoughts, has left nothing in " writing, beside a few epistles . . . . Nor were the rest of our Saviour's " followers unacquainted with these things, as the seventy disciples, and " many others, beside the twelve Apostles. Nevertheless of all the dis- " ciples of our Lord, *Matthew* and *John* only have left us any memoirs: " who too, as we have been informed, were compelled to write by a kind " of necessity." And what follows.

3. This passage should be compared with another of (*x*) *Origen*. And they who please may also consult our remarks (*) upon what has been now transcribed from *Eusebe*. Which may be of use to caution us, not to be too precipitate in giving a very early date to the Gospels, as if they were writ immediately after our Lord's ascension: when there is reason to think, they were not writ, till after numerous converts had been made, who expressed their desires to have written histories of what they had heard, for refreshing their memories.

4. Says *Theodore*, Bishop of *Mopsuestia*, in the later part of the fourth centurie, about the year 394. " After (*y*) the Lord's ascension to hea- " ven the disciples staid a good while at *Jerusalem*, visiting the cities in " it's neighbourhood, preaching chiefly to the Jews: until the great *Paul*, " called by the divine grace, was appointed to preach the gospel to Gen- " tiles openly. And in processe of time Divine Providence, not allowing " them to be confined to any one part of the earth, made way for con- " ducting them to remote countreys. *Peter* went to *Rome*, the others " elsewhere. *John*, in particular, took up his abode at *Ephesus*, visiting " however at seasons the several parts of *Asia* . . . . . About this time the " other Evangelists, *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke*, published their Gospels, " which were soon spread all over the world, and were received by all the " faithful in general with great regard." . . . . . He proceeds to say, " that nevertheless, the Christians in *Asia*, having brought those Gospels " to him, earnestly entreated him to write a farther account of such " things as were needful to be known, and had been omitted by the rest. " With which request he complied."

This remarkable passage, upon which divers observations were made, when it was first quoted, may dispose us to think, that all the four Gospels were writ about the same time, and that none of them were published till after, or about the sixtieth year of our Lord's Nativity.

5. By divers ancient Christian writers it is said, that (*z*) *Mark*, the disciple and interpreter of *Peter*, at the desire of the brethren of *Rome*, wrote a short Gospel, according to what he had heard related by *Peter*. So *Jerome* (*a*) beside others, as before quoted, in his book of Illustrious Men.

St.

(*x*) *See Vol. p.* 236. (*) *Vol. viii. p.* 124. . . . 137.
(*y*) *See Vol. ix. p.* 403. 404.
(*z*) *See Vol. i. p.* 247 . . . 249. *ii.* 472 . . 489. *viii.* 305 . . 306. *xi. p.* 31.
(*a*) *Vol. x. p.* 92.

St. *Peter*, I reckon, did not come to *Rome* before the reign of *Nero*, probably, not till the second time that *Paul* was in that city, in the year 63. or 64. And yet, at this time, the Christians at *Rome* desired *Mark* to give them in writing an account of *Peter*'s preaching, for refreshing their memories concerning what the Apostle had said of Christ, and his doctrine. The consequence is manifest. They had not then any written Gospel in their hands. Nor did they know, that there was one. "The truth is, says Mr. *Jones* (*b*), if St. *Mark*, or any one else, had had "St. *Matthew*'s Gospel, at *Rome*, there would have been no need of St. "*Mark*'s writing."

These are general observations in the ancients, or deduced from them, which may be of no small use to lead us to the true time of writing the first three Gospels.

SECT. III.

That the first three Gospels were published before the destruction of Jerusalem, which happened in the year of the Christian epoch LXX.

CONCERNING this I transcribe below (*c*) a very good argument of *Le Clerc* from his Dissertation upon the four Evangelists.

The Jewish war began, according (*d*) to *Josephus*, in the month of May in the 66. year of the Christian epoch, and ended in September, in the year 70. in the desolation of the city of *Jerusalem* and the temple. And I think, it may be shewn to be very probable, that the first three Gospels were writ before the year 66. when the final troubles and calamities of the Jewish People were coming on.

This must appear to have a great deal of probability from the predictions therein recorded concerning the destruction of the temple, the overthrow of the city of *Jerusalem*, the ruin of the Jewish State and People in *Judea*, together with divers circumstances of these events, and many troubles and calamities preceding them. These predictions are recorded in the histories of our Saviour's ministrie, which we call Gospels,

(*b*) *Vindication of the former part of St. Matthew's Gospel, p.* 54. *chap. vi.*

(*c*) Quinetiam, si ex Veterum nonnullorum testimoniis antea adductis, de re judicemus, affirmabimus, Matthæum, Marcum, et Lucam, ante ultima Neronis tempora, quibus occisi sunt Petrus et Paulus, Evangelia scripsisse. Quod non levi argumento confirmari potest, ducto ex Matth. cap. xxiv. Marc. xiii. Luc. xxi. ubi narratur Jerosolymæ excidii prædictio, quasi rei etiamnum futuræ, eo tempore, quo Evangelia ab iis scribebantur. Si enim eam prædicationem post eventum scripsissent Evangelistæ memorati, verbulo saltem monuissent, prædictionem fuisse eventu confirmatam. Quod tantum abest ut faciant, ut Matthæus et Marcus hac admonitione, ὁ ἀναγινωσκων νοειτω, *qui legit, intelligat*, quam subjiciunt præsagiis Jerosolymitanæ cladis, admonere videantur Christianos in Judæa viventes, ut diligenter futura illa præsagia attendant, quo possint vitæ suæ consulere. Vide Matth. xxiv. 15. Marc. xiii. 14. et ad ea loca interpretes. *Cleric. Diss. iii. de quatuor Evangeliis. num. vii. p.* 541.

(*d*) *Vid. Joseph. Antiq. Jud. l.* 20. *cap. xi. n. c. &c. B. I. l.* 6. *cap. x.*

pels, without any the left hint, either express and designed, or accidentally dropping from the writers, that those predictions had been fulfilled and verified, or that the things spoken of had happened. Those prophecies are recorded in Matth. xxiii. 34. . . 39. and xxiv. Mark xiii. Luke xxi. St. *Luke* has also elsewhere recorded the affectionate concern, which our Lord expressed in the view and prospect of those impending evils. ch. xiii. 34. 35. and xix. 41. . . 44. These things are also referred to, and spoken of, in divers other discourses, some plain, some parabolical, or otherwise figurative: as Matth. xxi. 33. . . 46. xxii. 1. . . 7. Mark xii. 1. . . 12. Luke xiii. 1. . . 9. xx. 9. . . 20. xxi. 5. . . 13. In none of all which places does there appear any intimation, that the things spoken of were come to pass. And in recording the presages of this final and total overthrow of the Jewish nation the historians have inserted warnings and admonitions, proper to excite the attention of readers, and induce those who lived in *Judea*, to take care of their own safety, without delay. Matt. xxiv. 15. . . . 18. *When ye therefore shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the Prophet, stand in the holy place, (whoso readeth, let him understand:) then let them which be in Judea flee into the mountains. Let him which is on the house-top not come down to take any thing out of his house. Neither let him which is in the field, return back to take his clothes.* And what follows. And to the like purpose in Mark xiii. 14. . . 16. When these discourses were recorded, the things spoken of had not yet come to pass. There were men living, to whom these admonitions might be useful for securing their safety.

Moreover, though these predictions must have been recorded, before they were accomplished; I think, the fulfilment was then near at hand, and not far off. This seems to be implied in that expression: *Let him that readeth, understand.* And indeed it must have been difficult and hazardous to publish such things in writing. How offensive these sayings must have been to the Jewish People, and perhaps to some others likewise, is easie to conceive from the nature of the things spoken of. And it may be confirmed by divers instances. When our Lord had spoken the parable of the vineyard, let out to husbandmen, recorded in Luke xx. 9. . . 18. it is added by the Evangelist. ver. 19. 20. *And the Chief Priests, and the Scribes, the same hour sought to lay hands on him. But they feared the people. For they perceived, that he had spoken this parable against them. And they watched him, and sent forth spies, which should feign themselves just men, that they might take hold of his words, that so they might deliver him unto the power and authority of the Governor.* And among the odious charges brought against our Saviour by false witnesses, this was one, *that he said: I am able to destroy the temple of God, and to build it in three days.* Matth. xxvi. 61. With this he was reproached likewise, when hanging on the cross. xxvii. 40. The like offensive charges were brought against *Stephen.* Acts vi. 14. *We have heard him say, that this Jesus of Nazareth shall destroy this place, and shall change the customs, which Moses delivered to us.* And, possibly, he did say somewhat not very different. So likewise St. *Matthew*, and the other Apostles, might repeat in the hearing of many what Christ had said to them, and in part to others also, concerning the overthrow of the temple, and the Jewish state. Yea, very probably, they had often repeated these things to attentive

hearers.

hearers. But ſpeaking and writing are different. And I apprehend, it could not have been ſafe, nor prudent, to record theſe predictions, (many of which are very plain, and all intelligible,) ſoon after our Lord's aſcenſion.

Theſe prophecies therefore of our Lord, as recorded in the firſt three Goſpels, afford at once an argument, that they were written and publiſhed before the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem:* and that they were not publiſhed many years before it, or however, not many years before the commencement of the war at the time above mentioned.

SECT. IV.

An Argument, ſhewing the true Time of writing the Goſpels, taken from the Acts, and the beginning of St. Luke's Goſpel.

NONE can ſuppoſe, that the book of the Acts of the Apoſtles was compoſed before the year 62. or 63. as the hiſtory is there brought down to the period of St. *Paul*'s two years impriſonment at *Rome*.

And, very probably, the Goſpel, to which St. *Luke* refers at the beginning of that book, had not been writ long before. This I ſuppoſe to be now the common opinion of learned men. And for giving the greateſt ſatisfaction to all my readers, I ſhall tranſcribe below at large the ſentiments of ſeveral to this purpoſe, ſuch as that of the late (*e*) Mr. *Jones*, and (*f*) *Eſtius*, (*g*) *Mill*, (*) *Dodwell*, and (*h*) *Baſnage:* though the thing;

(*e*) "Hence we ſee near to what time this hiſtory of the Acts was written: viz. either in the year 62. or not long after: it being altogether probable that St. *Luke* would not defer writing long after his departure from St. *Paul*. Which ſeems to have been now, when the Apoſtle was ſet at liberty from his confinement at *Rome*. . . . That he wrote both the Goſpel and the Acts in the ſame year, ſeems very probable: as it is certain, that one of them is only to be looked upon as the ſecond part, or continuation of the other." *Jones New and Full Method, &c. Part.* 4. *ch. xvi. Vol.* 3. *p.* 158. *See him alſo ch. xi. p.* 115.

(*f*) Deinde, nec ſatis conſtat, Evangelium Lucæ jam tum editum fuiſſe, quando Paulus hanc epiſtolam ſcripſit. Nam Acta quidem Apoſtolica ſcripſiſſe videtur ſtatim poſt Evangelium, tanquam ejuſdem voluminis libros primum et ſecundum. Scripſit autem Acta poſt biennium Pauli Romæ commorantis, id eſt, multis annis poſt hanc epiſtolam. Quare circa idem tempus Evangelium ab eo ſcriptum fuiſſe, credibile eſt. *Eſt. ad* 2 *Cor. viii.* 18.

(*g*) Voluminis hujus D. Lucæ patrem poſteriorem, ſeu λόγον δεύτερον quod attinet, librum dico Actuum Apoſtolorum, haud dubium eſt . . . . quin is ſcriptus ſit ſtatim poſt λόγον πρῶτον, ſive Evangelium. *Mill. Prol. num.* 121.

(*) Sunt enim Acta δεύτερος ejuſdem operis λόγος, cujus πρῶτον λόγον ipſe ſuum agnoſcit Evangelium. Act. i. 1. *Dodw. Diſſ. Iren. i. num. xx*

(*h*) Non multum vero interjectum fuiſſe temporis inter Actorum Apoſtolicorum et Evangelii confectionem, conjectura ex præfatione ad Theophilum duci poteſt. *Primum quidem librum confeci* . . . Actuum ergo liber continuatio eſt, ſeriesque Evangelii, . . . Multum vero abiiſſe temporis antequam a priore libro omnibus numeris expleto ad poſteriorem tranſire Lucas, nulla ratione cogimur ad credendum, &c. *Baſnag. Ann.* 60. *num. xxviii.*

thing appears to me very obvious. And if so, we have gained very nearly the date of one of the four Gospels.

Grotius supposeth, that (*i*) when *Paul* left Rome, he went into *Spain*: and that at the same time *Luke* went into *Greece*, and there wrote both his Gospel and the Acts. *Jerome* supposeth, that (*k*) the book of the Acts was writ at *Rome*. But that makes no difference in point of time: since he allows, that it reaches to the end of St. *Paul*'s two years imprisonment at *Rome*.

This one consideration, so far as I am able to judge, overthrows the opinion, that St. *Luke*'s Gospel was writ about fifteen years after our Lord's ascension. Yea, it evidently shews, that it was not writ till the year 60. or afterwards.

And the beginning of St. *Luke*'s Gospel affords an argument, that the other two Gospels of St. *Matthew* and St. *Mark* were not writ sooner. For this Evangelist knew nothing of them. Consequently, they were not then writ, and published: or, but lately. Every word of his introduction shews this. Let us observe it.

Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to set forth in order a declaration of those things, which are most surely believed among us . . . . It seemed good unto me also, having had perfect understanding of all things from the very first, to write unto thee in order, most excellent Theophilus: that thou mightest know the certainty of those things, wherein thou hast been instructed.

When St. *Luke* says, that *many* had undertaken to write histories of our Saviour, he cannot mean *Matthew* alone, nor *Matthew* and *Mark* only. For they are not *many*. He must intend them, and others, or some different from them. Which last will appear most likely, if we consider what there follows.

Of those *many* he says, they *had taken in hand*, undertaken, or attempted. St. *Luke* would not have spoken thus of *Matthew*, or *Mark*. Indeed, we may suppose, that (*l*) those narrations, to which St. *Luke* refers, were not false and fabulous, nor heretical. But they were defective.

Grotius says, the (*m*) word is of a middle meaning. And that it does not necessarily imply, that the writers, here intended, had failed to perform what they undertook.

Nevertheless

(*i*) Librum autem et hunc, et qui de Actibus Apostolorum, scriptum arbitror, non multo postquam Paulus Româ abiit in Hispaniam. Nam in id tempus definit Actuum liber, qui si serius scriptus esset, in ulteriora etiam tempora narrationem protenderet. Puto autem, Româ iisse Lucam in Achaiam, atque ibi ab eo conscriptos quos habemus libros. *Grot. Pr. in Evang. Luc.*

(*k*) *See Vol. x. p.* 94. 95.

(*l*) Quod illos ait Lucas, non satis commoda præstitisse: minime tamen, spinor, fabulosas, immo etiam impias narrationes intelligens, tandem Ecclesiæ, sub Nicodemi, ... Thomæ, Ægyptiorum nominibus impudentissime obtrusas. Nec tamen hinc recte colligunt, Lucam post Matthæum et Marcum hanc suam historiam edidisse. *Bez. in Luc. cap. i. ver.* 1.

(*m*) ἐπεχείρησαν. *aggressi sunt.* Bene notavit vir eruditissimus, vocem esse mediam: neque enim ex ea colligi posse, non præstitum ab illis scriptoribus quod aggressi sunt. *Grot. in loc.*

Nevertheleſs the ancient Chriſtians, to ſeveral of whom the Greek language was natural, underſtood the word differently. And their judgements muſt be of value in this caſe. *Origen*'s obſervations upon St. *Luke*'s introduction may be ſeen. vol. iii. p. 316 . . . 319. where he ſays, " St. *Luke*'s expreſſion, *taken in hand*, implies a tacit accuſation of " thoſe, who without the gift of the Holy Ghoſt took upon them to write " Goſpels. For *Matthew*, and *Mark*, and *Luke*, and *John*, did not *take* " *in hand* to write : but being full of the Holy Ghoſt wrote Goſpels." In which words, and afterwards, continually, he diſtinguiſheth the four Evangeliſts from the writers, referred to by St. *Luke*. To the like purpoſe (*n*) *Ambroſe*, who either copied, or cloſely imitated *Origen*. And ſays *Euſebe* : " *Luke* (*o*) at the beginning aſſigns the reaſon of his writing, " declaring, that whereas many others had raſhly undertaken to compoſe " relations of the things, which were moſt firmly believed, he therefore " thought himſelf obliged, in order to divert us from the uncertain rela- " tions of others, to deliver in his Goſpel a certain account of thoſe " things of which he was fully aſſured." Which paſſage was tranſcribed by us (*p*) formerly. And *Epiphanius*, whom (*q*) I now place below, plainly affixed a diſadvantageous meaning to this word.

Beauſobre readily allows, that (*r*) we ought to follow the ancients in their interpretation of this word, and to ſuppoſe, that St. *Luke* here ſpeaks of ſome attempts, and eſſays, that had not been well executed.

This may be ſufficient to ſatisfy us, that St. *Luke* does not ſpeak of any of our Evangeliſts. Mr. (*) *Dodwell* was of the ſame opinion.

But we may have yet farther aſſurance of it by obſerving what St. *Luke* ſays of himſelf, and his own deſign. Which is to this purpoſe: " That " it had ſeemed good to him, to ſend to *Theophilus* in writing a diſtinct " and particular hiſtorie of Jeſus Chriſt : that he might better know, and " be more fully confirmed in the truth of thoſe things, in which he had " been inſtructed by word of mouth."

In my opinion, this implies a ſuppoſition, that *Theophilus* had not yet in his hands any good written hiſtorie of the words and works of Jeſus Chriſt.

Conſequently St. *Luke* at the year 62. and poſſibly ſomewhat later, did not know of St. *Matthew*'s and St. *Mark*'s Goſpels. And therefore we muſt

(*n*) *See Vol. ix. p.* 245.

(*o*) . . δηλῶν ὡς ἄρα πολλῶν καὶ ἄλλων προπετέστερον ἐπιτηδευκότων διήγησιν ποιήσασθαι ὧν αὐτὸς πεπληροφόρητο λόγῳ, κ. λ. *Euſeb. l.* 3. *c.* 24. *p.* 96. *C.*

(*p*) *Vol. viii. p.* 95.

(*q*) . . φάσκων, ἐπειδήπερ πολλοὶ ἐπεχείρησαν ἵνα τινὰς ἐπιχειρητὰς δείξῃ· φημὶ δὲ τὸς περὶ κήρινθον, καὶ μήριθον, καὶ τὸς ἄλλους. *H.* 51. *num. vii. p.* 428.

(*r*) Ce mot Grec, ἐπεχείρησαν, eſt certainement tres-equivoque, et peut fort bien ſignifier *des tentatives malheureuſes*, *des efforts qui ont mal rèuſſi*. St. Epiphane ne l'a pas entendu autrement. Origene de même, dans ſa preface ſur S. Luc. et après lui la plupart des Interprètes Grecs. Quand il s'agit de la ſignification des termes Grecs, et que les auteurs Grecs, qui les expliquent, n'ont aucun interêt à leur donner des ſens forcés, ces derniers ſemblent dignes de creance. *Beauſ. Remarques ſur Luc. ch. i. p.* 100.

(*) Ut plane alios fuiſſe neceſſe ſit evangelicæ hiſtoriæ ſcriptores a Lucæ viſos, a noſtris, quos habemus Evangeliſtis. *Diſſ. Ireu. i. num. xxxix.*

must suppose, that they were not yet writ and published, or however, but lately. For if they had been published several years, St. *Luke*, who had accompanied *Paul* in *Greece*, *Asia*, *Palestine*, and *Rome*, could not have been unacquainted with them.

This argument appears to me valid. At least I cannot discern, where it fails. It has long seemed to me a clear and obvious argument, that the Gospels of St. *Matthew* and St. *Mark* were not writ till the year 60. or afterwards. For if they had been writ sooner, they would by this time have been in the hands of St. *Luke*, and *Theophilus*, and all the faithful in general. And St. *Luke* could not have expressed himself, as he does in this introduction: nor indeed would he have writ any Gospel at all.

CHAP. V.

ST. MATTHEW, APOSTLE, and EVANGELIST.

I. *His Historie.* II. *Testimonies of ancient Writers to his Gospel.* III. *Remarks upon them, for discerning the Time of this Gospel.* IV. *Characters of Time in the Gospel itself.* V. *The Language, in which it was writ.*

I. *MATTHEW* (A) called also (B) *Levi*, son of (C) *Alpheus*, was a Publican, or (D) Toll-gatherer under the *Romans*. He was, undoubtedly, a native of *Galilee*, as the rest of Christ's Apostles were: but of what city in that countrey, or which tribe of the people of *Israel*, is not known.

As

(A) The historie of our Lord's calling this disciple is in Matth. ix. 9... 13. Mark ii. 13... 16. Luke v. 27... 32.

(B) This Evangelist, in his account of his being called by Christ, names himself *Matthew*, ch. ix. 9. But St. *Mark* and St. *Luke* in their accounts of it call him *Levi*. Mark ii. 14. Luke v. 27. & 29. This has induced *Grotius* to argue, that *Matthew* and *Levi* are different persons: though he cannot deny, that the circumstances of the historie lead us to think, one and the same person to be intended. Video omnes hodie ita existimare, hunc eundem esse, quem Marcus & Lucas Levi nominant. Et sane congruunt circumstantiæ. *Grot. ad Mat. ix.* 9. It is observable, that *Heracleon*, the *Valentinian*, as cited by *Clement* of *A. Str. l.* 4. *p.* 502. reckons among Apostles, who had not suffered martyrdom, *Matthew*, *Philip*, *Thomas*, and *Levi*. By *Levi*, probably, *Heracleon* meant *Lebbeus*, otherwise called *Thaddeus*. *Vid. Fabr. Bib. Gr. l.* 4. *cap.* 5. *T.* 3. *p.* 126. *Coteler. Annot. in Constitut. l.* 8. *cap.* 22. *Dodw. Diss. Iren. i. n.* 24. It is certain, that *Eusebe* and *Jerome* thought *Matthew* and *Levi* to be only two names of one and the same person. See in this work, vol. viii. p. 83. vol. x. p. 83. and 89. Moreover, in the catalogues of the Apostles, which are in Mark iii. 18. Luke vi. 15. Acts i. 13. is the name *Matthew*. It is likely, that *Levi* was the name, by which the Apostle was called in the former part of his life: and *Matthew* the name, by which he was best known afterwards. (*See notes* (C) *and* (D) *p.* 34.)

As he ſat at the *Receipt of Cuſtom*, by the *ſea-ſide*, in the city of *Capernaum*, or near it, *Jeſus ſaid unto him: Follow me. And he aroſe and followed him.* Which needs not to be underſtood to imply, that *Matthew* did not make up his accounts with thoſe, by whom he had been employed, and inſtructed.

Afterwards (E) he made an entertainment, at his houſe, where Jeſus was preſent, and likewiſe divers of his diſciples. And there ſat at table with them many Publicans, and others, of no very reputable character in the eye of the Phariſees, who were ſtrict in external purifications, and other like obſervances. *Matthew*, it is likely, was willing to take leave of his former acquaintance in a civil manner. He was likewiſe deſirous, that they ſhould converſe with Jeſus, hoping, that they might be taken with his diſcourſe. And Jeſus, with a view of doing good, and to ſhew, that he did not diſdain any man, made no exceptions to this deſign of his new diſciple. Nor is it unlikely, that the ends aimed at were obtained, in part at leaſt. *Matthew*'s former friends did, probably, diſcern ſomewhat extraordinarie in Jeſus, ſo far as to induce them to think, it was not unreaſonable in him to leave his former employment, for the ſake

(C) That is ſaid by St. *Mark* only ch. ii. 14. But we do not perceive who *Alpheus* was. *Tillemont* obſerves to this purpoſe, "St *Mark* gives him "the ſurname of *Alpheus*: τὸν τὸ ἀλφαίου. Which may have been the name "of his father. This has given occaſion to ſome of the ancients, and to all "the modern Greeks, to ſay, that *James* the ſon of *Alpheus* was his brother: "though it be entirely deſtitute of all probability. Quoiqu'il n'y ait en "cela aucune apparence." *Tillem. S. Matt. init. Mem. T. i.*

Dr. *Doddridge*, Family Expoſitor. Sect. 44. Vol. i. p. 280. ſays roundly, "that *Matthew*, otherwiſe called *Levi*, was the ſon of *Alpheus*, and the brother "of *James*. Comp. Mark iii. 18. Luke vi. 15. Acts i. 13." But I do not think thoſe texts can afford ſufficient proof, that *Matthew*, and *James* the ſon of *Alpheus*, had the ſame father, and were brothers. If that had been the caſe, their relation to each other would have been hinted, or plainly declared in the Goſpels.

I do not love bold conjectures in others, and would not indulge myſelf in them. But I ſuſpect, that theſe words in Mark ii. 14. *ſon of Alpheus*, τὸν τὸ ἀλφαίου, are an interpolation, ſome how or other, undeſignedly, and accidentally inſerted in that place. What is truly ſaid of *James*, has been alſo applied to *Matthew*. The curious may do well to conſider, whether this conjecture be not countenanced by the ſingularity of the thing, ſaid no where elſe, and by the various readings of that text, which may be ſeen in *Beza*, *Mill*, and *Wetſtein*.

(D) "His office ſeems more particularly to have conſiſted in gathering the "cuſtoms of commodities, that came by the ſea of *Galilee*, and the tribute, "which paſſengers were to pay, that went by water." *Cave's Lives of the Apoſtles*, *p.* 177.

(E) That this entertainment was not made by *Matthew* on the very day that Chriſt called him to attend on him, is argued by Mr. *Jones* in his Vindication of the former part of *St. Matthew*'s Goſpel, p. 129... 137. and by Dr. *Doddridge*, Family Expoſitor, Vol. i. ſect. LXXI. note (*a*), who ſays: "It "is certain, the feaſt was after the day of his calling, perhaps, ſome months "after: when he had made up his accompts, and regularly paſſed his buſineſs "into other hands: which, to be ſure, from a principle of juſtice, as well as "prudence, he would take care to do."

ſake of the companie of Jeſus, and the advantages, which in time he might receive from him. The Phariſees made reflections. But our Lord vindicated himſelf. And all the three Evangeliſts have recorded this inſtance of our Lord's amiable familiarity and condeſcenſion, which is one of the diſtinctions of his ſhining character. And it is a proof, that at the time of their writing, ſeverally, their Goſpels, they were molded into the temper and principles of him, whoſe hiſtorie they wrote.

Jeſus now called *Matthew* to be with him, to be a witneſſe of his words and works, and he put him into the number of his Apoſtles. Thenceforward he continued with the Lord Jeſus. And after his aſcenſion, he was at *Jeruſalem*, and partook of the gift of the Holy Ghoſt, with the other Apoſtles. Together with them he bore teſtimonie to the reſurrection of Jeſus: and, as may be ſuppoſed, preached for ſome while at *Jeruſalem*, and in the ſeveral parts of *Judea*, confirming his doctrine with miracles, which God enabled him to perform in the name of Jeſus.

In his own catalogue of the twelve Apoſtles, ch. x. he is the eighth in order. In St. *Mark*'s ch. iii. and St. *Luke*'s ch. vi. he is the ſeventh. He is alſo named in the eighth place, Acts i. 13. Nor is there any particular account in the Goſpels of the call of any of the Apoſtles, except his, and four other, *Andrew* and *Peter*, and the two ſons of *Zebedee*, who were called before (F).

Clement of *Alexandria* ſays, that (*a*) the Apoſtle *Matthew* uſed a very ſparing diet, eating no fleſh, but only vegetables. But, perhaps, this is ſaid upon the ground only of ſome uncertain tradition, not well atteſted.

Socrates, in the fifth centurie, ſays, that (*b*) when the Apoſtles went abroad to preach to the Gentiles, *Thomas* took *Parthia* for his lot, *Matthew Ethiopia*, and *Bartholomew India*. And it is now a common opinion, that *Matthew* (*c*) died a Martyr in *Ethiopia*, in a city called *Nadabbar*, or *Naddaver*: but by what kind of death, is altogether uncertain. However, ſome others ſpeak of his preaching, and dying in *Parthia*, or *Perſia*. And the diverſity of thoſe accounts ſeems to ſhew, that they all are without good foundation.

I think, it may be of uſe to take here at length a paſſage of *Euſebe*, at the beginning of the third book of his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorie, after having in the preceding book ſpoken of the many calamities in *Judea*, when the war was juſt breaking out. "This," ſays he, "was the ſtate of things with "the Jews. But the holy Apoſtles and Diſciples of our Saviour being "diſperſed abroad, preached in the whole world. *Thomas*, as we learn "by

(F) St. *John* ſays ch. i. 43. *The day following, Jeſus would go forth into Galilee, and findeth Philip, and ſaith unto him: Follow me.* If *Philip* was then called by our Lord to be an Apoſtle, he ought to be added to the others above named.

(*a*) Ματθαίῳ μὲν ἦν ὁ ἀπόστολος σπερμάτων, καὶ ἀκροδρύων, καὶ λαχάνων, ἄνευ ζώων μετελάμβανεν. *Clem. Paed. l. 2. p. 148. D.*

(*b*) Ἡνίκα οἱ ἀπόστολοι κλήρῳ τὴν εἰς τὰ ἔθνη πορείαν ἐποιοῦντο, Θωμᾶς μὲν τὴν Παρθυαίων ἀποστολὴν ὑπεδέξατο· Ματθαῖος δὲ Αἰθιοπίαν, κ. λ. *Socr. H. E. l. 1. c. 19.*

(*c*) *See Cave's Lives of the Apoſtles, and his Hiſt. Lit.*

" by tradition, had *Parthia* for his lot, *Andrew Scythia*, *John Asia*. Who " having lived there a long time died at *Ephesus*. *Peter*, as it seems, " preached to the dispersed Jews in *Pontus* and *Galatia*, *Bithynia*, *Cappa-* " *docia*, and *Asia*. At length coming to *Rome*, he was crucified, with " his head downward, as he had desired. What need I to speak of *Paul*, " who fully preached the gospel of Christ from *Jerusalem* to *Illyricum*, " and at last died a Martyr at *Rome*, in the time of *Nero*? So says *Origen* " expressly in the third tome of his Expositions of the book of Genesis."

Thus writes our Ecclesiastical Historian. But, as *Valesius* observes, it (*d*) is not easie to determine exactly, where the quotation from *Origen* begins.

However, from this passage, as it seems, we may conclude, that at the begining of the fourth centurie, there were not any certain and well attested accounts of the places, out of *Judea*, in which many of the Apostles of Christ preached. For if there had, *Eusebe* must have been acquainted with them. In particular we may hence infer, as I apprehend, that there was no certain account, whither *Matthew* went, when he left *Judea*. For there is no notice taken of him in this passage. Nor does *Jerome* in his article of St. *Matthew*, in his book of Illustrious Men, formerly (*e*) transcribed at large, take any notice of the countreys, in which he preached. Nor do I recollect, that in any other of his genuine works he has said any thing of the travels of this Apostle.

Heracleon, a learned *Valentinian*, in the second centurie, as cited by *Clement* of *Alexandria*, reckons (*f*) *Matthew* among those Apostles, who did not dye by martyrdom. Nor does *Clement* contradict him.

It is also observable, that (*g*) *Chrysostom* has a commendation of *Matthew*, consisting of divers articles: his humility, mercifulness or liberality, piety, general benevolence, writing a Gospel, finally, fortitude, inasmuch as *he came from the presence of the Council rejoycing:* referring, I suppose, to Acts v. 41. But says nothing of his martyrdom. Which may induce us to think, that there was not any tradition about it among Christians at that time, or that it was not much regarded.

Testimonies to his Gospel.

II. Having thus given the historie of this Apostle, I proceed to the consideration of his Gospel, one of the universally acknowledged books of the New Testament. Two things principally are to be the subjects of our inquirie, the time of writing it, and the language in which it was writ. And I propose to recite here briefly all, or most of the authors, that have been largely quoted, in the former volumes, so far as relates to those two particulars.

Papias, Bp. of *Hierapolis*, about A. D. 116. by some supposed to have been acquainted with *John* the Apostle, by others with *John* the Elder only, in his five books, entitled Explications of the Oracles of the Lord, which

(*d*) Cum Eusebius hic dicat, superiora ex libro tertio Explanationum Origenis in Genesim esse desumta, dubitari merito potest, unde incipiant Origenis verba, &c. *Vales. Annot.* 3. *cap.* 1.

(*e*) *Vol.* x. *p.* 89. 90.

(*f*) Οὐ γὰρ πάντες οἱ σωζόμενοι ὡμολόγησαν τὴν διὰ τῆς φωνῆς ὁμολογίαν, καὶ ἐξῆλθον ἐξ ὧν ματθαῖος, φίλιππος, θωμᾶς, λεὶς, καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοί. *Clem. Str. l.* 4. 502. *B.*

(*g*) *In Matth. hom.* 48. *al.* 49. *T.* 7. *p.* 491.

which seem to have been collections of ancient stories and traditions, makes (*h*) express mention of *Matthew*'s Gospel, and says, that he wrote the Divine Oracles in the *Hebrew* tongue.

Irenaeus, Bishop of *Lyons*, about the year 178, who was born in *Asia*, and in his youth was acquainted with *Polycarp*, disciple of St. *John*, says: "*Matthew* (*i*) then among the Jews wrote a gospel in their own language, "while *Peter* and *Paul* were preaching the gospel at *Rome*, and found- "ing [or establishing] the church there. And after their exit, [that is, "death, or departure] *Mark* also, the disciple and interpreter of *Peter*, "delivered to us in writing the things that had been preached by *Peter*. "And *Luke*, the companion of *Paul*, put down in a book the gospel "preached by him. Afterwards *John*, the disciple of the Lord, who "leaned upon his breast, likewise published a Gospel, whilst he dwelt at "*Ephesus*, in *Asia*." In another place he says, "the (*k*) Gospel accord- "ing to *Matthew* was delivered to the Jews."

Origen, about 230. says, "that (*l*) according to the tradition received "by him, the first Gospel was written by *Matthew*, once a Publican, "afterwards a Disciple of Jesus Christ: who delivered it to the Jewish "believers, composed in the *Hebrew* language." And in another place he says, "that (*m*) *Matthew* wrote for the *Hebrews*."

Says *Eusebe*, about 315, "*Matthew* (*n*) having first preached to the "*Hebrews*, when he was about to go to other people, delivered to them "in their own language the Gospel according to him, by that writing "supplying the want of his presence with those whom he was leaving."

Athanasius, in his Festal Epistle (*o*) does not say, where, or in what lan- "guage, *Matthew* wrote. But in the Synopsis, ascribed to him, it is said "that (*p*) *Matthew* wrote his Gospel in *Hebrew*, and published it at *Jeru- salem*."

Cyril of *Jerusalem* says, "that (*q*) *Matthew* wrote in *Hebrew*."

Epiphanius likewise says, "that (*r*) *Matthew* wrote in *Hebrew*." And afterwards, "*Matthew* (*s*) wrote first, and *Mark* soon after him, being a follower of *Peter* at *Rome*." If *Mark* did not write till after *Peter* came to *Rome*, and *Matthew* but a little before him; it follows, that *Matthew*'s Gospel was not writ so soon, as many later writers have supposed.

Gregorie Nazianzen, in his catalogue, says, "that (*t*) *Matthew* wrote "for the *Hebrews*."

And *Ebedjesu*, "that (*u*) *Matthew*, the first Evangelist, published his "Gospel in *Palestine*, writ in *Hebrew*."

Theodore

(*h*) *See of this work, Vol. i. p. 242. the second edition.*

(*i*) Ὁ μὲν δὴ ματθαῖος ἐν τοῖς ἑβραίοις τῇ αὐτῶν διαλέκτῳ καὶ γραφὴν ἐξήνεγκεν εὐαγγελίου, τῶν πέτρου καὶ παύλου ἐν ῥώμῃ εὐαγγελιζομένων καὶ θεμελιούντων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. κ. λ. *Adv. Haer. l. 3. cap. i. Et ap. Euseb. l. 5. c. 8. And in this work Vol. i. p. 353.*

(*k*) *See Vol. i. p. 356.*
(*l*) *Vol. iii. p. 235.*
(*m*) *P. 278.*
(*n*) *Vol. viii. p. 92. See also p. 177.*
(*o*) *Vol. viii. p. 227.*
(*p*) *P. 249.*
(*q*) *P. 271.*
(*r*) *P. 304. and 305.*
(*s*) Εὐθὺς δὲ μετὰ τὸν ματθαῖον ἀπόλυθος γενόμενος ὁ μάρκος, τῷ ἁγίῳ πέτρῳ ἐν ῥώμῃ. *Citat. ib. p. 305.*
(*t*) *Vol. ix. p. 133. Comp. p. 134.*
(*u*) *P. 216.*

Theodore of *Mopſueſtia* ſays, "that (*x*) for a good while the Apoſtles "preached chiefly to *Jews* in *Judea*. Afterwards Providence made way "for conducting them to remote countreys. *Peter* went to *Rome*, the "reſt elſewhere; *John*, in particular, took up his abode at *Epheſus* ..... "About this time the other Evangeliſts, *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke*, pub- "liſhed their Goſpels, which were ſoon ſpread all over the world." This ſuppoſeth a late date of the Goſpels, as was argued vol. ix. p. 405, that is, after the beginning of *Nero*'s reign, when *Peter* went to *Rome*, and not long before the war in *Judea* which broke out in 66. about which time *John* left that countrey, and ſettled at *Epheſus*.

Says *Jerome* in the prologue to his Commentarie upon St. *Matthew*: "The (*y*) firſt Evangeliſt is *Matthew*, the Publican, ſurnamed *Levi*, who "wrote his Goſpel in *Judea* in the *Hebrew* language, chiefly for the "ſake of the *Jews* that believed in Jeſus, and did not joyn the ſhadow of "the law with the truth of the goſpel." To the like purpoſe in the article of St. *Matthew*, in his book of Eccleſiaſtical Writers: "*Matthew* "(*z*) called alſo *Levi*, of a Publican made an Apoſtle, firſt of all wrote a "Goſpel in *Judea* in the *Hebrew* language, for the ſake of thoſe of the "circumciſion, who believed." Who afterwards tranſlated it into *Greek* is uncertain.

Chryſoſtom in the introduction to his homilies upon the Goſpel: "*Mat-* "*thew* (*a*) is ſaid to have writ his Goſpel at the requeſt of the Jewiſh be- "lievers, who deſired him to put down in writing what he had taught "them by word of mouth. And he is ſaid to have writ in *Hebrew*." He ſpeaks with heſitation, and is not poſitive about the occaſion of writing this Goſpel, or the language, in which it was writ. Afterwards he ſays: "In (*b*) what place each one of the Evangeliſts wrote, cannot be ſaid with "certainty."

Coſmas of *Alexandria*, about the year 535, ſays: "*Matthew* (*c*) is the "firſt Evangeliſt, that wrote a Goſpel. There being a perſecution, "when *Stephen* was ſtoned, and he alſo being about to go from that place, "the believers entreated him to leave with them a written inſtruction, "with which requeſt he complied." And what follows.

The Author of the Imperfect Work upon St. *Matthew*, in the ſixth centurie, about the year 560, obſerves to this purpoſe: "The (*d*) occa- "ſion of *Matthew*'s writing is ſaid to be this. There being a great Per- "ſecution in *Paleſtine*, ſo that there was danger, leaſt all the faithful "ſhould be diſperſed: that they might not be without teaching, though "they ſhould have no teachers, they requeſted *Matthew* to write for them "a hiſtorie of all Chriſt's words and works, that wherever they ſhould "be, they might have with them the ground of their faith." This writer does not ſay, that this was the perſecution, that aroſe about the time of the death of *Stephen*. He ſeems to ſpeak of a later, and more general perſecution and diſperſion, ſuch as may be well ſuppoſed to have been in *Judea*, near the war in 66. When moſt, or all the Apoſtles, and many of the Jewiſh believers, removed, and were diſperſed into other countreys.

In

(*x*) *P.* 403.
(*z*) *P.* 89.
(*b*) *P.* 316.
(*d*) *P.* 327. 328.
(*y*) *Vol. x. p.* 83.
(*a*) *P.* 315.
(*c*) *Vol. xi. p.* 266.

In the Paschal Chronicle, a work composed in the seventh centurie, as formerly cited, it is intimated, that (e) St. *Matthew* published his Gospel in *Palestine*, about fifteen Years after our Lord's ascension, and soon after the council of *Jerusalem*, of which an account is given Acts xv.

And, to draw to a conclusion of this list of writers, *Theophylact*, in the eleventh centurie, says: "*Matthew then* (f) first wrote a Gospel in the "*Hebrew* language, for the sake of the *Hebrew* believers, eight years after "our Saviour's ascension."

Euthymius in the beginning of the twelfth centurie: "That (g) *Mat-*"*thew*'s Gospel was the first, and writ in *Judea*, in *Hebrew*, for the Jewish "believers, eight years after our Lord's ascension."

Nicephorus Callisti, in the fourteenth centurie, says: "*Matthew* (h) "having preached the saving word to the Jews, when he was about to go "abroad to the Gentils, thought it best to write in his native language an "account of his preaching, to supply the want of his presence. Which "he did at about fifteen years after our Saviour's ascension."

III. Who now of all these writers deserves the greatest regard? *Irenaeus*, I think, as being the most ancient. And with him agree *Epiphanius*, *Theodore* of *Mopsuestia*, and the Author of the Imperfect Work, as it seems. Nor is he contradicted by *Eusebius* of *Cesarea*, so far as I can (i) perceive. He says, "that when *Matthew* was about "to go to other people, he delivered his Gospel to the *Hebrews* in their "own language." But he does not say in his Ecclesiastical History, nor any where else, when this Apostle left *Judea*. Some (k) may have understood him to mean about eight years after our Saviour's ascension, and others about fifteen years after it, as *Nicephorus*, and perhaps the Paschal Chronicle. But himself has not expressly mentioned the time. And he may have been undetermined in his mind about the time, when *Matthew* left *Judea*. Moreover, he has inserted (l) in his Ecclesiastical History the passage of *Irenaeus* above quoted, upon which we insist. And a late date of the Gospels is agreeable to his own, and others observations, before taken notice of, that the Apostles of Christ did not write many books, and were not very forward to write, but as they were compelled by a kind of necessity. *Remarks.*

There are divers learned moderns of good judgment in these matters, who pay a great regard to this testimonie of *Irenaeus*, particularly, (m) *Fabricius*, (n) *Mill*, (o) *S. Basnage*, and before them (p) *Martin Chemnitius*.

Mill

(e) *See Vol. viii. p.* 178.
(f) *Vol. xi. p.* 419. 420.
(g) *P.* 435.
(h) *P.* 442.
(i) *See Vol. viii. p.* 177 . . . 179.
(k) *See Vol. viii. p.* 176. *&c.*
(l) *L.* 5. *cap.* 8. *p.* 172. *C.*
(m) De tempore, quando scripserit, cui potius fidem habeamus, quam S. Irenaeo, temporibus illis proximo, qui tradit eum edidisse Evangelium, τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ παύλῳ ἐν ῥώμῃ εὐαγγελιζομένων καὶ θεμελιούντων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. *Bib. Gr. L.* 4. *c.* 5. *T.* 3. *p.* 126.
(n) *Prolegom. num.* 61.
(o) *A.* 64. *n.* xii.
(p) *Examen Concil. Trid. p.* 16.

Mill ſuppoſed it to be highly probable, that (*q*) *Irenæus* had this account from *Papias*. *Le Clerc* (*r*) likewiſe ſeems to have thought, that *Irenaeus* found this in the five books of *Papias*. But that is only conjecture. *Euſebe* quoting *Papias* obſerves, that he ſaid, *Matthew* wrote in *Hebrew*. But he does not ſay, that *Papias* mentioned the time of writing his Goſpel. However, it was the opinion of *Irenaeus*. And it may be reckoned not improbable, that he had a tradition to that purpoſe, which he relied upon as right. For he ſpeaks of it without heſitation. It might be derived from ſeveral, one of whom was *Papias*.

Irenaeus ſays, that "*Matthew* publiſhed his Goſpel, when *Peter* and "*Paul* were preaching at *Rome*:" that is, ſays (*s*) *Mill*, in the year 61. "For, adds he, I underſtand him of the firſt time, that *Paul* was at *Rome*." But if *Irenaeus* ſays right, it muſt have been at the ſecond time that *Paul* was at *Rome*. For we have no reaſon to believe, that *Peter* was at all in that city, when *Paul* was ſent thither by *Feſtus*. But, very probably, *Peter* and *Paul* were there together afterwards, and ſuffered martyrdom there, about the ſame time. That is the ſeaſon, to which we ſhould be led for fixing the writing of St. *Matthew*'s Goſpel, if *Irenaeus* may be relied upon. Accordingly *Baſnage* (*t*) in his Annals ſpeaks of St. *Matthew*'s Goſpel at the year 64. And though, as he ſays, he does not know the year, nor the place, where St. *Matthew*'s Goſpel was publiſhed, yet he expreſſeth himſelf, as if he was inclined to think, it was not writ, till *Nero*'s reign was ſomewhat advanced, in the year 64. or 65. the time of that Emperour's perſecution of the Chriſtians.

Other learned men are for an earlier date. Whoſe opinions alſo, undoubtedly, ought to be taken notice of, and conſidered by us.

Cave thought, that (*u*) St. *Matthew*'s Goſpel was writ about the fifteenth

(*q*) Tamen Irenaeus l. 3. c. i, expreſſe dicit, ex auctoritate Papiae, nullus dubito, qui παράδοσιν hanc a Joanne Preſbytero, Apoſtolorum familiari, acceperat, Mattheum Evangelium ſuum edidiſſe, *cum Petrus et Paulus evangelizarent Romae, et fundarent eccleſiam. Prolog. num.* 61.

(*r*) *Vid. Diſſ. de iv. Evan. ſub init.*

(*s*) Atque hoc ipſo quidem anno LXI. prodiiſſe videtur Evangelium Matthaei... Ego quidem de priori adventu intelligendum Irenaeum omnino arbitror. *Ib. num*, 61, 62.

(*t*) Quo tempore Petrus Pauluſque Romæ operam dabant evangelio, Matthaeus, ſi creditur Irenaeo, Evangelium exaravit ſuum... Annum tamen perinde atque locum, ubi a Matthaeo conditum eſt, in incerto eſſe, facile patimur... Nos nonniſi Nerone rerum domino editum fuiſſe, perſuaſum habemus, etſi de anno locove divinare non poſſumus. Nulla tamen ſe magis veri ſpecie commendat chronologia, quam illa Irenaei: quod nempe Paulo et Petro Romanos inſtituentibus, ſcribendo Matthaeus operam dederit: ut Eccleſiae aliquid monumenti eſſet, quo ob ortum ex perſecutione Neronis dolorem leniret, ſanctorumque Apoſtolorum eo fluctu oppreſſorum faciem in Evangelio videre ſibi videtur Eccleſia. *Baſn. Ann.* 64. *n. xii.*

(*u*) Scripſiſſe Evangelium ſuum viii. a Chriſti reſurrectione anno vulgo dicitur. Quod tamen ad annum a Chriſti aſſumtione 15. referunt auctor Chr. A. et Nicephorus. Et ſane eum ante annum a paſſione Chriſti 12. Apoſtolis Judaeae finibus egredi non licuit, vix ante ann. 15. Chr. 48. finita ſynodo Hieroſolymitana, ad ſuam quiſque ſortem abierunt, adeo ut paullo ante Matthaeus Evangelium ſuum condidiſſe videtur. *H. L. in Matthaeo, p.* 13.

teenth year after our Saviour's aſcenſion, in the year 48. a ſhort time before the council of *Jeruſalem*, or ſoon after it.

Baronius was of opinion, that (*x*) this Goſpel was publiſhed in the year 41. ſoon after that *Peter* had begun to preach to Gentils at the houſe of *Cornelius* in *Ceſarea*.

Grotius (*y*) and *G. I. Voſſius* (*z*) were likewiſe of opinion, that St. *Matthew's* Goſpel was writ about eight years after Chriſt's aſcenſion.

Tillemont argues, "That (*a*) St. *Matthew* wrote his Goſpel about three years after the crucifixion of Chriſt. For it muſt have been writ before the Apoſtles left *Judea*. The time of their going abroad, as he owns, is uncertain. But it muſt have been about the year 36. foraſmuch as it appears, that in the year 37. when *Paul* came to *Jeruſalem*, there were no other Apoſtles there, beſide *Peter*, and *James* the Leſs." But that argument is of no value. For the Apoſtles might be all at *Jeruſalem*, or in it's neighbourhood, though *Paul* ſaw none, beſide the two juſt mentioned.

Mr. *Jones* earneſtly contends, that (*b*) this Goſpel was writ about eight years after our Lord's aſcenſion, in the year 41. But I do not think it needful to take any farther notice of his arguments, than has been done (*c*) already.

Mr. *Wetſtein* has lately declared in favour of the ſame opinion. "And "(*d*) hence, ſays he, we diſcern the reaſon, why this Evangeliſt has in"ſerted ſo many diſcourſes about the Jewiſh ſuperſtitions: which could "be of little or no uſe to other people, and among other nations, when "the temple was once deſtroyed, or was near being deſtroyed." But I am not able to diſcern any force in that way of reaſoning, becauſe I perceive not any ſuperfluities in this, or any of the Evangeliſts. Our Lord's reproofs of Jewiſh ſuperſtitions, his declarations of the ſuperiority of moral virtue, or righteouſneſſe and true holineſſe, above the righteouſneſſe of the Scribes and Phariſees, his cenſures of the pride and covetouſneſſe, falſe maxims, and hypocritical conduct

(*x*) *Baron. Ann.* 41. *num. ix. xvi.*

(*y*) *Grot. Pr. ad Matth.*

(*z*) Si quidem Matthæus in Paleſtina ſcribebat, idque intra proximum a paſſione Chriſti octennium. *Voſſ. de Gen. J. C. cap.* 4. §. *ii.*

(*a*) Il ſemble meſme neceſſaire de dire, que S. Matthieu a écrit trois ans ſeulement après la mort de J. C. . . Le temps de cette diviſion des Apotres eſt incertain. Il ſemble neanmoins, que ç'a été vers l'an 36. puiſqu'il paroiſt, qu'il n'y avoit aucun Apoſtre à Jeruſalem, lorſque S. Paul vint en 37. hors S. Pierre, & S. Jacque le mineur. *S. Matthieu. Mem. T. i.*

(*b*) *New and full Method. &c. Vol. iii. ch. v. p.* 59. . . 64.

(*c*) *See Vol. viii. p.* 176. . . 179.

(*d*) Magno conſenſu perhibent Patres, Matthæum in gratiam credentium ex Judæis in Palæſtina Evangelium ſuum exſcripſiſſe, et quidem, ut multi addunt, Hieroſolymis, octavo poſt aſcenſionem Chriſti anno, qui Claudii Imperatoris primus fuit. Cur illorum teſtimonium in dubium vocetur, cauſam non video: quin iſta hypotheſi admiſſa, plurima non infeliciter exiſtimo explicari poſſe, quorum aliter ratio vix invenitur. Hinc enim intelligimus, cur Matthæus primum in ordine Evangeliſtarum occupet locum, quia nimirum primus omnium ſcripſit: cur item tam multas de Judæorum ſuperſtitionibus referat diſputationes, quibus apud alias nationes, vel templo jam everſo, vel paulo poſt evertendo, locus vix fuiſſet. *Wetſt. N. T. Tom. i. p.* 223.

duct of the same men, will be useful to all people, so long as the world stands. As our Lord was a Jew, and his ministrie was employed among those people in *Judea*; it is no wonder, that in his discourses, recorded by St. *Matthew*, whenever he wrote, there should be frequent allusions to their laws, customs, and worship. The like (*e*) are in the other two first Evangelists. And in St. *John*'s Gospel, the last of the four, are as long discourses with the cavilling Jews, as in any of the rest.

I therefore readily assent to those, who think, that this Gospel was written in the time of the Emperour *Nero*, not till about thirty years after our Saviour's ascension. I am not able to assign the year, in which it was written. But I am somewhat inclined to the year 63. 64. or 65. of the vulgar epoch. This is agreeable not only to the testimonie of *Irenaeus*, and some other ancients, but to the circumstances of things. At the year 64. or thereabout, the gospel had been propagated in many Gentil countreys, the times were troublesome in *Judea*, and the war was coming on. Several of the Apostles were dead, others of them, who survived, were gone, or going abroad, and many of the Jewish believers were about to seek shelter elsewhere. Now was a proper time, to write a historie of Christ and his miracles. Moreover in this Gospel are recorded divers plain predictions of the miseries and desolations of *Jerusalem*, and the overthrow of the temple, and the Jewish state, beside many other figurative intimations of the same things in many of our Lord's discourses and parables. Which could not be well published to all the world in writing till about this time. The suitableness of St. *Matthew*'s Gospel to the state of the Christian Religion, and of the Jewish people, about the year 64. or 65. leads to that time. And however unwillingly, from private apprehensions and prejudices, we may admit the thought of protracting so long the writing the historie of our Lord's ministrie; the circumstances of things will constrain us to acquiesce in this season, as the most likely.

Marks of Time in this Gospel.

IV. This leads me now to observe some characters of time in the Gospel itself.

It is well known, and allowed by all, that (*f*) for a while our Lord's disciples labored under Jewish prejudices: and that they did not fully understand all his discourses, at the time when they were spoken. They did not, they could not, clearly discern the comprehensive design of the evangelical dispensation, till after *Peter* had been at the house of *Cornelius*, and there received into the church Gentil converts, without circumcision: nor till after the Gospel had been preached abroad in foreign countreys by *Paul*, and other Apostles, and ministers. Let us

(*e*) When Mr. *Wetstein* speaks of *the many discourses about Jewish superstitions*, which are in St. *Matthew*'s Gospel: I imagine, he may particularly refer to Matt. xxiii. 1. . . 30. Nevertheless divers of those things occur also in the Gospels of St. *Mark* and St. *Luke*. See Mark xii. 38. . . 40. Luke xi. 42. . . 52. and xx. 46. 47. And both *Mark* viii. 14. . . 21. and *Luke* xii. 1. 2. have recorded our Lord's injunctions, *to beware of the leaven of the Pharisees, and Sadducees, or Herodians*, as well as *Matthew* xvi. 6. . . 12. Not now to mention any other like things.

(*f*) There are many proofs of this in the Gospels. See particularly John xvi. 7. . . 14. and likewise the historie in the Acts. ch. x.

us therefore now obſerve the book itſelf of St. *Matthew*, and ſee what knowledge he appears to have had of the ſcheme of the goſpel.

1. His account of the commiſſion, which our Lord gave to the twelve Apoſtles is in ch. xxviii. 19. *Go ye therefore into all the world, and teach all nations.* *Matthew* did not then think, that the Apoſtles of Jeſus were to teach Jews only, but that they were required to teach all people, and all nations in general.

2. I ſuppoſe, that he fully underſtood our Lord's doctrine, when he recorded that ſummarie account of it, which is in the fifth, ſixth, and ſeventh chapters of his Goſpel. The beatitudes, at the beginning, are a proof of it. And at the concluſion, they who *heard and did thoſe ſayings*, are compared to *a man that built his houſe upon a rock:* though there had been nothing ſaid to enforce the rituals of the Moſaic law.

3. And that he well underſtood the ſpirituality, and the freedom of the goſpel, appears from what he has recorded ch. xv. 10. . . 20.

4. His clear diſcernment of the deſign of the goſpel-diſpenſation appears even in his account of our Saviour's nativity, particularly, in what he ſays, ch. i. 21, of the meſſage of the angel to *Joſeph*. *And thou ſhalt call his name Jeſus. For he ſhall ſave his people from their ſins.*

5. If he had not known, that our Saviour was deſigned to be, or was already become a bleſſing to Gentils, he would ſcarcely have thought of inſerting the hiſtorie of the Magians coming from the Eaſt to *Jeruſalem*, to inquire after the birth of the King of the Jews. chap. ii.

6. It is alſo very likely, that he underſtood thoſe words of *John* the Baptiſt, recorded by him, ch. iii. 9. *God is able of theſe ſtones to raiſe up children to Abraham.*

7. St. *Matthew*'s knowledge of the calling of the Gentils, and the rejection of the Jews, may be concluded from many things recorded by him. In the hiſtorie of our Lord's healing the Centurion's ſervant at *Capernaum* he inſerts our Lord's commendation of his faith, and that declaration: *Many ſhall come from the Eaſt and the Weſt, and ſit down with Abraham, and Iſaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven: but the children of the kingdom ſhall be caſt out.* ch. viii. 10. . . 12.

8. The admiſſion of the Gentils to equal privileges with the Jews muſt be intimated in the parable of the laborers hired into the vineyard at ſeveral hours of the day. ch. xx. 1. . . 16.

9. The calling and acceptance of the Gentils, and the rejection of the Jewiſh People, and even their overthrow, are plainly declared in the parable of the vineyard, let out to huſbandmen, and the diſcourſe, which follows. xxi. 33. . . 46. The ſame things are intimated in the parable of the King that made a wedding-feaſt for his ſon, which is at the beginning of the next chapter. xxii. 1. . . 14.

10. I might likewiſe take notice of the hiſtorie of our Lord's curing the daughter of the woman of *Canaan*. ch. xv. 21. . . 28.

11. It is alſo very likely, that St. *Matthew* had ſome good knowledge, and a diſtinct apprehenſion of the extent of our Lord's kingdom, and the progreſſe of his doctrine, when he recorded thoſe parables in the thirteenth chapter of his Goſpel: where our Lord has compared the kingdom of heaven, or the preaching his goſpel, to a grain of muſtard-ſeed, the leaſt of all ſeeds, but becomes a tree: to leaven, by which a large lump

lump is leavened: to a net, that was caſt into the ſea, and gathered every kind. And, explaining the parable of the tares, our Lord ſays ver. 37. 38. *He that ſoweth the good ſeed is the Son of Man. The field the world.* And what follows.

12. It is probable, that this Evangeliſt had ſome knowledge of th goſpel having been preached out of Judea, when he put down that decla ration of our Lord concerning the woman, that poured the rich oin ment upon his head: *Whereſoever the goſpel ſhall be preached in the whe world, there ſhall this alſo, that this woman has done, be told for a memorial her.* ch. xxvi. 13.

13. In his account of the inſtitution of the euchariſt. ch. xxvi. 2 our Lord ſays: *This is my blood of the New Teſtament, which is ſhed f many*, that is, for all men, *for the remiſſion of their ſins.* And in ch. xx 28. our Lord ſays: *The Son of Man came . . . to give his life a ranſom f many.*

14. There is alſo an expreſſion uſed by him once or twice, intimating that it was ſome conſiderable ſpace, ſince the time of the event and h writing about it. ch. xxviii. 8. *Wherefore that field was called the field blood to this day.* Having related the affair of the ſoldiers, and the direc tions given to them by the Jewiſh Council to ſay, that *his diſciples can by night, and ſtole him away*, he adds: *And this ſaying is commonly reporte among the Jews until this day.* ver. 15. Such an expreſſion does not de note any certain period. But one would think, that, in this caſe, there by muſt be intended a conſiderable ſpace of time, more than eight, or ten or fifteen years.

15. I formerly (*g*) ſhewed divers advantages of the late publicatio of the Goſpels. The life of Jeſus could not be forgotten in thirty, o forty years. His life and death were very public, as well as very extra ordinarie. His reſurrection and aſcenſion were moſt publicly atteſted b his Apoſtles, and others, as we know from the book of the Acts. An from that time forward there were many, who were continually ſpeakin of the things ſaid and done by him, and of the evidences of his reſurrec tion and exaltation. They were ſoon known to multitudes of people ſmall and great, and men of all ranks and characters. As St. *Paul* ſay to *Feſtus*, in a very great aſſemblie. Acts xxvi. 36. *For the King know eth of theſe things, before whom alſo I ſpeak freely. For I am perſuaded, tha none of theſe things are hidden from him. For this thing was not done in corner.* And was it not the cry at *Theſſalonica?* Acts xvii. 6. *Thes that have turned the world upſide down, are come hither alſo.* The accoun of St. *Paul*'s manner of living at *Rome*, about the years 61. and 62. is that *he dwelled two whole years in his own hired houſe, and received all tha came in unto him, . . . teaching thoſe things, which concern the Lord Jeſu Chriſt.* Acts xxviii. 30. 31. Whilſt there were men, who at the hazar of their lives taught, and others that embraced, the things concerning th Lord Jeſus, they could not be forgotten. And if about thirty years afte our Lord's aſcenſion, his hiſtorie was writ by eye-witneſſes, or thei companions, it was ſoon enough. Yea, it was the fitteſt time of all At the year ſixty of our Lord's nativity, according to the vulgar æra an

(*g*) *See Vol. viii. p.* 124. . . 137.

nd later, there certainly were enough of ſuch perſons, as thoſe juſt men-
ioned, ſtill living, to record his words and works, and more, who were
illing, and deſirous to read written hiſtories of him, than before: and
lſo more to tranſcribe and copy out thoſe hiſtories for their own uſe,
nd for the uſe and benefit of others, than in any preceding time.

V. It remains, that we conſider, in what language this Goſpel was writ: becauſe many of the ancients, whoſe teſtimonies have been lately recited, though they allow the other Goſpels to have been writ in *Greek*, have delivered it as their opinion, that this Goſpel was writ in *Hebrew*. *It's Original Language.*

Of this I have already ſpoke ſeveral times, particularly, in the chapter of (*h*) *Papias*, and in the chapter of (*i*) *Origen*, and (*k*) of *Euſebius* of *Cæſarea*: where alſo the opinion of divers learned moderns were alleged, who think, it was writ in *Greek*. To them I now add (*l*) *Le Clerc*, who has an argument upon this head, proper to be conſulted by thoſe who have leiſure, but too long to be inſerted here: and his learned ſucceſſor Mr. *Wetſtein*, who ſays: "Here (*m*) we are of opinion, that the Fathers do not ſo properly bear teſtimonie, as deliver their own conjecture; which needs not to be admitted, if it be not ſupported by good reaſons, or may be refuted by probable arguments. Suppoſing, and taking it for granted, that *Matthew* wrote for the Jews in *Judea*, they concluded, that he wrote in *Hebrew*. But there is no weight in that reaſon. The *Greek* language was at that time much uſed throughout the whole Roman Empire, and particularly in *Judea*. *Papias*, who firſt advanced this opinion, was a weak and credulous man. Nor are there in our *Greek* Goſpel any marks of it's being a tranſlation from another language."

Mr. *Jones* (*n*) has a long argument, well deſerving to be read, ſhewing that this Goſpel was originally writ in *Greek*.

Mr. *Baſnage* (*o*) is of the ſame ſide, and has argued exceeding well for it. I ſhould tranſcribe him, if I had room. As I have not, I refer to him.

Says

(*h*) *Vol. i. p.* 243. 244.
(*i*) *Vol. iii. p.* 403. . . . 408.
(*k*) *Vol. viii. p.* 184. . . 189.
(*l*) *Diſſ. iii. de iv. Evangeliis.*

(*m*) Neque tam facile aſſentimur ſententiæ eorundem Patrum ſtatuentium, Matthæum ſcripſiſſe Hebraice, hoc eſt, Syriace, ſive Chaldaice, quâ linguâ tunc temporis Judæi in Palæſtina utebantur. . . Exiſtimamus enim Patres hic jam non teſtimonium dicere, ſed conjecturam ſuam in medium proferre, non admittendam, ſi aut idoneis rationibus non ſit fulta, aut verosimilibus argumentis refutari poſſit. Quod enim putant neceſſe fuiſſe ut Hebræis ſcribens Hebraice ſcriberet, verum non eſt: cum conſtet eo tempore linguam Græcam per totum Imperium Romanum, et in Judæa præſertim, in uſu fuiſſe. . . . . Videntur ergo vetutiſſimi Patres, et inter eos Papias, homo ſimplex et credulus, re non explorata, inani Nazaræorum jactantiæ fidem habuiſſe. . . Nullum ſane in noſtro Matthæo reperitur indicium, unde colligi poſſit, ex alia in aliam linguam fuiſſe converſam. Plurima vero aliud ſuadent. *Wetſtein. N. T. tom. i. p.* 224.

(*n*) *See his Vindication of the former part of St. Matthew's Goſpel. ch.* 17. . . . *p.* 180. . . 186.

(*o*) *Ann.* 64. *n.* xiii.

Says (*) Dr. *Jortin*: "In the time of Chriſt and his Apoſtles the Greek was really the univerſal language. The New Teſtament is a proof of it, if proof were wanting. And this is one reaſon amongſt many others, why St. *Matthew* probably wrote his Goſpel in *Greek*. See *Wetſtein's* N. T. p. 224. St. Matthew ch. v. 47. 48. ſays: Ὅτι τελῶναι ὄυτως ποιοῦσιν. Εσεσθε ἓν ὑμεῖς τέλειοι . . that is, be not τελῶναι, but τέλειοι. Videtur autem Matthaeus vocem τέλειοι hic habuiſſe, ut τελώναις opponeret. Wetſtein. Add to this, that τελώνης and τέλειος are both derived from the ſame word τέλος. See again, ch. vi. 16. we find an antitheſis in the words ἀφανίζουσι τὰ πρόσωπα, ὅπως φάνωσι. Eleganter dicitur: *Tegunt faciem, ut appareant, &c.* Wetſtein.

And many others of the ſame ſentiment might be mentioned, who are men of great learning and good judgment.

I ſhall now propoſe ſome obſervations relating to this point.

1. If St. *Matthew* did not write till about thirty years after our Lord's aſcenſion, we muſt be led to think, he would uſe the *Greek* language. That he did not write ſooner, I ſuppoſe to have been ſhewn to be very probable. If indeed there were good reaſons to think, his Goſpel was writ within the ſpace of eight years after Chriſt's aſcenſion, we might well conclude, that he wrote in *Hebrew*. But, to me it ſeems, that we may be fully ſatisfied, that *Matthew* did not write within that ſpace, nor ſo ſoon as fifteen years after our Lord's aſcenſion, nor till ſome good while afterwards. St. *James*, reſiding at *Jeruſalem*, writes an epiſtle about the year of Chriſt 60. as is ſuppoſed. It is addreſſed *to the twelve tribes ſcattered abroad*. And he writes in *Greek*, as is allowed. Why, then, ſhould not St. *Matthew* uſe the ſame language?

2. There was very early a *Greek* Goſpel of St *Matthew*. It is quoted, or referred to, by *Clement* of *Rome*, *Ignatius*, *Polycarp*, *Juſtin Martyr*, not now to mention any others: none of whom intimate, that they made uſe of a tranſlation.

3. Though many of the ancients ſay, that St. *Matthew* wrote in *Hebrew*, they ſeem not to have fully believed it. For they have ſhewn very little regard to the *Hebrew* edition of it. This has been particularly ſhewn in the chapters of (*p*) *Origen*, (*q*) *Euſebius of Ceſarea*, and (*r*) *Jerome*, the moſt likely of any of the ancients to make uſe of that edition, if they had been perſuaded, that it was authentic and original.

4. There are not in our *Greek* Goſpel of St. *Matthew* any marks of a tranſlation. So ſaid Mr. *Wetſtein* in the paſſage juſt tranſcribed. And this obſervation was before made by us in the chapter of (*s*) *Papias*.

5. There is no where any probable account, who tranſlated this Goſpel into *Greek*. No particular tranſlator was mentioned by *Papias*, as may be concluded from the accounts given of his books by *Euſebe*. Nor is any tranſlator of this Goſpel named by *Irenaeus*, *Euſebe*, or any of the writers

(*) *See his Diſcourſes concerning the Chriſtian Religion. p.* 176. *note* (*o*), *the third edition.*

(*p*) *Vol. iii. p.* 403. . . 408.
(*q*) *Vol. viii. p.* 185. . . 189.
(*r*) *Vol. x. p.* 170. . . 172.
(*s*) *Vol. i. p.* 244.

writers of the first three centuries, that are come down to us. Nor is there any reason to think, that he was named in any other: forasmuch as no notice is taken of him by *Eusebe*, or *Jerome*, who saw many writings of ancients now lost, both catholics and heretics. *Jerome* having said, that *Matthew* wrote in *Hebrew*, presently adds: "Who (*t*) afterwards translated him into *Greek*, is uncertain." And all the accounts of a translator, since given, are too late to be credited, and are likewise very improbable. In the Synopsis ascribed to *Athanasius*, but not writ till long after his time, it is said, "That (*u*) *Matthew*'s Gospel was translated into *Greek* by *James*, the first Bishop of *Jerusalem*." Which is very improbable. It would be more reasonable to imagine, that he translated it out of *Greek* into *Hebrew*. But as that is not said by the ancients, so neither have we reason to say it. Moreover, the same reasons, as one may think, which would induce *James* to make a *Greek* translation, should have induced *Matthew* to write in *Greek*. Nevertheless, Dr. *Mill* (*x*) has pitched upon that person for the translator, and formed an argument thereupon. Which only serves to shew, that there is nothing, for which something may not be said by those, who indulge themselves with suppositions, without ground. *Theophylact* informs us, that (*y*) in his time it was said, that *John* translated this Gospel into *Greek*. But it was only a common report. And indeed it could be no more. However, out of a regard to such reports and testimonies, Mr. *Lampe* (*z*) has very properly reckoned a translation of this Gospel among the works falsly ascribed to St. *John*.

6. Once more, I apprehend, we may discern the origin of this opinion, that St. *Matthew*'s Gospel was writ in *Hebrew*. There was soon made a translation of his *Greek* Gospel into *Hebrew*. We have seen proofs, that (*a*) in very early days of Christianity there was a *Hebrew* Gospel. And many, not examining it particularly, nor indeed being able to do it, for want of understanding the language, imagined, that it was first writ in *Hebrew*. *Jerome* expressly tells us, that (*b*) by many in his time the Gospel

(*t*) *Vol. x. p.* 89. (*u*) *Vol. vii. p.* 249.

(*x*) Quis in Græcum transfuderit, incertum est. Papias de hoc nihil ab Aristione aut Joanne presbytero accepit, aut tradidit. Auctor Synopseos S. Scripturæ Jacobo fratri Domini diserte adscribit hanc versionem. Theophylactus, ex fama duntaxat, Joanni Evangelistæ. Ego ad priorem illam sententiam, seu magis verisimilem, accedo. Satis enim probabile est, Evangelium ad Hebræorum usum linguâ ipsorum patriâ primum exaratum, ab ipsorum Episcopo primario Jacobo, Episcopo Hierosolymitano, in sermonem Græcum, per provincias, in quas dispersi erant ex gente illa plurimi, Judæis pariter ac gentilibus in usu familiari, translatum fuisse, &c. *Prolog. num.* 66.

(*y*) Ματθαῖος δὲ τοῦτο ἰωάννης ἀπὸ τῆς ἑβραΐδος γλώττης εἰς τὴν ἑλληνίδα, ὡς λέγεται. *Theoph. Pr. in Matth. p.* 2. *D.*

(*z*) Matthæi Evangelium Græce a Joanne Evangelista versum esse, refert Eutychius Tom. i. Annalium, p. 328. et Nicetas præfatione ad Catenam in Matthæum. *Lampe Prolegom. in Joan. l. i. cap.* 7. *num.* 31.

(*a*) *See ch. xiv. Vol. i. p.* 320. 321.

(*b*) In Evangelio, quo utuntur Nazareni et Ebionitæ, quod nuper in Græcum de Hebræo sermone transtulimus, et quod vocatur a plerisque Matthæi authenticum. *Hier. in Matth. cap. xii. T.* 4. *P. i. p.* 47.

In

Gospel according to the *Hebrews* was reckoned the true and authentic Gospel of *Matthew*.

To this *Hebrew* translation of St. *Matthew*'s Gospel, possibly, are owing divers things said by the ancients: as that *Matthew* published his Gospel at *Jerusalem*, or in *Judea*, for the Jewish believers, and at their request, before he went abroad to other people. I say, I do suspect the truth of these, and some other like things, said of St. *Matthew*, and his Gospel. All which may have had their rise from the *Hebrew* edition of his Gospel, which they imagined to be the original. For I think, that St. *Matthew*'s, and all the other Gospels were writ, and intended, for believers of all nations. His Gospel was writ for the Jews, but not for them only, but for Gentils also: as manifestly appears from the Gospel itself, or the things contained in it.

I am also ready to say, with (*c*) Mr. *Basnage*, that I do not know where it was published, whether in *Judea*, or somewhere else. But as I think, the Nazaren Gospel to be St. *Matthew*'s Gospel translated from *Greek*, with (*d*) the addition of some other things, taken from the other Gospels, and from tradition: so I reckon, that the Gospel of *Matthew*, writ in *Greek*, was the Gospel, which first came into their hands, and which they gladly received, and made use of. I say again, the notion of St. *Matthew*'s writing in *Hebrew*, probably, had it's rise from the *Hebrew* edition of his Gospel. For allowing that date of his Gospel, which to me appears most probable, I cannot conceive the reason, why *Matthew* should write in *Hebrew* any more than any of the other Evangelists. For it may be reckoned highly probable, or even certain, that he understood *Greek*, before he was called by Christ to be an Apostle. Whilst a Publican, he would have frequent occasions both to write and speak *Greek*. And could not discharge his office, without understanding that language.

This *Hebrew* Gospel may likewise have been the cause, why so many ancient Christian writers say, that *Matthew* wrote first. This may be true. But I do not think it was said upon the ground of any certain knowledge, or good information. I apprehend it not to be easie to say, which Gospel was first writ. For all the first three Gospels were writ about the same time. And St. *Luke*'s, for any thing that I know, may have been writ first. Which (*e*) was the opinion of Mr. *Basnage*.

In Evangelio, juxta Hebræos. . . quo utuntur usque hodie Nazareni, secundum Apostolos, sive ut plerique juxta Matthæum. *Adv. Pelag. l.* 3. *sub in. T.* 4. *p.* 533.

(*c*) Annum tamen perinde atque locum, ubi a Matthæo conditum est, in incerto esse, faciles patimur. *Ann.* 64. *num. xii.*

(*d*) Distinguendum enim inter hoc Evangelium, quale initio fuit, & illud, quale paullatim fiebat, Nazaræis varia addentibus. . . Primitus nihil habuit, nisi quod in Græco nunc legimus. . . Porro Nazaræi plusçula suis locis interseruerunt, quæ ab Apostolis vel Apostolicis viris, fando accepissent. *G. J. Voss. De Geneal. J. C. cap. ii. num. i.*

(*e*) *Ann.* 60. *num.* 31.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Time, when the Apoſtles left Judea, to go and preach the Goſpel in other Countreys.

AS many ancient Chriſtian writers, whom we have lately quoted, ſay, that St. *Matthew*, having preached ſome while in *Judea*, was deſired by the believers there, to leave with them in writing, before he went away, a hiſtorie of what he had taught by word of mouth: this may not be an improper place to enquire, how long it was after the aſcenſion of Jeſus, before *Matthew*, and the other Apoſtles, left *Judea*, to go abroad into foreign countreys.

And *firſt* of all, we will obſerve ſome remarkable paſſages of ancient writers, relating to this matter. And then, *ſecondly*, we will conſider what light the book of the Acts may afford upon this ſubject.

Clement of *Alexandria*, about 194. quotes from a work, entitled the Preaching of *Peter*, this paſſage: "Therefore (*a*) *Peter* ſays, that the "Lord ſaid to the Apoſtles: If any Iſraelite will repent, and believe "in God through my name, his ſins ſhall be forgiven. After twelve "years go ye out into the world, that none may ſay: We have not "heard."

The next paſſage is that of *Apollonius*, undoubtedly, in part contemporarie with *Clement*, and placed by *Cave* at the year 192. by me at 211. as near the time of his writing againſt the *Montaniſts*. "Moreover, ſays (*b*) *Euſebe*, he relates as from tradition, that our "Saviour commanded his Apoſtles, not to depart from *Jeruſalem* for "the ſpace of twelve years." Which paſſage has been already cited in this (*c*) work.

By theſe two paſſages *Cave* was induced to think, that (*d*) for twelve years after Chriſt's aſcenſion the Apoſtles did not depart from the neighborhood of *Jeruſalem*. Suppoſing our Saviour to have been crucified, and to have aſcended to heaven in the year 29. of the vulgar æra, which was a common opinion of the ancients, theſe twelve years ended in the year 41. Suppoſing thoſe great events to have happened in the year 33. which is a common opinion of learned moderns, thoſe twelve years would reach to the year 45.

Beſide thoſe two paſſages alleged by *Cave*, and other learned men, I ſhall take notice of ſome others alſo.

Origen ſays in general, "That (*e*) when the Jews did not receive the word, the Apoſtles went to the Gentils."

Chryſoſtom

(*a*) Διὰ τοῦτό φησιν ὁ πέτρος, εἰρηκέναι τὸν κύριον τοῖς ἀποστόλοις· Ἐὰν μέν τις ἐξ Ἰσραὴλ θελήσῃ τῷ Ἰσραὴλ μετανοῆσαι [forte μετανοήσας] διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματός μου πιστεύσῃ εἰς τὸν θεὸν, ἀφεθήσονται αὐτῷ ἁμαρτίαι. Μετὰ δώδεκα ἔτη ἐξέλθετε εἰς κόσμον, μή τις εἴπῃ· Οὐκ ἠκούσαμεν. *Clem. Str. l. 6. p. 636. Conf. Cav. H. L. T. i. p. 5. et Grabe Spic. T. i. p. 67.*

(*b*) *H. E. l. 5. cap. 18. p. 136.* (*c*) *Ch. xxxi. Vol. iii. p. 16.*

(*d*) *Hiſt. Lit. T. i. p. 5. et 13.*

(*e*) .. μὴ παραδεξαμένων ἰουδαίων τὸν λόγον, ἀπεληλύθεσαν εἰς τὰ ἔθνη. *In Matth. T. i. p. 225. E. Huet.*

Chryſoſtom in a homilie upon Acts xi. 19. and what follows, ſpeaks to this purpoſe. "They heard, that *Samaria* had received the word, and "they ſent *Peter* and *John*. They heard what had happened at *Anti-*"*och*, and they ſent *Barnabas*. For (*f*) that was a great diſtance. And "it was not fit, that the Apoſtles ſhould go ſo far as yet, leſt they "ſhould have been eſteemed deſerters, and thought to have fled from "their own people. But it then became neceſſarie for them to ſe-"parate, [or go from thence] when the Jews ſhewed themſelves to be "incurable."

In the Paſchal Chronicle are the expreſſions, ſpeaking of *Paul*. "Af-"terwards (*g*) he coming to *Jeruſalem* with *Barnabas*, and finding there "*Peter*, and the reſt of the Apoſtles, with *James* the Lord's brother, the "Apoſtles ſend an epiſtle to *Antioch* in *Syria*, eſtabliſhing their church. "And *Paul* and *Barnabas* carry the epiſtle to *Antioch*, as the Acts ſhew. "By this it appears, that the Apoſtles then wrote their catholic epiſtles, "before their diſperſion."

Such are the paſſages of ancient writers, which muſt be reckoned to be of ſome weight.

Let us now obſerve the hiſtorie in the Acts. And it ſeems to me, there is reaſon to conclude, that the Apoſtles ſtaid in *Judea*, till after the Council at *Jeruſalem*, of which an account is given in the xv. chapter of that book. For St. *Luke* does continually ſpeak of the Apoſtles, as being at *Jeruſalem*, or near it. Acts viii. 1. *And at that time, there was a great perſecution againſt the church which was at Jeruſalem. And they were all ſcattered abroad throughout the regions of Judea and Samaria, except the Apoſtles.* One of thoſe perſons, who then left *Jeruſalem*, was *Philip*, the Deacon and Evangeliſt: who went to *Samaria*, and preached Chriſt unto them, and with good effect. Whereupon at ver. 14. *Now when the Apoſtles, which were at Jeruſalem, heard that Samaria had received the word of God, they ſent unto them Peter and John.* This needs no Comment. Here is proof, that when the reſt of the diſciples were ſcattered abroad, *Peter* and *John*, and the other Apoſtles, were ſtill at *Jeruſalem*.

In Acts ix. 26 . . . 30. is St. *Luke*'s account of *Paul*'s coming to *Jeruſalem*, after his converſion. Where he ſays, that *the diſciples were afraid of him. . . . . But Barnabas took him and brought him to the Apoſtles.* St. *Paul* ſpeaking of the ſame journey, Gal. i. 18. 19. ſays: *Then after three years I went up to Jeruſalem, to ſee Peter, and abode with him fifteen days. But other of the Apoſtles ſaw I none, ſave James the Lord's brother.* Here we find, that at this time, three years after his converſion,

(*f*) Πολὺ γὰρ τὸ διάστημα, καὶ ἐκ ἔδει τὲς ἀποστόλες τέως χωρισθῆναι ἐκεῖθεν, ἵνα μὴ νομισθῶσιν εἶναι φυγάδες, καὶ πᾶς αὐτῶν πεφευγέναι· τότε ἀναγκαίως χωρίζονται, ὅτε λοιπὸν ἀνίατα ἔχειν ἐδόκει τὰ κατ' αὐτές. *In Act. hom.* 25. *Tom.* 9. *p.* 202. 203.

(*g*) Μετέπειτα ἐλθὼν εἰς ἱεροσόλυμα μετὰ βαρνάβα, καὶ ἑυρὼν πέτρον καὶ τὲς λοιπὲς ἀποστόλες ἅμα ἰακώβῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ τῦ κυρίυ, γράφουσιν ἐπιστολὴν οἱ ἀποστόλοι εἰς ἀντιόχειαν τῆς συρίας, θεμελιῦντες τὴν αὐτῶν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ διακονῦσι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν εἰς ἀντιόχειαν αὐτὸς παῦλος καὶ βαρνάβας, ὡς δηλῦσιν αἱ πράξεις. Ἐκ τύτυ δείκνυται, ὅτι καὶ τὰς καθολικὰς αὐτῶν οἱ ἀποστόλοι τότε γράφεσιν πρὸ τῆς διασπορᾶς αὐτῶν. *Chr. Paſch. p.* 233. *B. C.*

ſion, *Paul* ſaw two Apoſtles only, *Peter* and *James*. But St. *Luke*'s words, as ſeems to me, imply, that all the Apoſtles were then at *Jeruſalem*, though *Paul* ſaw two only, the reſt for ſome reaſons declining to ſhew themſelves in perſon to him. Dr. *Doddridge* has this note upon ch. ix. 27. "*Paul* himſelf tells us, that upon his going up to *Jeruſalem*, "he ſaw no other Apoſtles, but *Peter* and *James*. Gal. i. 19. *Beza* "well obſerves, we are quite uncertain, on what occaſion, the reſt were "then abſent from *Jeruſalem*. Had they been there, though *Paul* ſtaid "but about a fortnight, he would no doubt have ſeen them." Nevertheleſs the ſolution of this difficulty appears to me very eaſy. The Apoſtles were now all at *Jeruſalem*, or near it. But they lived privately, becauſe it was a time of perſecution. *The great perſecution againſt the church*, which began with the death of *Stephen*, was not yet over. The Apoſtles therefore could not appear abroad without danger. And it was ſufficient, that they ſpoke to *Paul*, and received him, by *Peter* and *James*. Which I take to be the true import of St. *Luke*'s expreſſion. *But Barnabas took him, and brought him to the Apoſtles.*

After *Peter* had been at the houſe of *Cornelius*, it is ſaid, Acts xi. 1. *And the Apoſtles and brethren that were in Judea, heard, that the Gentils alſo had received the word.* Another proof, that all the Apoſtles, or moſt of them, were ſtill at *Jeruſalem*. But I do not ſuppoſe, that the Apoſtles, like many other of the Jewiſh believers, were offended at what *Peter* had done. Or, if they were at firſt ſomewhat offended, they were ſoon, and eaſily ſatisfied, and were very willing to teſtify their approbation of *Peter*'s conduct.

From the 12. chapter of the Acts we know, that *James* ſon of *Zebedee*, and brother of *John*, and *Peter*, were at *Jeruſalem*, in the year 44. or thereabout, near the end of the reign of *Herod Agrippa*: the former of whom was beheaded, and the other impriſoned. And at ver. 17. is mention made of another *James*, ſuppoſed to be the Lord's brother, and always reſident at *Jeruſalem*.

From the account of the Council of *Jeruſalem*, and of the occaſion of it, all the apoſtles appear to have been then in *Judea*, and at *Jeruſalem*, or in its neighborhood. Acts xv. *When therefore Paul and Barnabas had no ſmall diſſenſion and diſputation with them, they determined, that Paul, and Barnabas, and certain other of them, ſhould go up to Jeruſalem, unto the Apoſtles and Elders about this queſtion.* ver. 4. *And when they were come to Jeruſalem, they were received of the church, and* or even *the Apoſtles and Elders.* . . . ver. 6. *And the Apoſtles and Elders came together*, that is, met in Council, *for to conſider of this matter.* . . ver. 22. *Then pleaſed it the Apoſtles, and Elders, with the whole church, to ſend choſen men of their own company, to Antioch.* . . ver. 23. *And they wrote letters by them after this manner: The Apoſtles, and Elders, and Brethren ſend greeting.* . . ver. 33. *And after they had tarried there a ſpace*, that is, at *Antioch*, *they were let go in peace from the brethren unto the Apoſtles.*

In all theſe places *the Apoſtles* muſt intend all the Apoſtles, or the Apoſtles in general. For how can the expreſſion be underſtood otherwiſe?

If it ſhould be ſaid, that the Apoſtles might be at the Council at *Jeruſalem*, though ſeveral of them had been before in other countreys: I

think, that would be ſaid without ground and reaſon. It does not appear, that the Apoſtles were ſent to, invited, or called in from abroad, to attend this Council. But the Chriſtians at *Antioch* ſuppoſed, or rather knew, that the Apoſtles were at *Jeruſalem*, and therefore directly ſent thither to them.

Indeed none of the Apoſtles are expreſsly named as ſpeakers in the debates of the Council, beſide *Peter* and *James*. But all the reſt may have been there. So upon divers other occaſions in the Goſpels, and at the beginning of the Acts, *Peter* only ſpake, though all the reſt were preſent. In Gal. ii. 8. 9. 10. St. *Paul* giving an account of a journey to *Jeruſalem*, ſuppoſed to be the ſame with this to the Council, ſpeaks of conferences, which he had with three, namely *James*, *Cephas*, and *John*, who *ſeemed to be pillars*. Here * is one more mentioned as preſent at *Jeruſalem*, beſide the two before taken notice of. And there muſt have been others beſide theſe three, who *ſeemed to be pillars*, or were the moſt eminent.

The firſt time, that we meet with the mention of any one of the twelve, as being out of *Judea*, is that in Gal. ii. 11. after this Council, as is generally allowed, when *Peter* was at *Antioch*. It is very obſervable, Acts xi. 19. . . 22. when *tidings came to the ears of the Church at Jeruſalem*, that many Gentils had been converted at *Antioch* by ſome of thoſe who were ſcattered abroad by the perſecution, *they ſent forth Barnabas, that he ſhould go as far as Antioch*. None of the Apoſtles went, not ſo much as one, to accompany him. And afterwards ch. xiii. 1. . . 3. in the account of the extraordinarie miſſion of *Paul* and *Barnabas* from *Antioch* to *Cyprus*, and other parts, there is no mention made of any Apoſtle, as preſent at *Antioch*. And it is plain, there was not one there.

All theſe conſiderations induce me to think, that none of the twelve Apoſtles left *Judea* to teach either Jews or Gentils in other Countreys, until after this Council.

Having now, as I apprehend, ſhewn this to be very probable, I ſhall mention ſome remarks. Whereby there may be an opportunity for anſwering objections, though ſeveral have been already obviated.

1. There was a fitneſſe in it. It was very proper, and even expedient, that the Apoſtles ſhould ſtay a good while in *Judea*, to aſſert and confirm the truth of Chriſt's reſurrection by teaching, and by miraculous works, and do their utmoſt to bring the Jewiſh People to faith in Jeſus as the Chriſt.

2. As this was fit, it is likely, that they had received ſome command from Chriſt himſelf, or ſome direction from the Holy Ghoſt, to ſtay thus long in *Judea*.

3. There were conſiderations, that would incline them to it, and induce them to do what was fit to be done, and was agreeable to the mind of Chriſt. One was the difficulty of preaching the goſpel in foreign countreys. This would induce them to ſtay in *Judea*, till the circumſtances of things facilitated their farther progreſſe, or called them to it.

Another

* *Theodoret* has a like argument: Ἐξ ἂν ῥᾴδιον καταδεῖν, ὡς εὐθέως καταλέλοιπε τὴν ἰουδαίαν ὁ θεῖος ἀποστόλος ἰωάννης. *Theod. Pr. in ep. ad Eph. Tom.* 3. *p.* 190.

Another thing was their affection for the Jewiſh people, their countrymen, eſpecially thoſe of *Judea*, with whom they had been brought up, and among whom they dwelt, together with a perſuaſion of the great value of the bleſſing of the goſpel. This laſt conſideration, I apprehend, would induce them to labor in *Judea*, with earneſt deſires, and ſome hopes, of bringing all, or however, many, to faith in Jeſus. This influenced *Paul* alſo to a great degree, and for a good while. Nor was he without hopes of perſuading his brethren and countrey-men to what appeared to himſelf very certain and evident. So he ſays in his ſpeech to the people at *Jeruſalem*. Acts xxii. 17. . . 20. He aſſures them, that whilſt he was worſhipping at *Jeruſalem*, in the temple, he had a tranſe or extaſie: that he there ſaw Chriſt, who ſaid to him: *Make haſte, and get thee quickly out of Jeruſalem. For they will not receive thy teſtimonie concerning me.* *Paul* pleaded, that they muſt needs pay a regard to his teſtimonie, who was well known to have been for ſome while very zealous in oppoſing his followers, and was now convinced and perſuaded. But the Lord ſaid unto him: *Depart. For I will ſend thee far hence unto the Gentils.* This tranſe, or viſion, ſeems to have happened in the year 44. after that *Paul* had preached at *Antioch* with great ſucceſſe among Gentils. Nevertheleſs he had an earneſt deſire to make one attempt more among the Jews of *Judea*, where was the body of that people. And if they could have been perſuaded, many abroad would follow their example. And it required an expreſs and repeated order from Jeſus Chriſt, in viſion, to induce him to lay aſide that deſign, and to proceed to preach to Gentils in remote parts.

It is a moſt affectionate concern, which he expreſſes for the Jewiſh people in divers places of the epiſtle to the *Romans*, writ ſo late as the year 58. ch. ix. 1. . . 5. x. 1. 2. xi. 4. *if by any means*, ſays he, *I may provoke them to emulation which are my fleſh, and might ſave ſome of them.* Nor can it be queſtioned, that the like ſentiments prevailed in the other Apoſtles. If it needs any proof, let St. *Peter*'s diſcourſes at the beginning of the book of the Acts be conſulted, particularly ch. ii. 38. . 40. iii. 22. . . 26. not to refer to any other.

4. There were many advantages attending the ſtay of the Apoſtles in *Judea*. Many more Jews were by this means converted, than otherwiſe there would have been. St. *Luke* ſays, Acts iv. 4. that the *number of the men was five thouſand.* But when *Paul* came to *Jeruſalem* ſome years afterwards, *James* ſays to him, *Thou ſeeſt, brother, how many thouſands of Jews there are which believe.* xxi. 20. And it is very likely, that the Jewiſh believers had better, and freer principles, than otherwiſe they would have had. They were, it is true, for obſerving the law themſelves: ver. 20. but they agreed, that the Gentils were under no ſuch obligations. ver. 25. Farther, by this means every ſtep taken in planting the Chriſtian Religion, and ſpreading the goſpel in the world, had the ſanction of all the Apoſtles, and of the whole church of *Jeruſalem*.

Upon occaſion of the perſecution at *Jeruſalem*, many were *ſcattered abroad, who went every where preaching the word. Then Philip went down to the city of Samaria, and preached Chriſt unto them*, Acts viii. 45. *Now when the Apoſtles, which were at Jeruſalem, heard, that Samaria had received*

ceived the word of God, they ſent unto them Peter and John. This was the firſt ſtep taken in carrying the goſpel to any, beſide native Jews, and proſelytes to their religion. And what had been done by *Philip* at *Samaria*, was approved and ratified by all the Apoſtles.

The next ſtep was preaching to Gentils, which work was ſolemnly allotted to *Peter*. *And the Apoſtles and Elders that were in Judea, heard that the Gentils had alſo received the word of God.* ch. xi. 1. Upon *Peter*'s rehearſing to them the whole affair, and what had happened at the houſe of *Cornelius* at *Ceſarea*, all were ſatisfied. *They glorified God, ſaying: Then hath God alſo to the Gentils granted repentance unto life.* ver. 18.

Soon after this, ſome of thoſe who were ſcattered abroad upon the perſecution, went to *Antioch*, and there *ſpake to the Greeks* or Gentils, *preaching the Lord Jeſus. And a great number believed, and turned to the Lord. Then tidings of theſe things came unto the ears of the church, which was at Jeruſalem. And they ſent forth Barnabas, that he ſhould go as far as Antioch.* ver. 19. . . 22. This ſtep therefore was alſo approved and ratified by the whole church of *Jeruſalem*, including the Apoſtles.

And henceforward no objections could be made by wiſe men againſt preaching to Gentils, and receiving them, but what aroſe from the difficulty of the work. Nevertheleſs ſome good while after this, there was a diſpute raiſed at *Antioch* by ſome bigotted Jews, who aſſerted it to be neceſſarie, that the Gentil believers *ſhould be circumciſed after the manner of Moſes.* This occaſioned the Council of *Jeruſalem*. Where the controverſie was fully determined by the Apoſtles and Elders. Which was a great advantage. By this means the manner of receiving Gentils was fixed and ſettled beyond diſpute, and beyond oppoſition. Or, if any ſhould be made afterwards, it could not be ſucceſsful, nor very troubleſome. And we may be aſſured, that all the Apoſtles, and their diſciples, would be harmonious, and preach the ſame doctrine to Jews and Gentils, whereſoever they went.

5. There was a neceſſity of the Apoſtles ſtaying in *Judea*, till about this time. Otherwiſe, they could not have ſufficiently teſtified the doctrine concerning Jeſus in *Judea*, nor have fully taught the Jewiſh people, ſo as to render them inexcuſable, if they did not believe, and repent.

If we conſider the ſtate of things in *Judea*, we may diſcern, that in the year 44. the Apoſtles had not had an opportunity to fulfill their miniſtrie in that countrey. It muſt be evident to all from the hiſtorie in the Acts, that for ſome while, ſoon after our Lord's aſcenſion, the Apoſtles were grievouſly harraſſed, and hardly uſed by the Jewiſh Council or Rulers. Which was the more ſo, becauſe of the weakneſſe of *Pilate*'s government, for ſome time before he was diſmiſſed from the province. And afterwards, about the time of his removal, *Stephen* was ſtoned, and a great perſecution began. Which, as I apprehend, continued from the begining of the year 36. to the begining of the year 40. When the churches had reſt. Of which reſt undoubtedly the Apoſtles made good uſe. St. *Luke*'s words are: *Then had the churches reſt throughout Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria, and were edified, and walking in the fear of the Lord, and in the comfort of the Holy Ghoſt, were multiplied.* ch. xi. 31.

After which follows an account of *Peter*'s paſſing throughout all quarters, his going to *Lydda*, and there healing *Eneas*, then to *Joppa*, where he raiſed *Tabitha:* and from thence to *Ceſarea*, and there preaching to *Cornelius*, and his companie: and of ſome other matters, reaching to ch. xi. 26. How long that reſt, or peace and tranquillity continued, in all its fulneſſe, we cannot ſay exactly. Perhaps it laſted a year, or more. And it is not unlikely, that in that ſpace of time other Apoſtles, beſide *Peter*, travelled in *Judea*, and the ſeveral parts of it, preaching the goſpel, and confirming the diſciples. But upon *Herod Agrippa* being made King of all *Judea* by *Claudius* in the year 41. that peace would be abated, if not interrupted. From the begining of his reign, eſpecially from his arrival in *Judea*, and during the remainder of it, the diſciples muſt have been under many difficulties and diſcouragements, Prince and People being of one mind. And toward the end of his reign he became an open and violent perſecutor, till Divine Providence ſmote him, that he died. After his death *Judea* came to be in the hands of Roman Procurators, *Cuſpius Fadus*, *Tiberius Alexander*, *Cumanus*, *Felix*, *Feſtus:* When probably, the diſciples of Jeſus had for ſeveral years together more liberty, than they had at any time, ſince the reſurrection of Jeſus, excepting the interval of reſt and tranquillity, before taken notice of. For thoſe Governours, or Procurators, had no orders from the Roman Emperour to perſecute or diſturb any Jews. And that thoſe Governours were not diſpoſed to diſturb the Chriſtians, may be argued from the treatment given to *Paul* by *Felix*, and *Feſtus*, and the officers under them. Now therefore from the year 44. to the time of the Council in 49. or 50. and afterwards, the Apoſtles went on fulfilling their miniſtrie. All of them, as I apprehend, ſtaid in *Judea* till the time of the Council. Soon after which ſome did, probably, go abroad. However, ſeveral of them might ſtay there a good while longer, and not remove, till a little before the commencement of the Jewiſh war in 66.

6. We may now perceive, the benefit of the early choice and call of *Paul* to be an Apoſtle. Who having been ſeveral years employed and exerciſed in preaching to Jews in *Judea*, and out of it, was ready to preach to Gentils likewiſe, as ſoon as a door was opened for applying to them at *Antioch*, and other places: as there was, after *Peter* had received *Cornelius* at *Ceſarea:* whilſt it was not as yet fit for any of the twelve Apoſtles to leave the land of *Iſrael*.

7. We now obtain ſome aſſiſtance for interpreting thoſe expreſſions of *Paul:* Gal. ii. 7. 8. 9. *When they ſaw that the goſpel of the uncircumciſion was committed unto me, as the goſpel of the circumciſion was committed unto Peter. For he that wrought effectually in Peter to the apoſtleſhip of the circumciſion, the ſame was mighty in me toward the Gentils. And they gave unto me and Barnabas the right hands of fellowſhip, that we ſhould go unto the Heathen, and they unto the circumciſion.* And Rom. xi. 13. *inaſmuch as I am the Apoſtle of the Gentils, I magnify my office.* Thoſe expreſſions cannot be intended to ſignify, that *Paul* was Apoſtle of the Gentils only, and excluſive of the Jews: or that *Peter* and the other of the twelve, were Apoſtles of the circumciſion only, excluſive of the Gentils. For an Apoſtle is a teacher or maſter of the whole world. They were appointed to be ſo by Chriſt himſelf. Nor could their commiſſion be li-

mited by any compact among themselves. Our Lord's commission given to his twelve Apostles, is, in *Matthew*, to this purpose: *Go ye therefore, and teach all nations*, xxviii. 19. and in *Luke*, xxiv. 46. 47. *he said to them, that repentance and forgiveness of sins should be preached in his name among all nations, begining at Jerusalem.* And Acts i. 8. And *Ye shall be witnesses unto me in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth.* And Mark xvi. 15. *And he said unto them: Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature.* And ver. 20. *And they went forth and preached every where.* Of *Paul* the Lord says in a vision to *Ananias* at *Damascus: He is a chosen vessel unto me, to bear my name before the Gentils, and Kings, and the children of Israel.* Acts ix. 5. And *Paul* says to King *Agrippa: I was not disobedient to the heavenly vision: but shewed first unto them of Damascus, and at Jerusalem, and throughout all the coast of Judea, and then to the Gentils, that they should repent, and turn to God.* ch. xxvi. 19. 20. Moreover we know from the historie of *Paul*'s preaching recorded in the Acts, that he always first addressed himself to Jews, in all the places where he came, if there were any, and if they had there a synagogue.

It should be observed likewise, that *Peter* had actually preached to Gentils, in *Judea*, and was the first disciple of Jesus, that did so. There is a particular account of it in the book of the Acts, ch. x. and xi. And himself takes notice of it in his speech at the Council of *Jerusalem.* ch. xv. 7.

The reason therefore, why the gospel of circumcision is said to have been committed unto *Peter*, and the other Apostles with him, is, that for a good while, their ministry was only, or however very much, and chiefly, employed among Jews in *Judea*: though afterwards they preached very freely to Gentils, in several parts of the world. And *Paul* is called the Apostle of the Gentils, and the gospel of the uncircumcision is said to have been committed unto him, because he got the start of all the rest in preaching to Gentils, and had laboured among them for a good while in divers countreys, with great success, and had formed many churches in divers places: whilst they were still in *Judea*, teaching Jews, and had made no addresses to Gentils abroad in other countreys.

It may be also implied in what St. *Paul* says in the epistle to the *Galatians*, that (*b*) several of the first twelve Apostles intended to stay still somewhat longer in *Judea*. This they were the more willing to do, being fully satisfied with the preaching of *Paul* in foreign countreys: insomuch that they encouraged him to proceed, as he had begun.

8. Once more, we may now be reconciled to the supposition of the late date of the Gospels. For they were not to be published, till the doctrine concerning

(*b*) Alterum, quod ex dicto Pauli ad Galatas colligimus, illud est, Joannem etiam post discessum Pauli cum duobus collegis per aliquod temporis intervallum Hierosolymis, et in Judæa substitisse. Gentium enim conversione Paulo et Barnabæ demandata, ipsi inter Judæos se operam porro locaturos declarant. Quæ etiam causa est, cur Joannis et sociorum in Actis Apostolicis vix mentio occurrat, quia postquam primordia Ecclesiæ Christianæ inter Judæos memorata erant, nihil amplius videbatur addendum, nisi ut narretur, quomodo primitiæ Gentium essent introductæ. *Lamp. Proleg. in Jo. l. 1. cap. 3. §. vii.*

concerning Jeſus had been preached in divers parts, and many converts had been made, to whom they would be uſeful, for whom they would be needful, by whom they would be received with joy, be highly valued, frequently read, and often copied. Written hiſtories of Jeſus could be little wanted by the Jewiſh believers in *Judea*, whilſt all the Apoſtles were ſtill in that countrey, and there were alſo ſtill living among them many ſincere followers of Jeſus, and eye-witneſſes of his perſon and miniſtrie. Very probably, therefore, there was no written goſpel, till after the Council at *Jeruſalem*.

Still there may be objections, which ſhould be ſtated and conſidered.

Obj. 1. It may be ſaid: Was not the progreſſe of the goſpel by this means much retarded? I anſwer: No. And this objection, methinks, ſhould be of little moment now, after all that has been ſaid of the many advantages of the Apoſtles ſtay in *Judea*.

However, ſome conſiderations ſhall be here added to what has been already ſaid. Though the Apoſtles did not leave *Judea* themſelves, they encouraged thoſe who did, who preached the goſpel abroad, whether to Jews or Gentils. Of this there is an inſtance with regard to the church of *Antioch*, related Acts xi. 19. . . 22. And there may have been ſome other like inſtances. Moreover the Apoſtles were very uſeful by their ſtay in *Judea*, as has been already ſhewn. They made many converts among the Jews. During their ſtay in that countrey, if there was any meaſure of public liberty for the believers, the Apoſtles would all, or moſt of them, be at *Jeruſalem*, at the great feaſts, to which there was a general reſort of Jews from all countreys. Here the inquiſitive of that People would have an opportunity of converſing with the Apoſtles. And if they were convinced, and perſuaded by them, they would carry the doctrine of the goſpel into the places of their uſual reſidence, and propagate it there.

Obj. 2. But, if the Apoſtles had attempted to make a long ſtay in *Judea*, it ſeems, that they muſt have been all deſtroyed. I anſwer, that doubtleſs they met with many and great difficulties. What they were from the time of our Lord's aſcenſion to the year 44. was briefly rehearſed juſt now. After that for ſeveral years, as I apprehend, their difficulties would not be ſo great, as they had been. Yea, during that ſpace would be the beſt opportunity that ever they had, to promote the intereſts of the goſpel, as I ſaid before. For (*i*) the Jewiſh people had not the power of life and death in their own hands. And the Roman Procurators

(*i*) Contra perſuaſum habeo, hoc emblema ſupponere, Eccleſiam jam longo admodum tempore fuiſſe afflictam. . . Ne jam dicam, non conſtare ex hiſtoria Eccleſiæ, quinam illi ſint *Martyres*, quorum *ſanguis*, præter cum *Stephani*, et utriuſque *Jacobi*, de quorum altero ex Luca, altero ex Joſepho liquet et Hegeſippo, a Judæis fuſus fuerit. Judæi enim, excepto brevi intervallo regni Agrippæ, rerum ſuarum non erant domini: et licet in Chriſtianos peſſime affecti fuerint, a Præſidibus tamen Romanis prohibebantur, pro lubitu in innocuos Jeſu Chriſti diſcipulos ſævire. Quæ enim junior Ananus tentavit in Jacobum fratrem Domini, et τινὰς ἑτέρους, *quoſdam alios*, Chriſtianæ profeſſionis homines, ut conſtat ex Joſepho Feſto mortuo, et Albino adhuc in itinere ſtante, peracta ſunt. *Campeg. Vitring. in Apoc. cap. vi. ver.* 12. § xxx. p. 303.

curators were not disposed to give any men disturbance upon account of difference of opinion in religious matters. Finally, the Apostles of Jesus Christ, we have reason to think, had an especial direction, and an especial protection. They, who were employed in teaching so important a doctrine, and were enabled to work miracles upon others for confirming it, may be reasonably supposed to have been the subjects of some wonderful interpositions of Providence. And it must be reckoned very probable, that affairs would be so over-ruled and influenced, as that these chosen men should be upheld, and enabled to fulfill their ministrie, and bear such a testimonie to Jesus, as should be sufficient to lay a good foundation for the establishment of his Church in the world, and leave all those of the Jewish People, who did not receive him as the Messiah, absolutely inexcusable.

CHAP. VII.

St. MARK, Evangelist.

I. *That the Evangelist is the same as John Mark, and nephew to Barnabas.* II. *His Historie from the New Testament.* III. *From other Writers.* IV. *Testimonies to his Gospel, in ancient Writers.* V. *Remarks upon them.* VI. *The Time of writing his Gospel, according to these ancient Writers, and the Sentiments of learned Moderns.* VII. *Characters of Time in the Gospel itself.* VIII. *Observations upon this Gospel.*

The Evangelist the same as John Mark.

I. IT is generally, or even universally, allowed, that *Mark*, mentioned 1 Pet. v. 13. is the Evangelist. But it has been doubted, whether he be the same as *John Mark* mentioned in the Acts, and some of St. *Paul*'s epistles. And it appears from our collections out of ancient authors, that there were doubts about this in the minds of some in former times.

Divers learned moderns are persuaded, that they are different persons. Of this number are (*a*) *Cave*, [who nevertheless thinks him (*b*) the same *Mark*, that is mentioned by St. *Paul* in his second epistle to *Timothie*] (*c*) *Grotius*, (*d*) *Du Pin*, and (*e*) *Tillemont*. Which last, in his Ecclesiastical Memoirs, makes two different articles for this name: one entitled, St. *Mark the Evangelist, Apostle of Egypt, and Martyr:* the other, St. *John Mark, disciple and cousin of St. Barnabas*. On the other hand they

(*a*) S. Marcus Evangelista, quem cum Joanne Marco, de quo Act. xii. 12, male nonnulli confundunt. *H. L. T. i. p.* 24.

(*b*) Cum enim illum epistola secunda ad Timotheum—Romam accersiverat Paulus —*Id. ib.*

(*c*) *Gr. Pr. in Marc.* (*d*) *Diss. Prelim. l. 2. ch. ii. § iv.*

(*e*) *Mem. Ec. Tom. 2.*

hey are reckoned one and the ſame by (*f*) *Jer. Jones*, (*g*) *Lightfoot*, and (*h*) *Wetſtein*.

I ſhall now without delay conſider the reaſons of thoſe, who think there re two *Marks* mentioned in the New Teſtament.

1. They ſay, that *Mark* the Evangeliſt was converted and baptiſed by *Peter*, becauſe he calls him *his ſon*. 1 Pet. v. 13. But there is no rea-on to ſuppoſe this of *John Mark*.

To which I anſwer. That needs not to be reckoned the conſtant meaning of the expreſſion. It may denote only great affection and tenderneſſe, and a reſpect to faithful ſervices: in like manner as *Paul* ſays of *Timothie*, Philip. ii. 22. that *as a ſon with the father he had ſerved with him in the goſpel*. *Grotius* (*i*) and *Du Pin* (*k*) who mention this reaſon, ſeem not to have judged it concluſive. Moreover, if *Mark* was a convert of *Peter*, it does not follow, that he was not an early believer. For he might be one of that Apoſtle's converts at his firſt preaching the goſpel at *Jeruſalem*. *Mark* the Evangeliſt, upon that ſuppoſition, could not be one of the ſeventy: but he might be among the firſt believers, and the ſon of *Marie*. However, I chooſe not to inſiſt upon this, but chiefly upon what was before mentioned: that the appellation, *my ſon*, needs not to be underſtood rigorouſly, as meaning a convert begotten to the faith of the goſpel.

2. It is ſaid that (*l*) *Mark*, the companion of *Paul*, was called *John*: but the Evangeliſt is never ſo called by the ancients, who mention him.

To which I anſwer. It is true, that *Paul*'s companion is ſometimes called *John*, as Acts xiii. 5. and 13. But we are alſo informed that he

was

(*f*) *New and full Method. vol.* 3. *ch. vi. p.* 65. . . . 70.

(*g*) *Lightfoot* is making obſervations upon the firſt epiſtle of St. *Peter*. He ſends this epiſtle, ſays he, by *Sylvanus*, *Paul*'s old attendant, but now with *Peter*. . . His naming of *Mark* with him calls our thoughts back to what has been mentioned of *Mark* heretofore: his being with *Paul* at *Rome*, and his coming from him into the Eaſt. To ſuppoſe two *Marks*, one with *Peter*, and another with *Paul*, is to breed confuſion, where there needeth not. . . It is eaſily ſeen, how *John Mark* came into familiarity with *Paul* and *Peter*. And other *Mark* we can find none in the New Teſtament, unleſs of our own invention. . . He it was, that wrote the Goſpel. *Lightfoot Harm. of the N. T. Vol. i. p.* 336.

(*h*) Nihil vetat, quo minus ſimpliciter cum Victore et Theophylacto hunc eundem Marcum intelligamus, quoties illius nomen in Actis et Epiſtolis reperitur. *Wetſt. Pr. in Marc. Tom. i. p.* 551.

(*i*) Adde, quod Joannes Marcus inter primos Chriſtianos: Marcus hic, ut dicitur, Petri opera converſus. 1 Pet. v. 13. Nam tales peculiariter *filios* ſuos Apoſtoli vocabant. 1 Cor. iv. 15. Gal. iv. 19. *Gr. Pr. in Marc.*

(*k*) Il y a plus d'apparence, qu'il a reçû l'evangile de S. Pierre, qui l'appelle ſon fils, peutêtre parcequ'il l'avoit engendré en J. C. *Diſſ. Prel. l.* 2. *ch.* 1. § *iv.*

(*l*) Joannes quoque ille Mariæ filius, Barnabæ conſanguineus, . . Marcus vocabatur: quem multi hunc noſtrum ſcriptorem putant. Quibus quo minus aſſentiar, moveor veterum auctoritate, qui hunc ſcriptorem Joannem nunquam, Marcum ſemper vocant. . . *Grot. Pr. in Marc.*

L'Evangeliſte n'eſt appellé nulle part du nom de Jean, qui étoit le nom propre de celuici. *Du Pin, ubi ſupra.*

was surnamed *Mark*. So Acts xii. 12. *And when he had considered th thing, he came to the house of Marie, the mother of John, whose surname wa Mark*. And ver. 25. . . *and took with them John, whose surname wa Mark*. And he is several times mentioned by the surname, *Mark*, only Acts xv. 39. 2 Tim. iv. 11. Col. iv. 10. Philem. ver. 24. *Secondly* such of the ancients, as supposed *Mark*, the Evangelist, to have been th same with him mentioned in the Acts, must also have supposed, that h was called *John*, as well as *Mark*, though they have generally mentione him by his surname.

3. It is said, that (*m*) *John Mark* was much with *Paul*, *Mark*, th Evangelist, with *Peter*. So say the ancients in general.

I answer: It is not at all impossible, but that *Mark* might be sometime with *Paul*, at other times with *Peter*. As may appear by and by.

As these reasons therefore do not appear to me conclusive, I rather think, that there is but one *Mark* in the New Testament, *John Mark* the Evangelist, and fellow-laborer of *Paul* and *Barnabas*, and *Peter*.

His history from the N. T.

II. I now proceed to write the history of *John Mark* from the New Testament, mentioning, as they offer, some observations, shewing his acquaintance with *Peter*, as we as with *Paul*. After which I shall take notice of some other things sai of him by the ancients.

He was the son of *Marie*, a pious woman at *Jerusalem*, and an earl believer, at whose house the disciples used to meet, and that in trouble some and difficult times, as well as at other seasons. *Peter* having bee delivered out of prison by an angel, *came to the house of Marie, mother John, whose surname was Mark, where many were gathered together pray ing*. Acts xii. 12. So that the very first mention of *John Mark* assure us of *Peter*'s intimacie in that familie.

That deliverance of St. *Peter* happened in the year 44. about th same time that *Paul* and *Barnabas* came to *Jerusalem* from *Antioch* wit contributions for the relief of the brethren in *Judea* in the time of famine, or scarcity. And it is said at the end of that chapter. *And Bar nabas and Saul returned from Jerusalem, when they had fulfilled their mini stirie, and took with them John, whose surname was Mark*. This, wit some other things to be hereafter mentioned, may dispose us to think that this *John Mark* is the same, who in Col. iv. 10. is called *sister's so to Barnabas*.

Mark therefore went now from *Jerusalem* to *Antioch*, with *Paul* an *Barnabas*. And, when some short time afterwards, they went abroa to other countreys, *Mark* accompanied them, as *their minister*. Act xiii. 5. They went to *Cyprus*, and preached the word in that countrey But when they returned to the continent, and came on shore at *Perga i Pamphylia, he departed from them, and returned to Jerusalem*. ver. 13. H therefore did not attend them in their farther progresse to *Antioch in Pi sidia, Iconium*, and other places, but went to *Jerusalem*.

An

(*m*) Et ita Petro addunt [Veteres] comitem, ac discipulum, ut non tantu de Barnaba, sed et de Paulo, quem Joannes Marcus post illud frigusculum secta tus est . . . nihil meminerint. *Grot. ibid.*

Il étoit disciple de S. Pierre, et attaché à lui, dans le tems que l'autre éto avec S. Paul, et S. Barnabe. *Du Pin. ibid.*

And now, very probably, he converſed again with *Peter*, and the other Apoſtles, and was preſent with them at their diſcourſes, and their devotions. For, as I apprehend, all the Apoſtles were ſtill in *Judea* except *James* the ſon of *Zebedee*, who had been beheaded by *Herod Agrippa*, in the beginning of the year 44.

Paul and *Barnabas* having finiſhed their progreſſe, returned to *Antioch*, and there abode. Whilſt they were there, debates aroſe about circumciſing Gentil converts. Which determined *Paul* and *Barnabas* to go to *Jeruſalem*. That controverſie being decided, they returned to *Antioch*.

Some time afterwards *Paul ſaid unto Barnabas: Let us go again, and viſit our brethren, in every city, where we have preached the word, and ſee how they do. And Barnabas determined to take with them John, whoſe ſurname was Mark. But Paul thought it not good to take him with them, who had departed from them from Pamphylia, and went not with them to the work. Barnabas*, however, perſiſted in his reſolution, and went with *Mark* to *Cyprus*. And *Paul* choſe *Silas* to accompany him. Acts xv. 36 . . . . 41.

Hereby we perceive the good temper of *Mark*. He was now at *Antioch*, and was willing to attend *Paul* and *Barnabas* in their journeys, and actually went with *Barnabas* to *Cyprus*. And though *Paul* would not now accept of his attendance, he was afterwards fully reconciled to him. *Mark* is mentioned in ſeveral of his epiſtles ſent from *Rome*, during his confinement there. I ſuppoſe, I ſhall hereafter ſhew, that St. *Paul*'s ſecond epiſtle to *Timothie* was writ in the ſummer of the year 61. not long after *Paul*'s arrival at *Rome*. In that epiſtle he writes to *Timothie*, to come to him. And he deſires him to bring *Mark* with him. 2 Tim. iv. 11. *Take Mark, and bring him with thee: for he is profitable to me for the miniſtrie.* Where *Mark* then was, does not clearly appear. It is probable, that he was either at *Epheſus*, or at ſome other place, where *Timothie* would find him in his journey from *Epheſus* to *Rome*. And, unqueſtionably, *Mark* did come with *Timothie*. He is mentioned in two of the epiſtles writ by the Apoſtle at *Rome*. Philem. ver. 24. and Col. iv. 10. *Ariſtarchus ſalutes you, and Mark, ſiſter's ſon to Barnabas, touching whom ye received commandments. If he come unto you, receive him.* *Mark* is not mentioned in the epiſtle to the *Philippians*. Perhaps he was not acquainted there, or upon ſome occaſion was abſent from the Apoſtle, when that epiſtle was writ. Or rather, he is comprehended in thoſe general expreſſions. ch. iv. 21. *The brethren that are with me, greet you.* For in the epiſtle to the *Philippians* St. *Paul* does not mention his fellow-laborers by name, as he does in the epiſtles to the *Coloſſians*, and to *Philemon*. Nor is he mentioned in the epiſtle to the *Epheſians*. To thoſe who admit the true date of that epiſtle the reaſon will be obvious. It was writ, and ſent away, before *Mark* came to be with St. *Paul* at *Rome*.

This is all we can ſay concerning St. *Mark* from the New Teſtament. But from that we can collect his excellent character, and may conclude, that after this time he no longer attended on *Paul*. It is not improbable, that going now into *Aſia*, he there met with St. *Peter*, and accompanied him, till that Apoſtle came to *Rome*, where he ſuffered martyrdom.

tyrdom. Where likewise *Mark* wrote, and published the Gospel that goes by his name.

From other writers.

III. We will now inquire, whether there is any thing in other writers to illustrate the history of this Evangelist.

Cave says, without hesitation, that (*n*) *Mark* was a *Levite*. But he does not say, upon what authority. I do not remember, that it is in any of the writers, of which I have given a particular account, excepting (*o*) *Bede*. It is also in a commentarie upon St. *Mark*'s Gospel, usually joyned with *Jerome*'s works, though (*p*) allowed not to be his. That writer says, that (*q*) *Mark* was a *Levite*, and a Priest. It is not unlikely that this was inferred from *Mark*'s relation to *Barnabas*, who was a *Levite of Cyprus*. Comp. Acts. iv. 36. and Col. iv. 10. But then *Cave* should not have denied, as he does in the same place, that *Mark* the Evangelist is the same as *John Mark*, mentioned in the Acts. For that, as I apprehend, is to remove out of the way the sole ground of this opinion.

By *Eusebe* we are informed, it (*r*) was said, that *Mark* going into *Egypt*, first preached there the Gospel, which he had writ, and planted there many churches. And afterwards, in another chapter, he says, that (*s*) in the eighth year of *Nero*, *Anianus*, the first Bishop of *Alexandria* after *Mark*, the Apostle and Evangelist, took upon him the care of that church. Of which *Anianus* he gives a great character, as beloved of God, and a wonderful man.

Epiphanius says, that soon after *Matthew*, *Mark*, companion of *Peter*, composed his Gospel at *Rome*. And having (*t*) writ it, he was sent by *Peter* into the countrey of the *Egyptians*.

Jerome, in his article of St. *Mark*, as (*u*) before quoted, after other things, says: "Taking (*x*) the Gospel, which himself had composed, he "went

(*n*) S. Marcus, Evangelista, quem cum Johanne Marco, de quo Act. xii. 12. male nonnulli confundunt, erat Levites. *H. L. T. i. p.* 24.

(*o*) Tradunt autem hunc, natione Israelitica, et sacerdotali ortum prosapia, ac post passionem ac resurrectionem Domini Salvatoris, ad prædicationem Apostolorum Evangelica fide a sacramentis imbutum, atque ex eorum fuisse numero, de quibus scribit Lucas, quia multa etiam turba sacerdotum obediebat fidei. *Bed. Prol. in. Marc.*

(*p*) *Vid. Benedictin. Monitum, et Petav. Animadv. ad Epiph. H.* 21. *num. vi. p.* 88.

(*q*) Marcus Evangelista Dei, Petri discipulus, Leviticus genere, et sacerdos, in Italia hoc scripsit Evangelium. *Præf. in Marc. ap. Hierom. T. v. p.* 886.

(*r*) Τοῦτον δὲ μάρκον πρῶτον φασιν ἐπὶ τῆς αἰγύπτου στειλάμενον. τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὃ δὴ καὶ συνεγράψατο κηρύξαι, ἐκκλησίας τε πρῶτον ἐπ' αὐτῆς αλεξανδρείας συστήσασθαι. κ. λ. *H. E. l.* 2. *cap.* 16.

(*s*) . . . πρῶτος μετὰ μάρκον τὸν ἀπόστολον καὶ εὐαγγελιστὴν, τῆς ἐν αλεξανδρείᾳ παροικίας ἀνικνεῖται τὴν λειτουργίαν διαδέχεται· ἀνὴρ θεόφιλος καὶ πάντα θαυμάσιος. *Ib. cap.* 24.

(*t*) . . . καὶ γράψας ἀποστέλλεται ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου πέτρου εἰς τὴν τῶν αἰγυπτίων χώραν. *H.* 51. *num. vi.*

(*u*) *Vol. x. p.* 92. 93.

(*x*) Assumto itaque Evangelio, quod ipse conscripserat, perrexit ad Ægyptum, et primus Alexandriæ Christum annuntians constituit ecclesiam . . . Denique Philo . . videns Alexandriæ primam ecclesiam adhuc judaizantem, quasi in laudem

" went to *Egypt*, and at *Alexandria* founded a church of great note. . .
" He died in the eighth year of *Nero*, and was buried at *Alexandria*,
" where he was succeeded, as Biſhop, by *Anianus*."

From all theſe accounts, I think, it muſt appear to be probable, that indeed *Mark* preached at all in *Egypt*, and founded a church at *Alexandria*; it muſt have been after he had writ his Goſpel, and after the death of *Peter* and *Paul* at *Rome*. Nevertheleſs, when preſently afterwards *Euſebe*, and *Jerome* likewiſe, ſpeak of *Mark*'s converts, and *Philo*'s Therapeuts, as all one, they ſeem to have imagined, that *Mark* had very early preached in *Egypt*. But what they ſay upon that head is exceeding ſtrange and unaccountable. For they both ſuppoſe, that *Mark* had writ his goſpel at *Rome*, before he went into *Egypt*: and that his Goſpel was not writ before the reign of *Nero*. If therefore *Mark* went at all to *Alexandria*, it was later, in the ſame reign: and *Philo*'s Therapeuts could not be Chriſtians, nor *Mark*'s converts: but were a ſort of people, who had a being, and had formed their inſtitution, before the goſpel could be publiſhed in *Egypt*, and before the riſe of the Chriſtian Religion.

By *Baronius* (*y*) and many others, it is ſaid, that St. *Mark* died a Martyr. This is admitted by (*z*) *Cave*, and the (*a*) late Mr. *Wetſtein*. But it is diſputed by (*b*) *S. Baſnage*: and, as ſeems to me, with good reaſon. For St. *Mark* is not ſpoken of as a Martyr by *Euſebe*, or other more ancient writers. And *Jerome*, as before quoted, ſays, St. *Mark* died in the eighth year of *Nero*, and was buried at *Alexandria*. He does not ſay, that he was crowned with martyrdom: as he would have done, if he had known of it. And his expreſſions ſeem to imply a natural death. *Fabricius* (*c*) in his account of St. *Mark*, ſays nothing of his having been a Martyr.

IV. Having thus writ the hiſtorie of St. *Mark*, I ſhall now recollect the teſtimonies to his Goſpel, which we have ſeen in ancient writers, particularly, with a view of aſcertaining the time of it: obſerving likewiſe whatever may farther lead us into the knowledge of his ſtation and character, and whether he was one of Chriſt's ſeventy diſciples, or not. *Teſtimonies to his Goſpel.*

The firſt writer to be here taken notice of is *Papias*, about A. D. 116. He ſays, "That (*d*) the Elder, from whom he had divers informations, ſaid: *Mark*, being the interpreter of *Peter*, wrote what he remembred: but not in the order, in which things were ſpoken and done "by

udem gentis ſuæ, librum ſuper eorum converſatione conſcripſit. *De V. L. p.* 8.

(*y*) *An.* 64. § *i. ii.*

(*z*) Alexandriæ primus Epiſcopus factus Martyrium ibi ſubiit: quo vero anno, mihi hactenus incompertum. *H. L. p.* 24.

(*a*) Tandem vero in Ægyptum conceſſiſſe, atque Alexandriæ ſanguine ſuo doctrinam Chriſti confirmaſſe, hiſtoria eccleſiaſtica teſtatur. *J. J. Wetſtein. N. T. Tom. i. p.* 551.

(*b*) *Ann.* 66. *num, xix. xx.*

(*c*) *Vid. Fabr. Bib. Gr. l.* 4. *cap. v. n. iii. Tom.* 3. *p.* 130. . . . 132.

(*d*) *Vol. i. p.* 241.

" by Chriſt. For he was not a hearer of the Lord, but afterwards fol-
" lowed *Peter*."

Irenaeus, as before (*e*) cited, about 178. ſays: " After the death of
" *Peter* and *Paul*, *Mark*, the diſciple and interpreter of *Peter*, delivered
" to us in writing the things that had been preached by *Peter*." In another place (*f*) he calls *Mark* " the interpreter and follower of
" *Peter*."

Clement, of *Alexandria*, about the year of Chriſt 194. ſays: " That (*g*)
" *Peter*'s hearers at *Rome*, not content with a ſingle hearing, nor with
" an unwritten inſtruction in the divine doctrine, entreated *Mark*, the
" follower of *Peter*, that he would leave with them in writing a memo-
" rial of the doctrine, which had been delivered to them by word of
" mouth. Nor did they deſiſt, untill they had prevailed with him. Thus
" they were the means of writing the Goſpel, which is called according
" to *Mark*. It is ſaid, that when the Apoſtle knew what had been
" done, he was pleaſed with the zeal of the men, and authoriſed that
" ſcripture to be read in the churches." That paſſage is cited from
Euſebe's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorie.

Again, *Euſebe* ſays: " *Clement* (*h*) informs us, that the occaſion of
" writing the Goſpel according to *Mark* was this. *Peter*, having pub-
" licly preached the word at *Rome*, and having ſpoken the Goſpel by the
" Spirit, many who were there, entreated *Mark* to write the things that
" had been ſpoken, he having long accompanied *Peter*, and retaining
" what he had ſaid: and that when he had compoſed the Goſpel, he de-
" livered it to them, who had aſked it of him. Which when *Peter* knew,
" he neither forbid it, nor encouraged it."

Many remarks were (*i*) formerly made upon theſe accounts of *Clement*, which cannot now be repeated. But it may be needful to ſay ſomething here for reconciling *Irenaeus* and him. *Irenaeus* ſaid, that *Mark* publiſhed his Goſpel *after the death of Peter and Paul:* whereas *Clement* ſuppoſes *Peter* to have been ſtill living, and that this Goſpel was ſhewn to *Peter*, who did not diſapprove of it. But the difference is not great. *Clement* ſays, that *Mark*'s Goſpel was writ at *Rome* at the requeſt of the Chriſtians there, who were hearers of *Peter*. If ſo, it could not be compoſed long before *Peter*'s death. For I take it to be certain, that *Peter* did not come to *Rome*, untill the reign of *Nero* was far advanced, nor very long before his own death. So that it may be reckoned not improbable, that *Mark*'s Goſpel was not publiſhed, or did not become generally known, till after the death of *Peter* and *Paul*, as *Irenaeus* ſays.

Tertullian, about the year 200. ſpeaks of *Mark* as (*k*) an apoſtolical man, or companion of Apoſtles: and ſays, " That (*l*) the Goſpel, pub-
" liſhed by *Mark*, may be reckoned *Peter*'s, whoſe interpreter he
" was."

Says *Origen*, about 230. " The (*m*) ſecond Goſpel is that according
" to *Mark*, who wrote it as *Peter* dictated it to him. Who therefore
" calls him his ſon in his catholic epiſtle." *See* 1 *Peter* v. 13.

Euſebe,

(*e*) *Vol. i. p.* 354. (*f*) *P.* 357. (*g*) *Vol. ii.* 472.
(*h*) *P.* 475. (*i*) *Vol. i. p.* 245. . . 249. *Vol. ii. p.* 476. . . 493.
(*k*) *See Vol. ii. p.* 576. . . 588. (*l*) *P.* 581.
(*m*) *Vol. viii. p.* 235.

Euſebe, about 315. may be ſuppoſed to agree in the main with *Clement* and *Irenaeus*, whoſe paſſages he has tranſcribed, and inſerted in his Ecclesiaſtical Hiſtorie. And in a long paſſage of his Evangelical Demonſtration, formerly (*n*) tranſcribed by us, he ſays: "*Peter* out of abundance of modeſtie thought not himſelf worthie to write a Goſpel. But *Mark*, who was his friend and diſciple, is ſaid to have recorded *Peter*'s relations of the acts of Jeſus." At the end of which paſſage he ſays: And (*o*) *Peter* teſtifies theſe things of himſelf. For all things in *Mark* are ſaid to be memoirs of *Peter*'s diſcourſes." He likewiſe ſays, "that (*p*) *Mark* was not preſent to hear what Jeſus ſaid." Nor (*q*) does it appear, that he thought the writer of the Goſpel to be *John*, ſurnamed *Mark*, nephew to *Barnabas*. But unqueſtionably he ſuppoſed him to be the ſame that is mentioned 1 Pet. v. 13.

Mark is mentioned among the other Evangeliſts by (*r*) *Athanaſius*, without other particularities. But in the Synopſis, aſcribed to him, and by many ſuppoſed to be writ by another *Athanaſius*, Biſhop of *Alexandria*, near the end of the fifth centurie, it is ſaid, "That (*s*) the Goſpel according to *Mark* was dictated by *Peter* at *Rome*, and publiſhed by *Mark*, and preached by him in *Alexandria*, and *Egypt*, and *Pentapolis*, and *Lybia*."

The author of the Dialogue againſt the *Marcionites*, about 330. ſays, that (*t*) *Mark* was one of Chriſt's ſeventy diſciples.

Epiphanius, about 368. ſays: "*Matthew* (*u*) wrote firſt, and *Mark* ſoon after him, being a companion of *Peter* at *Rome*." Afterwards he ſays, "That (*x*) *Mark* was one of Chriſt's ſeventy diſciples, and likewiſe one of thoſe who were offended at the words of Chriſt, recorded John vi. 44. and then forſook him: but he was afterwards recovered by *Peter*, and being filled with the Spirit wrote a Goſpel."

Upon the laſt paſſage of *Epiphanius Petavius* ſays: "*Mark* (*y*) might, poſſibly, have ſeen Chriſt, and have been one of the ſeventy: but it is ſaid by very few ancient writers of the Church."

In the Conſtitutions *Mark* (*z*) is reckoned with *Luke* a fellow-laborer of *Paul*. Which may induce us to think, that the author ſuppoſed *Mark*, the Evangeliſt, to be *John Mark*, mentioned in the Acts, and ſome of St. *Paul*'s epiſtles.

Gregorie Nazianzen ſays, "That (*a*) *Mark* wrote his Goſpel for the *Italians*," or in *Italie*.

Ebedjeſu ſays, "The (*b*) ſecond Evangeliſt is *Mark*, who preached [or wrote] in Latin, in the famous city of *Rome*."

Jerome's

(*n*) *Vol. viii.* 86 ... 88. (*o*) *P.* 88. (*p*) *P.* 86.
(*q*) *P.* 143. (*r*) *Vol. viii. p.* 227.
(*s*) *Vol. viii. p.* 250. (*t*) *P.* 255.
(*u*) *P.* 305. (*x*) *P.* 306.
(*y*) Diſſentit Papias apud Euſebium. ... Quod autem afferunt nonnulli, Dominum non vidiſſe Dominum, viderit necne non affirmo. Videre quidem potuiſſe, temporum ipſa ratio perſuadet. Neque vero damnanda eſt Epiphanii ſententia, dum illum e LXXII diſcipulorum numero fuiſſe tradat, etſi contrarium alii patres tradant. *Petav. ad loc. Animadv. p.* 88.
(*z*) *Vol. viii. p.* 393.
(*a*) *Vol. ix. p.* 133. (*b*) *P.* 216.

Jerome's article of this Evangelist, in his book of illustrious Men, is to this purpose: "*Mark* (*c*) the disciple and interpreter of *Peter*, at the "desire of the brethren at *Rome*, wrote a short Gospel, according to "what he had heard related by *Peter*. Which when *Peter* knew, he ap- "proved of it, and authorised it to be read in the churches: as *Clement* "writes in the sixth book of his Institutions, and also *Papias*, Bishop of "*Hierapolis*. *Peter* also makes mention of this *Mark* in his epistle writ- "at *Rome*, which he figuratively calls *Babylon* . . . Taking the Gospel, "which himself had composed, he went to *Egypt*, and at *Alexandria* "founded a church of great note . . . He died in the eighth year of *Nero*, "and was buried at *Alexandria*: where he was succeeded, as Bishop, "by *Anianus*."

In the prologue to his Commentarie upon St. *Matthew*, *Jerome* says "The (*e*) second Evangelist is *Mark*, interpreter of the Apostle *Peter*, "and the first Bishop of *Alexandria*: who never saw the Lord himself, "but related things as he had them from his master, very truly, but not "exactly in the order, in which they were done."

In his Commentarie upon *Philem.* ver. 24. he says: "He (*d*) thinks "that *Mark* there mentioned is the writer of the Gospel." That *Mark* may be well supposed to be *John Mark*, mentioned in the Acts, and in Col. iv. 10. where he is stiled *nephew to Barnabas*. Whether that *Mark* was the Evangelist, was doubted of by some. Nor was *Jerome* positive. But he was inclined to think him the same.

Augustin (*e*) calls *Mark* and *Luke* disciples of Apostles: and says, that (*f*) *Mark* follows *Matthew*, as his abridger. Upon which some remarks were (*g*) made.

By *Chrysostom* (*h*) *Mark* is said to have writ his gospel in *Egypt*, at the request of the believers there. However, at the end of that passage he says: "In (*i*) what place each one of the Evangelists wrote, cannot "be said with certainty." He likewise (*k*) calls *Mark* disciple of *Peter*, and *Peter* his master. He must have supposed him the same, that is mentioned 1 Pet. v. 13. But I do not recollect him to have any where said, that he was the same as *John Mark*.

Victor, writer of a Commentarie upon St. *Mark*'s Gospel, about the year 401. says: "He (*l*) was also called *John*: that he wrote a Gospel "after *Matthew*, and was the son of *Marie*, mentioned Acts xii. For "a while he accompanied *Paul*, and his relation *Barnabas*. But when "he came to *Rome*, he joyned *Peter*, and accompanied him. For which "reason he is mentioned 1 Pet. v. 13. *Mark* is also mentioned by *Paul* "Col. iv. 10. 2 Tim. iv. 11 . . . When he was obliged to go from "*Rome*, and was earnestly desired by the believers there to write a histo- "rie of the preaching of the heavenly doctrine, he readily complied. "This, as he adds, is said to have been the occasion of writing the Gos- "pel according to *Mark*."

Cosma

(*c*) *Vol. x. p.* 92. 93. (*d*) *P.* 83. (*d*) *P.* 93.
(*e*) *P.* 228. (*f*) *P.* 229.
(*g*) *P.* 233 . . . 236. (*h*) *P.* 315.
(*i*) *P.* 316. . . . 318. (*k*) *P.* 318. 319. 322.
(*l*) *Vol. xi. p.* 30. 31.

Cosmas, of *Alexandria*, about 535. says: "*Mark* (*m*), the second "Evangelist, wrote a Gospel at *Rome*, by the direction of *Peter*."

By *Isidore*, of *Seville*, about 596. *Mark* (*n*) is said to have writ his Gospel in *Italie*. Afterwards, he seems to say, it (*o*) was writ at *Alexandria*. But perhaps no more is meant, than that *Mark* preached at *Alexandria* the Gospel, which he had writ.

Oecumenius, about 950. upon Acts xiii. 13. says: "This (*p*) *John*, "who is also called *Mark*, nephew to *Barnabas*, wrote the Gospel ac- "cording to him, and was also disciple of *Peter*, of whom he says in his "first epistle: *Mark, my son, saluteth you.*"

Theophylact flourished about 1070. His preface to St. *Mark* is to this purpose: "The (*q*) Gospel according to *Mark* was writ at *Rome* ten "years after Christ's ascension, at the request of the believers there. "For this *Mark* was a disciple of *Peter*, whom he calls his son spiritu- "ally. His name was *John*. He was nephew to *Barnabas*, and was "also a companion of *Paul*."

Euthymius, about 1110. says: "The (*r*) Gospel of *Mark* was writ "about ten years after our Lord's ascension, at *Rome*, as some say, or in "*Egypt*, according to others. He says, that at first *Mark* was much "with his uncle *Barnabas* and *Paul*. Afterwards he was with *Peter* at "*Rome*, as the first epistle of the Apostle shews, whom he there calls his "son. From whom also he received the whole historie of the Gos- "pel."

Nicephorus Callisti, about 1325. says: "Two (*s*) only of the twelve, "*Matthew* and *John*, have left memoirs of our Lord's life on earth: and "two of the seventy, *Mark* and *Luke*." And somewhat lower: "After this *Mark* and *Luke* published their Gospels by the direction of "*Peter* and *Paul*."

I add here one author more, not particularly mentioned in the preceding part of this work, *Eutychius*, Patriarch of *Alexandria*, in the tenth century: who says, "that (*t*) in the time of the Emperor *Nero*, *Peter* "the prince of the Apostles, making use of the pen of *Mark*, wrote a "Gospel at *Rome*, in the *Roman* language. And he published it under "*Mark*'s name." By the *Roman*, probably, meaning the *Greek* language, which then very much prevailed in the Roman Empire, as (*u*) *Selden* has observed.

V. Let us now briefly recollect what has passed before us, in several articles. *Remarks upon them.*

1. All the ancient writers in general suppose the Evangelist *Mark* to have been a companion of *Peter* in the later part of his life, and to have had great advantages from that Apostle's preaching for composing a Gospel.

2. Though

(*m*) *P.* 267. (*n*) *P.* 367. (*o*) *P.* 375.
(*p*) *P.* 413. (*q*) *P.* 421.
(*r*) *P.* 436. (*s*) *P.* 442.
(*t*) Et tempore Neronis Cæsaris scripsit Petrus, Apostolorum princeps, Evangelium Marci, dictante Marco, lingua Romana, in urbe Romæ. Sed detrit uit illud Marco. *Eutych. Ann. p.* 335. *Conf. ejusd. Origines. p.* 35.
(*u*) *Vid. Selden in Eutych. Origin. not.* 28. *p.* 152.

2. Though some have doubted who *Mark* was, many have been of opinion, that he was *John Mark*, son of *Marie*, a pious Jewish woman, and an early believer, of *Jerusalem*, and nephew to *Barnabas*.

3. If *Mark*, the Evangelist, be *John Mark*, as seems to me very probable, he was well acquainted with *Barnabas* and *Paul*, and other Apostles, and disciples, eye-witnesses of Jesus, beside *Peter*.

4. Some of the ancient writers, quoted by us, thought *Mark* to have been one of Christ's seventy disciples. Which I apprehend cannot be either affirmed, or denied with certainty. But if he was not one of them, he was an early believer, and an early disciple and companion of Apostles, and intimately conversant with them. Whereby, and by hearing *Peter* preach in *Judea*, and other places, and lastly at *Rome*, he was well qualified to write a Gospel.

S. *Basnage* has some observations upon this point, which deserve to be taken notice of. " *Epiphanius* (*x*) and the Author of the Dialogues " against the *Marcionites*, suppose *Mark* to have been one of Christ's " seventy disciples. But that opinion, says he, does not appear to me " well grounded. It seems incredible, that *Peter* should call *Mark*, *his* " *son*, if he was one of the seventy, who had a commission from Christ " himself, and were almost equal to Apostles. That ancient writer, " *Papias*, excludes him from that number, saying, that *Mark* was not a " hearer or follower of the Lord. . . . And *Tertullian* calls *Mark Peter's* " *interpreter*, which office would be below the character of one of the " seventy. . . . Nor does *Origen* make him one of the seventy, whose au- " thority must be of great weight . . . However, it seems to me very pro- " bable, that *Mark* was one of the five hundred brethren, who saw " Christ after his resurrection. And having been an eye-witness o " that, he was qualified to write a Gospel."

Upon which I observe: The supposition, that *Mark* might be one of the five hundred, spoken of by St. *Paul* 1 Cor. xv. 6. is a mere conjecture, without any authority, either in Scripture, or antiquity. But I would add a thought or two for strengthening the argument, that *Mark* was not one of the seventy disciples. *Eusebe* (*y*) in his Ecclesiastical Historie, has a chapter concerning the Disciples of our Saviour. But *Mark* is not there named, as one of them. Nor does *Jerome* say anything of it in his book of Illustrious Men: nor elsewhere, that I remember. The silence of *Origen*, *Eusebe*, and *Jerome*, upon this head, must amount

(*x*) Marcum de LXX discipulis unum fuisse, credidit Epiphanius . . . Nobis tamen non arridet ea sententia, cum incredibile sit, Petrum Marco *filii* nomen addidisse, si de septuaginta discipulis unus fuisset, quos Christus ipse legaverat, quique ab omni fere parte æquales erant Apostolis. Papias quoque vetustus ille auctor LXX discipulis Marcum eximit. . . . Ex Tertulliano quoque scimus, Marcum interpretis officio functum fuisse, quod infra LXX dignitatem fuit. . . . Neque LXX discipulis eum appositum Origines, cujus non minimi ponderis est testimonium . . . Nobis tamen est admodum probabile Marcum unum fuisse quingentorum fratrum, qui Christum a morte revocatum contemplati sunt. Cuique, ut testi oculato, commissa est scribendi Evangelii provincia. *Basn. Ann.* 66. *num. xvii.*

(*y*) *H. Eccl.* 1. *cap. xii.*

amount to an argument of no ſmall weight, that there was not in their times any prevailing tradition, that *Mark* was one of the ſeventy. It may be alſo reckoned an argument, that he was not of that number, in that he has not in his Goſpel taken any notice of them, or of the commiſſion given to them. Which is in St. *Luke* only. ch. x. 1. . . 17.

I therefore conclude with ſaying, that *Mark* was an early believer, and an early diſciple and fellow-laborer of Apoſtles. But that he ever ſaw, or heard the Lord Jeſus, is not certain.

5. The general account of the above named writers is, that *Mark* wrote his Goſpel at *Rome*. In this there is a remarkable agreement, with a very few exceptions. *Chryſoſtom* indeed ſpeaks of it's being writ in *Egypt*. But he is almoſt ſingular. That it was writ at *Rome*, or in *Italie*, is ſaid not only by *Epiphanius*, *Jerome*, *Gregorie Nazianzen*, *Victor*, and divers others: but the *Egyptian* writers likewiſe all along ſay the ſame thing: that it was writ by *Mark* at *Rome*, in the companie of the Apoſtle *Peter*. So ſay *Clement* of *Alexandria*, *Athanaſius*, the ſuppoſed author of the Synopſis of Scripture, *Coſmas*, and *Eutychius*, all of *Alexandria*. *Ebedjeſu* likewiſe, in his catalogue of *Syrian* writings, ſays, that *Mark* wrote at *Rome*. And the Latin author of the commentarie upon St. *Mark*'s *Goſpel*, quoted ſome while ago, ſays, that it was writ in *Italie*.

6. This leads us to think, that St. *Mark*'s Goſpel was not writ before the year 63. or 64. For we cannot perceive any good reaſon to think, that St. *Peter* was at *Rome*, till about that time. And this date is ſupported by the teſtimonie of that ancient writer, *Irenæus*, that *Mark* publiſhed his Goſpel *after the deceaſe of Peter and Paul*.

The Time of this Goſpel.

VI. Theſe are obſervations, which the above cited teſtimonies ſeem naturally to afford. But before we proceed any farther, it will be fit for us to take notice of the ſentiments of learned moderns concerning the time of St. *Mark*'s writing his Goſpel.

Cave ſuppoſes St. *Mark* to have publiſhed his Goſpel at *Rome*, in the year of Chriſt 65. His argument for it I place (z) below.

Mr. *Jones*'s opinion was, that (a) this Goſpel was publiſhed between the year 64. and 67. or 68. when, according to his computation, *Peter* and *Paul* ſuffered martyrdom.

J. A.

(z) Rogatus Romæ a fratribus, ſcripſit Evangelium, a Petro approbatum, idque Græco ſermone Romanis ſatis familiari. Factum id circa ann. 65. Petro et Paulo jam morte ſublatis. Cum enim illum epiſtola ſecunda ad Timotheum non longe ante martyrium ſcripta, Romam accerſiverat Paulus, probabile eſt, Marcum vel eodem, vel ſaltem ſequenti anno illuc veniſſe, ibique Evangelium vel primum condidiſſe, vel prius conditum in publicum edidiſſe. Certe Irenæus, l. 3. cap. i. et apud Euſebium, l. 5. c. viii. S. Marcum μετὰ τὴν τέτων ἔξοδον Evangelium ſuum conſcripſiſſe diſerte tradit. *Cav. H. L. T. i. p.* 24.

(a) Mr. *Jones*'s words are theſe: "Theſe, with ſome other reaſons, make "it evident to me, that St. *Peter* was not at *Rome*, till the year of Chriſt 63. "or 64. and conſequently, that the Goſpel of St. *Mark* was not written be"fore this time, but between that and the martyrdom of this Apoſtle and "St. *Paul*, in the year of Chriſt 67. or 68." *New and full Method. Vol.* 3. *p.* 88.

J. A. Fabricius (*b*) was for the year of Chriſt 63. the ninth of *Nero*.

Mill ſays, that (*c*) St. *Mark* publiſhed his Goſpel at *Rome* in the year of Chriſt 63. after that the Apoſtles *Peter* and *Paul* had been gone from thence, as *Irenaeus* ſays.

But here I beg leave to obſerve, that, probably, *Irenaeus* does not ſpeak of theſe two Apoſtles removal from *Rome*, but of their deceaſe. *Secondly*, Dr. *Mill* has no reaſon to ſuppoſe, that *Peter* was at *Rome*, during the time of *Paul*'s two years impriſonment there, eſpecially at the period of it. But there is a great deal of reaſon to think otherwiſe. For we have ſeveral epiſtles of St. *Paul*, writ near the end of that confinement, in which no notice is taken of *Peter*.

Baſnage (*d*) cloſely following *Irenaeus*, ſays, *Mark*'s Goſpel was publiſhed in the year 66. after the deceaſe of *Peter* and *Paul*: whoſe martyrdoms, according to him, happened in (*e*) the year 65.

So that it has been of late the opinion of many learned men, of the beſt judgement in theſe matters, that St. *Mark*'s Goſpel was not publiſhed, till after the year of Chriſt 60. I readily aſſent to them ſo far. And as I am diſpoſed to place the martyrdoms of theſe two great Apoſtles at *Rome*, in the later part of the year 64. or in 65. it ſeems to me probable, that St. *Mark*'s Goſpel was compoſed in the year 64. or 65. and made public by him the firſt fair opportunity, ſoon afterwards, before the end of the year 65. That I mention as the lateſt date. I do not preſume to ſay the time exactly. For it might be finiſhed, and publiſhed in the year 64.

I hoped to have had aſſiſtance from Mr. *Wetſtein* in this diſquiſition, But have been ſomewhat diſappointed. In his preface to St. *Mark*'s Goſpel he concludes from Col. iv. 10. and Philem. ver. 23. that (*f*) St. *Mark* had been with the Apoſtle *Paul* at *Rome*, in the time of his confinement there: that from thence he went to *Coloſſe*, and afterwards returned to *Rome*, where he is ſaid to have writ his Goſpel. Accordingly, as one would think, St. *Mark*'s Goſpel could not be publiſhed before the year 64. or 65. But in his preface to St. *Luke*'s Goſpel the ſame learned writer expreſſeth himſelf to this purpoſe. "According (*g*) to "ſome

(*b*) *Bib. Gr. l.* 4. *cap. v. Tom.* 3. *p.* 124. *et* 131.

(*c*) Poſt Pauli ac Petri ἔξοδον, ſeu diſceſſum ab urbe Roma .... *Marcus diſcipulus et interpres Petri, et ipſe quæ a Petro annuntiata erant, perſcripta nobis tradidit.* Inquit Irenæus ... Scripſit igitur Marcus Evangelium, juxta Irenæum, paullo poſt horum duorum Apoſtolorum diſceſſum a Roma, qui acciſſe videtur anno æræ vulgaris LXIII. *Mill. Proleg. num.* 101.

(*d*) De Marci Evangelio legimus apud Irenæum ... *Poſt vero horum exceſſum* .... Quæ traditio magis apud nos valet, quam alia quælibet de tempore editi a Marco Evangelii chronologia. *Baſn. ann.* 66. *n. xii.*

(*e*) *Vid. ann.* 65. *num. ix.*

(*f*) Inde Romam venit, Paulumque captivum inviſit. Col. iv. 10. Philem. 23. Inde ad Coloſſenſes abiit, a quibus rogatu Pauli Romam rediit. 2 Tim. iv. 11. ubi Evangelium conſcripſiſſe ... dicitur. *Wetſtein. N. T. Tom. i. p.* 551.

(*g*) Evangelium autem edidit xv. aut ſecundum alios xxii. poſt Chriſti adſcenſionem annis. .... Lucam multa ex Matthæo et Marco plura deſcripſiſſe, ex collatione patet. *Ib. p.* 643.

" ſome eccleſiaſtical writers *Luke* publiſhed his Goſpel fifteen, according " to others two and twenty years after Chriſt's aſcenſion . . . . That " he tranſcribed many things from *Matthew*, and yet more from *Mark*, " is manifeſt."

But if St. *Luke* wrote within two and twenty years after Chriſt's aſcenſion, and tranſcribed a great deal from St. *Mark*; St. *Mark*'s Goſpel muſt have been firſt publiſhed, and very early. If St. *Mark*'s Goſpel was not publiſhed till the year 64. and St. *Luke* tranſcribed from him; St. *Luke* could not write, till a good while after two and twenty years from Chriſt's aſcenſion. I do not perceive therefore, that Mr. *Wetſtein* had any determined opinion concerning the date of theſe two Goſpels. Nor can I, as yet, perſuade myſelf, that any of the Evangeliſts tranſcribed each other.

VII. I will now obſerve ſome characters of time in the Goſpel itſelf, like thoſe before taken notice of in St. *Matthew*. *Marks of Time in the Goſpel itſelf.*

1. From ch. vii. 14 . . 23. it appears, that St. *Mark* fully underſtood the ſpirituality of the doctrine of Chriſt, recommending righteouſneſſe and true holineſſe, without an obligation to Jewiſh ritual ordinances and appointments.

2. His hiſtorie of the *Greek* or Gentil woman, in the ſame chap. vii. 24. . . . 30. who beſought Jeſus to heal her daughter, and obtained her requeſt, deſerves notice here.

3. The call of the Gentils, and the rejection of the Jews, as a People, are intimated in ch. xii. 1. . . 12. in the parable there recorded, of the Houſeholder, who planted a vineyard, and let it out to huſbandmen: to whom after a while he ſent ſervants, and then his ſon, to receive from them the fruit of the vineyard. But they abuſed the ſervants, and killed the ſon. It is added: *What therefore will the Lord of the vineyard do? He will deſtroy the huſbandmen, and will let out the vineyard unto others.* And what follows.

4. In ch. xiii. are predictions concerning the deſtruction of the temple, and the deſolations of the Jewiſh People. And, particularly, at ver. 14 . . 16. are remarkable expreſſions, intimating the near approach of thoſe calamities, and ſuited to excite the attention of ſuch as were in danger of being involved in them.

5. In his account of the inſtitution of the euchariſt our Lord ſays: ch. xiv. 24. *This is my blood of the New Teſtament, which is ſhed for many:* that is, for all men, not for Jews only, but for Gentils alſo.

6. In ch. iv. 30. . 32. is the parable of the *grain of muſtard ſeed, the leſt of all ſeeds, which becometh greater than all herbs*: repreſenting the ſwift and wonderful progreſſe of the Goſpel in the world. Of which it is very likely St. *Mark*, at the time of writing, had ſome knowledge.

7. It is manifeſt, that he well underſtood the extent of our Saviour's commiſſion to the twelve Apoſtles. For he has recorded it in theſe words, ch. xvi. 15. *Go ye therefore into all the world, and preach the goſpel to every creature:* or the whole creation, that is, Jews and Gentils, all mankind of every denomination.

8. Yea, it appears from the concluſion of his hiſtorie, that before he wrote, the Apoſtles (at leſt divers of them) had left *Judea*, and had

preached in many places. ver. 20. *And they went forth, and preached every where, the Lord working with them, and confirming the word with ſigns following.*

9. Ch. xvi. 18. *They ſhall take up ſerpents.* Some may think, that here is a reference to the hiſtorie, which we have in Acts xxviii. 3 . . 6. I do not ſay, there is. But allowing it, I ſhould not reckon it an objection to the genuinneſſe of this part of that chapter. It would only be an argument for the late date of this Goſpel. And it has been ſo underſtood by (*b*) ſome. For my own part, I cannot ſay, that St. *Mark* has referred to it. But I make no queſtion, that he was acquainted with the event there related, when he wrote his Goſpel.

Obſervations upon this Goſpel.

VIII. I ſhall conclude this chapter with ſome obſervations upon St. *Mark*'s Goſpel.

1. It confirms the accounts given by the ancients, that it is the ſubſtance of *Peter*'s preaching.

This was taken notice of juſt now in our recollection. But I chooſe to enlarge upon it here, and ſhew, that the Goſpel itſelf affords evidences of it's being writ according to that Apoſtle's diſcourſes, or according to informations and directions given by him to this Evangeliſt.

1.) In the firſt place I would here remind my readers of a long paſſage of *Euſebius*, the learned Biſhop of *Ceſarea*, formerly tranſcribed, of which I take here a very ſmall part only.

Having obſerved ſeveral things very honourable to *Peter*, related in the other Goſpels, he adds: "Though (*i*) ſuch things were ſaid to *Peter* by "Jeſus, *Mark* has taken no notice of them: becauſe, as is probable, "*Peter* did not relate them in his ſermons. For he did not think fit to "bear teſtimonie to himſelf by relating what Jeſus ſaid to him, or of "him. Therefore *Mark* has omitted them. But what concerned his "denial of Jeſus, he preached to all men, becauſe he wept bitterly . . . . "For all things in *Mark* are ſaid to be memoirs of *Peter*'s diſcourſes."

2.) And (*k*) *Chryſoſtom*, reconciling *Matthew*'s and *Mark*'s accounts of *Peter*'s denying Chriſt, ſays: "Theſe things *Mark* had from his maſter. "For he was a diſciple of *Peter*. And what is very remarkable, though "he was a diſciple of *Peter*, he relates his fall more particularly, than any "of the reſt."

3.) The (*l*) ſame great preacher explaining the hiſtorie of our Lord's paying the didrachm or tribute-money to the temple, which is in Matth. xvii. 24 . . . 27. and particularly thoſe words: *That take and give unto them for me and thee*, ſays, "*Mark*, who was a diſciple of *Peter*, omits "this, becauſe it was honourable to that Apoſtle. But he relates the "hiſtorie

(*b*) Poſtremo, in ipſis Evangeliis quædam exſtare videntur criteria, ex quibus ea fere eſſe conſcripta colligi poteſt. Phraſis μέχρι τῆς σήμερον, *uſque ad hunc diem*. Mat. xxviii. 15. juſtum ſpatium inter Chriſti reſurrectionem et Evangelium exaratum poſtulare videtur. Ita quæ Marcus cap. xvi. 18. de *ſerpentibus* a Chriſti diſcipulis ſuo damno tollendis habet, ad Paulum, Romam tendentem, et quod ei in itinere in inſula Melito contigit, reſpicere videntur. *Herman. Venema Diſſ. ſecund. de titulo ep. ad Epheſ. Cap. v. num. iv.*

(*i*) *Vol. i. viii. p.* 86, . . . , 88. (*k*) *Vol. x. p.* 318. (*l*) *P.* 319.

hiſtorie of his denial of Chriſt. And perhaps his maſter forbid him to inſert ſuch things, as tended to aggrandiſe him."

4.) No one has more largely treated this point, than Mr. *Jones*, who has (*m*) a catalogue of ſeveral places in the Goſpels, containing things tending to *Peter*'s honour, which are not mentioned in St. *Mark*'s Goſpel.

(1.) The account of Chriſt's pronouncing *Peter* bleſſed, when he had confeſſed him: Chriſt's declaring, that he had his faith and knowledge from God: the promiſe of the keys, and of that large power, which is made to him: are omitted by St. *Mark*, though the former and the ſucceeding parts of this diſcourſe are both told by him. See Matt. xvi. 16. . . 20. compared with Mark viii. 29. 30.

(2.) The relation of St. *Peter*'s being commiſſioned by Chriſt to work the miracle, by getting money out of the fiſh's mouth, to pay the tribute-money, is told by St. *Matthew*. ch. xvii. 24. . . 28. but omitted by St. *Mark*: though the preceding and ſubſequent ſtories are the very ſame as in St. *Matthew*. See Mark ix. 30. . . 33.

(3.) Chriſt's particular expreſſions of love and favour to St. *Peter*, in telling him of his danger, and that he prayed particularly for him, that his faith might not fail, is omitted by St. *Mark*, but related *Luke* xxii. 31. 32.

(4.) St. *Peter*'s remarkable humility above the reſt of the Apoſtles expreſſed in an unwillingneſſe, that Chriſt ſhould waſh his feet, which none of the reſt did expreſs, with Chriſt's particular diſcourſe to him. *John* xiii. 6. &c. is omitted by *Mark*.

(5.) The inſtance of St. *Peter*'s very great zeal for Chriſt, when he was taken, in cutting off the High-Prieſt's ſervant's ear. John xviii. 10. is not mentioned by *Mark* in particular, but only told in general, of a certain perſon that ſtood by. Mark xiv. 47.

(6.) St. *Peter*'s faith in caſting himſelf into the ſea, to go to Chriſt. John xxi. 7. is not mentioned by St. *Mark*. (A)

(7.) Chriſt's diſcourſe with Peter concerning his love to him, and his particular repeated charge to him, to feed his ſheep. John xxi. 15. is omitted by St. *Mark*.

(8.) Our Saviour's predicting to *Peter* his martyrdom, and the manner of it. John xxi. 18. 19. is not related by St. *Mark*.

"Theſe, adds that diligent author, are ſome inſtances of things, tending to St. *Peter*'s honour, recorded by the other Evangeliſts, none of which are ſo much as hinted by St. *Mark*. . . . All which cannot be accounted for any way more probable, than ſuppoſing, that this Apoſtle did not publiſh thoſe circumſtances, which were ſo much to his honour."

Indeed, I think, they do confirm the accounts given of this Goſpel by the ancients. For theſe omiſſions cannot be ſo well aſcribed to any thing, as to St. *Peter*'s modeſtie and reſervedneſſe, who had not mentioned ſuch things in his preaching, and diſcouraged the putting them down

(*m*) *See new and full Method. Part* 3. *p.* 79. . . 81.

(A) There is a like thing, and more extraordinarie, related by *Matthew* only. . xiv. 28. . . 31. I do not know, why Mr. *Jones* omitted it.

down in writing: insomuch that, as *Tertullian* says, the (*n*) Gospel published by *Mark*, may be said to be *Peter*'s.

5.) Nevertheless I must acknowledge, that there are some things in St. *Mark*'s Gospel honourable to *Peter*, which are not in any other. I shall mention two or three.

Says St. *Mark* ch. i. 36. *And Simon, and they that were with him, followed after him.* If thereby be intended the whole companie of the Apostles, that way of describing them is very honourable to *Peter*. But some may suppose, none to be intended, beside those mentioned ver. 29. If so, it resembles Luke ix. 32. *But Peter, and they that were with him*. meaning *John* and *James*, and referring to ver. 28.

In Mark xiv. 3. *Peter* is mentioned, as one of the four Apostles, to whom our Lord addressed himself, when he foretold the destruction of the temple, and the calamities attending it. Which is a passage peculiar to St. *Mark*.

And ch. xvi. 7. The message, which the angel sent to the disciples by the women at the sepulchre, is thus expressed: *But go your way. Tell his disciples and Peter, that he goes before you into Galilee. Peter* is not mentioned, upon this occasion, by *Matthew* xxviii. 7. nor by any other of the Evangelists.

Upon this text *Whitby* says very well: "*Peter* is here named, not as "Prince of the Apostles, but, as the Fathers say, for his consolation, and "to take off the scruple, which might be upon his spirit: whether by "his threefold denial of his master, he had not forfeited his right to be "one of Christ's disciples."

I now proceed to another observation.

2. St. *Mark*'s Gospel, as is evident to all, is the shortest of the four. *Jerome*, as before cited, says, *Mark* (*o*) wrote a short Gospel. And *Chrysostom* observed, that (*p*) *Mark* had the conciseness of *Peter*, following his master.

3. Nevertheless there are in St. *Mark* many things peculiar to himself, not mentioned by any other Evangelist.

I shall here put down several such things, and not those, which are omitted by *Matthew* only, but such things, as are in *Mark*, and in no other of the Evangelists.

1.) In the account of our Saviour's temptation in the wilderness, St. *Mark* says, ch. i. 13. *and was with the wild-beasts:* not mentioned by any other Evangelist, and yet very proper to shew the hardships, which our Lord underwent at that season.

2.) Ch. i. 20. In the account of the call of *James* and *John*, the sons of *Zebedee*, he says, *they left their father in the ship, with the hired servants.* A circumstance not mentioned by any other.

3.) Ch. i. 29. *And forthwith, when they were come out of the synagogue, they entered into the house of Simon, and Andrew, with James and John.* In Matth. viii. 14. it is only, *come into Peter's house.* In Luke iv. 38. *and entered into Simon's house.*

4.) Ch. i. 33. *And all the city was gathered together at the door.* Not in any other Evangelist. Compare Matt. viii. 16. Luke iv. 40. 41.

5.) Ch.

(*n*) *See Vol. ii. p.* 581. (*o*) *See here, p.* 175. (*p*) *See Vol. x. p.* 322.

5.) Ch. i. 35. *And in the morning rising up a great while before day, went out, and departed into a solitarie place, and there prayed.* 36. *And Simon, and they that were with him, followed after him.* 37. *And when they had found him, they said unto him: All men seek thee.* This is not at all in *Matthew*, and is here much fuller, and with more particulars, than in Luke iv. 42.

6.) Ch. i. 45. Of the leper, cured by our Saviour, he says: *But he went out, and began to publish it much, and to blaze abroad the matter.* Not particularly mentioned by the other Evangelists. Compare Matth. viii. 2. Luke v. 14. 15.

7.) In the cure of the paralytic. ch. ii. 2. *And straitway many were gathered together, insomuch that there was no room to receive them, not so much as about the door.* 3. *And they come unto him, bringing one sick of the palsie, which was born of four.* 4. *And——they uncovered the roof.* No other Evangelist has so particularly described the croud. In *Mark* only is it said, that this sick man was *born of four*. He likewise more particularly describes the uncovering the roof. Compare Matt. ix. 2. Luke v. 18. 19.

8.) In the history of the man with *a withered hand*, cured in the synagogue, on a sabbath. ch. iii. 5. *And when he had looked round about on them with anger, being grieved for the hardness of their hearts, he saith unto the man: Stretch forth thy hand.* Not so full in any other Evangelist. Compare Matt. xii. 9. . . 13. Luke vi. 6. . . 11.

9.) Ch. iii. ver. 6. *And the Pharisees went forth, and straightway took counsel with the Herodians against him.* Matth. xii. 14. mentions *Pharisees* only. Luke vi. 11. mentions no persons by name.

10.) Ch. iii. 17. *And James the son of Zebedee, and John the brother of James. And he named them Boanerges.* Not in any other Evangelist.

11. Ch. iii. 19. . . . . *And they went into the house.* 20. *And the multitude cometh together again, so that they could not so much as eat bread.* 21 *And when his friends heard of it, they went out to lay hold of him. For they said: He is beside himself.* Whether that expression, *he is beside himself*, is to be understood of Christ, or of the multitude, this passage is peculiar to St. *Mark*.

12.) Ch. iv. 26. *And he said: So is the kingdom of God, as if a man should cast his seed into the ground,* 27. *and should sleep, and rise night and day, and the seed should spring and grow up, he knoweth not how.* 28. *For the earth bringeth forth fruit of itself, first the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear.* 29. *But when the fruit is ripe, immediately he putteth in the sickle, because the harvest is come.* This parable is peculiar to St. *Mark*. See *Whithy* upon the place, and likewise (*q*) *Grotius*.

13.) After the parable of the grain of mustard seed, beside other things common to him and *Matthew*, he adds. ch. iv. 24. *And when they were alone, he expounded all things to his disciples.* Compare Matt. xiii. 31. . . . 34. This

(*q*) Hæc parabola, aliis omissa, cum suam hic explicationem non habeat, explicari debet ex simili comparatione, quæ est apud Matth. xiii. 24. *Grot. ad Marc. iv. 26.*

This particular leads us mightily to think, that either *Mark* was an eye-witneſſe, or had the beſt and fulleſt information of things.

14.) Mark iv. 36. *And when they had ſent away the multitude, they took him even as he was in the ſhip.* This circumſtance, peculiar to St. *Mark*, enables us to account for our Lord's faſt ſleep in his paſſage to the countrey of the *Gadarens*. We perceive from St. *Mark*, that this voyage was undertaken in the evening, after the fatigue of long diſcourſes in public, and without any refreſhment. Our Lord's ſleep in the midſt of a ſtorm is mentioned by all three Evangeliſts. Matt. viii. 24. . . . 26. Mark iv. 37. 38. Luke viii. 23. 24. But this Evangeliſt alone leads us to diſcern the occaſion of it.

15.) Farther, in the ſame ver. 36. of ch. iv. *And there were alſo with him ſeveral other little ſhips.* A particular, peculiar to St. *Mark*.

16.) And in the account of this voyage croſs the ſea, he ſays ver. 38. that our Lord was *in the hinder part of the ſhip, aſleep on a pillow:* two circumſtances, wanting in the other Evangeliſts.

17.) Certainly, theſe, and other things, are ſufficient to aſſure us that either *Mark* was an eye-witneſſe: or, that he wrote things, as related to him by an eye-witneſſe, even *Peter* himſelf, as all the ancients ſay.

18.) In Matt. viii. 28. . . 34. Mark v. 1. . . . 19. Luke viii. 26. . . . 39. are the ſeveral accounts of our Lord's healing the demoniac, or demoniacs, in the countrey of the *Gadarens*. For *Matthew* ſpeaks of two; *Mark* and *Luke* of one only. In St. *Mark*'s hiſtorie are divers things not in the other Goſpels. In him alone it is ſaid, that *the man was always night and day in the mountains, and in the tombs, crying, and cutting himſelf with ſtones.* And he only mentions the number of ſwine, that periſhed in the ſea, ſaying, *they were about two thouſand.*

19.) All the firſt three Evangeliſts have given a hiſtorie of our Lord's raiſing the daughter of *Jairus*, and healing the woman with an iſſue of blood, both in connexion. Matt. ix. 18. . . 26. Mark v. 22. . . . 43. Luke viii. 41. . . 56. St. *Mark* has ſeveral things, which are in neither of the other. Of the woman he ſays ver. 26. *ſhe had ſuffered much of many Phyſicians . . . and was nothing bettered, but rather grew worſe.* At ver. 29. *And ſhe felt in her body, that ſhe was healed of that plague.* At ver. 41. he inſerts the very words, which Jeſus ſpake, when he raiſed the daughter of *Jairus: Talitha Kumi.* I have omitted ſome other things, peculiar to St. *Mark* in the account of theſe two miracles.

20.) Ch. vi. 13. In the account of the commiſſion given to the twelve by Chriſt in his life-time, he ſays: *they anointed many with oyl, and healed them.* Which is mentioned by no other Evangeliſt, as was obſerved of old by (r) *Victor.*

21.) Mark vii. 2. 3. 4. What is there ſaid of the Jews waſhing themſelves, when they come from the market, before they eat: and of their *cleanſing cups, pots, braſen veſſels, and tables,* is peculiar to St. *Mark*. Comp. Matt. xv. 1. 2.

22.) Ch. vii. 21. 22. Are the things, that defile men. St. Matthew ch. xv. 19. mentions ſeven things only. St. Mark has thirteen. And two of them, *an evil eye,* and *fooliſhneſſe,* are very ſingular.

23.) Ch

(r) *See Vol. xi. p. 34.*

23.) Ch. vii. 31 . . . 37. Our Lord beſtows hearing and ſpeech upon deaf and dumb man.

24.) Ch. viii. 22 . . . 26. Our Lord cures a blind man at *Bethſaida*. Theſe two miracles are peculiar to St. *Mark*, being related by no other evangeliſt.

25.) Ch. x. 46 . . . 52. is the account of the miracle on the blind man near *Jericho*. St. *Mark*, ver. 46. calls him blind *Bartimeus*, *ſon of Timaeus*. Not mentioned by the other Evangeliſts. See Matt. xx. 29 . . . 34. Luke xviii. 35 . . . 43. And at ver. 50. *he caſting away his garment, roſe, and came to Jeſus*. A circumſtance peculiar to St. *Mark*. Which ſhews his exact knowledge of the hiſtorie, as did likewiſe his calling the man by his name.

26.) Ch. xi. 13. *For the time of figs was not yet*: that is, the time of gathering was not yet come. A moſt uſeful obſervation peculiar to this evangeliſt, ſhewing, that as there were leaves, it was reaſonable to expect fruit on this fig-tree, if it was not barren. Upon this text might be conſulted (*s*) Biſhop *Kidder*, and (*t*) Mr. *Hallet*.

27.) Ch. xiii. 3. 4. *And as he ſat upon the mount of Olives, over againſt the temple, Peter, and James, and John, and Andrew, aſked him privately, . . When ſhall theſe things be?* No other Evangeliſt has mentioned the names of the diſciples, who put this queſtion to our Saviour. Comp. Matt. xxiv. 1 . . . 3. Luke xxi. 5.

28.) In *Mark* xii. 41 . . . 44. and *Luke* xxi. 1 . . . 4. is the account of the people caſting their gifts into the cheſts of the treaſurie, in the temple. St. *Mark* ſays: *And Jeſus ſat over againſt the treaſurie*. In which expreſſion there is great propriety. And he alone mentions the value of the poor widow's two mites, ſaying: *Which make a farthing*.

29.) Ch. xiv. 51. *And there followed him a certain young man, having a linen cloth caſt about his naked body. And the young men* [the guards] *laid hold on him.* 52. *And he left the linen cloth, and fled from them naked.* A particular, in no other Evangeliſt, yet very fitly taken notice of, as intimating the uſual noiſe and diſturbance, when a man is taken up in the night-time, as a malefactor, and is carried before a magiſtrate. By (*u*) the noiſe of the people paſſing along that young perſon was excited to come haſtily out of the houſe, where he was, to inquire what was the matter. Mr. *Le Clerc*, in his French Teſtament, has an uſeful note upon this place. He obſerves the natural ſimplicity of the Evangeliſts narration. Which, as he juſtly ſays, confirms the truth of their hiſtorie.

30.) Ch. xv. 11. *And they compell one Simon, a Cyrenian, who paſſed by, coming out of the countrey, the father of Alexander and Rufus, to bear his croſſe*. That particular, *the father of Alexander and Rufus*, is in no other Evangeliſt. Comp. Matt. xxvii. 32. and Luke xxiii. 26.

31.) Ch.

(*s*) *Demonſtration of the Meſſiah. Part* 2. *ch. ii. p.* 38. 39.

(*t*) *Notes and Diſcourſes. Vol.* 2. *p.* 114. . . . 125.

(*u*) Non de Apoſtolorum grege . . . ſed ex villa aliqua horto proxima, strepitu militum excitatus, et ſubito accurrens, ut conſpiceret, quid ageretur. *Grot. ad Marc. xi.* 51.

31.) Ch. xvi. 3. 4. *And they said among themselves: Who shall roll us away the stone from the door of the sepulchre? For it was very great.* In no other Evangelist.

32.) Ch. xvi. 7. *But go your way. Tell his disciples, and Peter, that he goes before you into Galilee.* The mention of *Peter* is peculiar to St. *Mark*. For in Matt. xxviii. 7. it is: *Go quickly, and tell his disciples*: St. *Luke* has not recorded that message.

33.) I add nothing more of this kind. I have omitted many things which are in this Gospel, and no other, being apprehensive, that if I enlarged farther, I should be charged with prolixity.

34.) The particulars that have been alleged, are sufficient to assure us, that St. *Mark* is not an epitomiser of another author: and that he was well acquainted with the things, of which he undertook to write a historie. He writes as an eye-witnesse, or as one, who had full and authentic information at the first hand. In a word, St. *Mark*'s Gospel, though short, is a very valuable, and masterly performance.

4. It may be proper for me to add one thing more: That I supposed the twelve verses at the end of the sixteenth chapter to be a genuine part of this Gospel. If any doubt of it, I would refer them for their satisfaction to Dr. *Mill*, and to the observations of *Grotius* at the begining of that chapter, and to *Beza* upon the ninth verse. And for explaining those twelve verses, and reconciling them with the other Evangelists, I refer to *Grotius* and other Commentators.

CHAP. VIII.

St. LUKE, Evangelist.

I. *His Historie from the N. T.* II. *Testimonies of ancient Christian Writers to St. Luke and his two Books, his Gospel, and the Acts.* III. *Remarks upon those Testimonies.* IV. *The Time of writing his Gospel and the Acts.* V. *Internal Characters of Time in the Gospel.* VI. *The Place where it was writ.* VII. *A general recollection of St. Luke's Character.* VIII. *Observations upon his Gospel.* IX. *Observations upon the Book of the Acts.*

His historie from the N. T. I. THE first time that we find any mention of St. *Luke* in the books of the New Testament is in his (A) own historie. Acts xvi. 10. 11. Whereby it appears, that he was in *Paul*'s companie at *Troas*, before the Apostle took

(A) From some words in the *Cambridge* manuscript Bp. *Pearson* has argued, that *Luke* was in *Paul*'s companie from the year 43. Dein peragrat [Paulus] Phrygiam et Galatiam, et per Mysiam venit Troadem, ubi se illi comitem adjunxisse indicat Lucas xvi. 10. Qui antea etiam Antiochiæ cum Paulo fuit,

book ſhipping to go into *Macedonia:* in which voyage St. *Luke* was one of the companie. ver. 8. *And they paſſing by Myſia, came to Troas.* 9. *And a viſion appeared to Paul in the night. There ſtood a man of Macedonia, and prayed him, ſaying: Come over into Macedonia, and help us.* 10. *And when he had ſeen the viſion, immediately we endeavored to go into Macedonia, aſſuredly gathering, that the Lord had called us to preach the goſpel to them.* 11. *Therefore looſing from Troas, we came with a ſtrait courſe to Samothracia.*

In that journey St. *Paul* went from *Samothracia* to *Neapolis*, and thence to *Philippi.* 11. . . 17. So far St. *Luke* ſpeaks in the firſt perſon plural. But having finiſhed his account of the tranſactions at *Philippi*, which reaches to ver. 40. the laſt of that chapter: at the begining of the next ch. xvii. 1. he (B) changeth the perſon, and ſays: *Now when they had paſſed through Amphipolis, and Apollonia, they came to Theſſalonica, where was a ſynagogue of the Jews.*

Nor does he any more expreſsly ſpeak of himſelf, untill *Paul* was a ſecond time in *Greece*, and was ſetting out for *Jeruſalem* with the collections, which had been made for the poor ſaints in *Judea*, Acts xx. 1. . . 3. *And after the uproar* [at Epheſus] *was ceaſed, Paul called unto him the diſciples, and embraced them, and departed for to go into Macedonia. And when he had gone over thoſe parts, and had given them much exhortation, he came into Greece, and there abode three months. And when the Jews laid wait for him, as he was about to ſail into Syria, he purpoſed to return through Mace-*

uit, et jam eum Troade aſſecutus eſt: ut colligere licet ex Act. xi. 28. ubi Codex Cantabr. habet, συνεγραμμένων δὲ ἡμῶν. Ab anno igitur 43. per octennium diſcipulus fuerat Antiochiæ. *Annal. Paulin. p.* 10. But it is not ſafe to relye upon one manuſcript only, different from all others, and of no great authority. As Mr. *Tillemont* took notice of this obſervation of *Pearſon*, I ſuppreſſe his thoughts about it. Selon le manuſcrit de Cambrige S. Luc dit qu'il eſtoit avec S. Paul à Antioche, des l'an 43. ce que Pearſon a receu. Mais il ne ſeroit pas ſeur de fier à un manuſcrit different de tous les autres. Et quand cela ſe pourroit en quelques occaſions, ce ne ſeroit pas à l'égard du manuſcrit de Cambrige, qui eſt plein d'additions et alterations contraires au veritable texte de S. Luc. *Mem. Ec. T.* 2. *S. Luc. note iii.* Some may argue from theſe words, that *Luke* was a Gentil, converted by *Paul* at *Antioch.* And others might argue, that he is the ſame as *Lucius*, mentioned Acts xiii. 1. But I ſhould think it beſt for neither ſide to form an argument from this reading. Mr. *Wetſtein* has referred us to a place of St. *Auguſtin*, where this text is quoted very agreeably to the *Cambridge* manuſcript. In illis autem diebus deſcenderunt ab Jeroſolymis Prophetæ Antiochiam. Congregatis autem nobis, ſurgens unus ex illis, nomine Agabus. &c. *De Serm. Dom. l.* 2. c. 17. But it is obſervable, that *Irenæus*, *l.* 3. *c.* 14. *init.* a more ancient writer, enumerating St. *Luke*'s journeys in St. *Paul*'s companie, begins at *Troas.* Acts xvi. 8 . . . 10. I preſume, it muſt be beſt to relye upon him, and the general conſent of all manuſcripts, except one, in the common reading.

(B) Nevertheleſs it is ſuppoſed by many, that *Luke* continued with *Paul.* *Irenæus* calls him *Paul*'s inſeparable companion, after his coming to be with the Apoſtle at *Troas.* *Adv. H. l.* 3. *c.* 14. So likewiſe *Cave*, Cujus perinde comitator erat, et omnis peregrinationis comes. *H. L. T. i. p.* 25. *See alſo Tillem. St. Luc. Mem. Ec. T.* 2.

Macedonia. And there accompanied him into Asia Sopater, of Berea . . . These going before, tarried for us at Troas. And we sailed away from Philippi . . . and came unto them at Troas in five days, where we abode seven days. So that *Luke* accompanied *Paul*, at that time, from *Greece* through *Macedonia* to *Philippi*, and also went with him from thence to *Troas*.

And it appears from the sequel of the history in the Acts, that *Luke* was one of those, who accompanied the Apostle to *Jerusalem*, and staid with him there. And when the Apostle was sent a prisoner from *Cesarea* to *Rome*, he was in the same ship with him, and staid with him at *Rome* during the whole time of his two years imprisonment there, with which the historie of the Acts concludes.

From St. *Paul*'s epistles writ at *Rome*, in the time of that confinement, we have proofs of *Luke*'s being with him. He is mentioned as with the Apostle. 2 Tim. iv. 11. an epistle writ, as I suppose, in the summer, after the Apostle's arrival there. In Philem. ver. 24. he is one of those who sent salutations to *Philemon*, and is mentioned by the Apostle, as one of his fellow-laborers. And, if *Luke the beloved Physician* mentioned Col. iv. 14. be the Evangelist, that is another proof of his being then with the Apostle.

St. *Luke* is also supposed by some to be *the brother, whose praise is in the Gospel throughout all the churches.* 2 Cor. viii. 18. But that is not certain.

As I think, that all St. *Paul*'s epistles, which we have, were writ, before he left *Rome* and *Italie*, when he had been sent thither by *Festus*; I must be of opinion, that the New Testament affords us not any materials for the historie of St. *Luke*, lower than his own book of the Acts: which brings us down to the end of that period.

From ancient authors. II. I now therefore proceed without farther delay, to observe what light may be obtained from ancient Christian writers. And as St. *Luke*'s two books, his Gospel and the Acts, were all along universally received; I intend here, for avoiding prolixity, to allege, chiefly, such passages only, as contain something relating to the historie and character of St. *Luke*, or the time of writing his two above-named works.

Irenæus, as before quoted: "And (*a*) *Luke*, the companion of *Paul*, "put down in a book the Gospel preached by him." And the coherence seems to imply, that this was done after the writing of St. *Mark*'s Gospel, and after the death of *Peter* and *Paul*. In a passage formerly cited (*b*) at length, *Irenæus* shews from the Acts, as we did just now, that *Luke* attended *Paul* in several of his journeys and voyages, and was his fellow-laborer in the gospel. He likewise says: "that "(*c*) *Luke* was not only a companion, but also a fellow-laborer of the "Apostles, especially of *Paul*." Again, he calls him "a (*d*) disciple and "follower of the Apostles." "The (*e*) Apostles, he says, envying none "plainly

(*a*) *Vol. i. p.* 354. (*b*) *P.* 361 . . . 363.
(*c*) *P.* 363. (*d*) *P.* 361.
(*e*) Sic Apostoli simpliciter nemini invidentes quæ didicerant ipsi a Domino hæc omnibus tradebant. Sic igitur et Lucas nemini invidens, ea quæ al

plainly delivered to all the things which they had learned from the Lord. So likewise *Luke*, envying no man, has delivered to us what he learned from them, as he says: *Even as they delivered them unto us, who from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word.*" By all which it seems, that *Irenæus* reckoned *Luke* to have been a disciple of the Apostles, not a hearer of Jesus Christ himself.

Clement of *Alexandria* has bore a large testimonie to this Gospel, and the Acts, as well as to the other books of the New Testament. And as we learn from *Eusebe*, "in (*f*) his Institutions, he mentions a tradition concerning the order of the Gospels, which he had received from Presbyters of more ancient times, and which is to this purpose. He says, that the Gospels containing the genealogies were writ first:" according to that tradition therefore St. *Matthew*'s and St. *Luke*'s Gospels were writ before St. *Mark*'s. Which, according to the same *Clement*, and the tradition received by him, was writ at *Rome*, at the request of St. *Peter*'s hearers, or the Christians in that city.

Tertullian (*g*) speaks of *Matthew* and *John*, as disciples of Christ, of *Mark* and *Luke*, as disciples of Apostles. Therefore, I think, he did not reckon these to have been of the seventy, or hearers of Christ. However, he ascribes a like authority to these, and says: "that (*h*) the Gospel, which *Mark* published, may be said to be *Peter*'s, whose interpreter *Mark* was. For *Luke*'s Digest also is often ascribed to *Paul*. And indeed it is easie to take that for the masters, which the disciples published." Again: "moreover (*i*) *Luke* was not an Apostle, but apostolical: not a master, but a disciple: certainly less than his master, but a disciple: certainly less than his master, certainly so much later, as he is a follower of *Paul*, the last of the Apostles." This likewise shews *Tertullian*'s notion of St. *Luke*'s character.

Origen mentions the Gospels in the order now generally received. "The (*k*) third, says he, is that according to *Luke*, the Gospel commended by *Paul*, published for the sake of the Gentil converts." In his Commentarie upon the epistle to the *Romans*, which we now have in a *Latin* version only, he says, upon ch. xvi. 21. "Some (*l*) say, *Lucius* is *Lucas* the Evangelist, as indeed it is not uncommon to write names sometimes according to the original form, sometimes according to the Greek or Roman termination." *Lucius*, mentioned in that text of the epistle to the *Romans*, must have been a Jew. Nevertheless, *Origen* assures us, some thought him to be *Luke* the Evangelist. The same observation we saw in (*m*) *Sedulius*, who wrote a Commentarie upon St. *Paul*'s epistles, collected out of *Origen*, and others.

Eusebius

cis didicerat, tradidit nobis, sicut ipse testatur dicens: Quemadmodum tradiderunt nobis qui ab initio contemplatores et ministri fuerunt verbi. *Adv. l. 3. cap. 14. n. 2.*

(*f*) *Vol. ii. p.* 475. (*g*) *Vol. ii. p.* 587. 588.

(*h*) *P.* 581. (*i*) *P.* 587. (*k*) *Vol. iii. p.* 235.

(*l*) Sed et Lucium quidam perhibent esse Lucam Evangelistam, qui Evangelium scripsit, pro eo quod soleant nomina interdum secundum patriam declinationem, interdum Græcam Romanamque proferri. *In Rom. T. 2. p.* . *Basil.* 1571.

(*m*) *Vol. xi. p.* 18.

Eusebius of *Cesarea*, as transcribed formerly, speaking of St. *Paul*'s fe
low-laborers, says: "And (*n*) *Luke*, who was of *Antioch*, and by pro
"fession a Physician, for the most part a companion of *Paul*, who ha
"likewise more than a slight acquaintance with the rest of the Apostles
"has left us in two books, divinely inspired, evidences of the art of he
"ling souls, which he had learned from them. One of these is the Gol
"pel, which he professeth to have writ, as *they delivered* it to him, *wh*
"*from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word*: with a
"whom, he says likewise, he had been *perfectly acquainted from the ver*
"*first*. The other is the Acts of the Apostles, which he composed now
"not from what he had received by the report of others, but from wh
"he had seen with his own eyes."

And in another place, cited (*o*) also formerly, he observes, "that (*p*
"*Luke* had delivered in his Gospel a certain account of such things, a
"he had been well assured of by his intimate acquaintance and familia
"rity with *Paul*, and his conversation with the other Apostles."

From all which, I think, it appears, that *Eusebe* did not take *Luke* fo
a disciple of Christ, but of Apostles only.

In the Synopsis ascribed to *Athanasius* it is said, "that (*q*) the Gospe
"of *Luke* was dictated by the Apostle *Paul*, and writ and published b
"the blessed Apostle and Physician *Luke*."

The author of the Dialogue against the *Marcionites* says, "th
(*r*) *Mark* and *Luke* were disciples of Christ, and of the number of th
Seventy."

Epiphanius (*s*) speaks to the like purpose.

Gregorie Nazianzen says, "that (*t*) *Luke* wrote for the Greeks," o
in *Achaia*.

Gregorie Nyssen says, "that (*u*) *Luke* was as much a Physician for th
"soul, as for the body:" taking him to be the same, that is mention
Col. iv. 14.

In the catalogue of *Ebedjesu* it is said, "that (*x*) *Luke* taught an
"wrote at *Alexandria*, in the Greek language."

The Author of the Commentarie upon St. *Paul*'s thirteen epistl
seems to have doubted, whether (*y*) the Evangelist *Luke* be the pers
intended Col. iv. 14.

Jerome agrees very much with *Eusebe*, already transcribed. Neve
theless I shall put down here somewhat largely what he says. "*Luke* (
"a Physician of *Antioch*, not unskilfull in the *Greek* language, a disci
"of the Apostle *Paul*, and the constant companion of his travels, wro
"a Gospel,——and another excellent volume, entitled the Acts of th
"Apostles. . . . . It is supposed, that *Luke* did not learn his Gospel fro
"the Apostle *Paul* only, who had not conversed with the Lord in th
"flesh, but also from other Apostles. Which likewise he owns at th
"beginn

(*n*) *Vol. viii. p.* 103. 104. (*o*) *P.* 95.

(*p*) . . . Τὸν ἀσφαλῆ λόγον ὧν αὐτὸς ἱκανῶς τὴν ἀλήθειαν κατειλήφει, ἐκ τ
ἅμα παύλῳ συνουσίας τε καὶ διατριβῆς, καὶ τῆς τῶν λοιπῶν ἀποστόλων ὁμιλίας ἀφι
λημένος, διὰ τὸ ἰδίᾳ παραδοῦναι εὐαγγελίου. *H. E. l.* 3. *c.* 24. *p.* 96. *c.*

(*q*) *Vol. viii. p.* 250. (*r*) *P.* 255. (*s*) *P* 306.

(*t*) *Vol. ix. p.* 133. (*u*) *P.* 156. (*x*) *P.* 217.

(*y*) *Vol. ix. p.* 367. 368. (*z*) *Vol. x. p.* 94. . . 96.

begining of his volume, saying: *Even as they delivered them unto us, which from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word.* Therefore he wrote the Gospel from the information of others. But the Acts he composed from his own knowledge."

So writes *Jerome* in his book of Illustrious Men.

In the prologue to his Commentarie upon St. *Matthew* he says: "The (*a*) third Evangelist is *Luke*, the Physician, a *Syrian* of *Antioch*, who was a disciple of the Apostle *Paul*, and published his Gospel in the countreys of *Achaia* and *Bœotia*."

He observes elsewhere, "that (*b*) some said, *Luke* had been a proselyte Judaism, before his conversion to Christianity." He speaks of St. *uke* in many other places, which I need not now take notice of.

Augustin says, "that (*c*) two of the Evangelists, *Matthew* and *John*, ere Apostles. . . *Mark* and *Luke* disciples of Apostles."

Chrysostom in the Synopsis, probably his, says: "Two (*d*) of the Gospels were writ by *John* and *Matthew*, Christ's disciples, the other two by *Luke* and *Mark*, of whom one was disciple of *Peter*, the other of *Paul*. The former conversed with Christ, and were eye-witnesses of what they wrote. The other two wrote what they had received from eye-witnesses." And to the like purpose in (*e*) his first homilie upon St. *atthew*. Again he says: "*Luke* (*f*) had the fluence of *Paul*, *Mark* conciseneſſe of *Peter*, both learning of their masters." And upon Col. 14. he says: This (*g*) is the Evangelist.

Upon Col. iv. 14. *Theodoret* says, "that (*h*) person wrote the divine ospel, and the historie of the Acts." He says the same upon (*i*) Tim. iv. 11.

Paulinus (*m*) celebrates *Luke*, as having been first a Physician of the dy, then of the soul.

Here I would refer to the Author of Quæstiones et Responsiones, obably writ in the fifth centurie, who (*n*) reckons both the Evange-s, writers of the genealogies, that is, *Matthew* and *Luke*, to have been ebrews.

According to *Euthalius* (*o*) *Luke* was a disciple of *Paul*, and a Physi-n of *Antioch*.

Isidore of *Seville*, says: "Of (*p*) the four Evangelists, the first and last elate what they had heard Christ say, or had seen him perform. The ther two, placed between them, relate those things, which they had earned from Apostles. *Matthew* wrote his Gospel first in *Judea*. Then *Mark* in *Italie*, *Luke*, the third, in *Achaia*, *John* the last, in *sia*." In another place he says: "Of (*q*) all the Evangelists *Luke*, he third in order, is reckoned to have been the most skilful in the Greek tongue. For he was a Physician, and wrote his Gospel in *reece*."

(*a*) *P.* 83. 84. (*b*) *P.* 97. (*c*) *P.* 227. 228.
(*d*) *P.* 312. (*e*) *P.* 314. . 316. *And see p.* 325. (*f*) *P.* 322.
(*g*) Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ εὐαγγελιστής. *In. Col. hom.* 12. *T. xi. p.* 412.
(*h*) *See Vol. xi. note (A).* (*i*) *In* 2 *Tim. T.* 3. *p.* 505.
(*m*) *Vol. xi. p.* 44. (*n*) *See Vol. i. p.* 263.
(*o*) *Vol. xi. p.* 211. (*p*) *P.* 367. (*q*) *P.* 372.

In *Theophylact* are these things. In his preface to St. *Matthew*'s Gospel he says, "that (*r*) there are four Evangelists, two of which, *Matthew* and *John*, were of the choir of the twelve Apostles: the other two, *Mark* and *Luke*, were of the number of the Seventy. *Mark* was a disciple and companion of *Peter*, *Luke* of *Paul*. . . . *Luke* wrote fifteen years after Christ's ascension." In the preface to his Commentarie upon St. *Luke* he says, "that (*s*) from that introduction it appears *Luke* was not from the begining a disciple, but only afterwards. For others were disciples from the begining, as *Peter*, and the sons of *Zebedee*, who delivered to him the things which they had seen or heard." Upon which some remarks were made by us in the place referred to. In his comment upon the historie of the two disciples, whom Jesus met in the way to *Emmaus*, one of whom is said to be *Cleophas*, Luke xxiv. 18. *Theophylact* says: "Some (*t*) have thought the other to be *Luke* the Evangelist, who out of modestie declined to mention himself." In his preface to the Acts *Theophylact* says: "The (*u*) writer is *Luke*, native of *Antioch*, by profession a Physician."

Euthymius says: "*Luke* (*x*) was a native of *Antioch*, and a Physician. He was a hearer of Christ, and, as some say, one of his seventy disciples as well as *Mark*. He was afterwards very intimate with *Paul*. He wrote his Gospel, with *Paul*'s permission, fifteen years after our Lord's ascension."

So *Euthymius*. But I should think, that very few, who supposed *Luke* to have been a native of *Antioch*, could likewise reckon him a hearer of Jesus Christ. But *Euthymius*, as it seems, puts together every thing he had heard or read, without judgement or discrimination.

What *Nicephorus Callisti* says, is, briefly, to this purpose. "Two (*y*) only of the Twelve, *Matthew* and *John*, left memoirs of our Lord's life on earth: and two of the Seventy, *Mark* and *Luke*. . *Matthew* wrote about fifteen years after our Saviour's ascension. Long after that *Mark* and *Luke* published their Gospels by the direction of *Peter* and *Paul*. The same *Luke* composed also the book of the Acts of the Apostles."

To these authors I now add *Eutychius*, Patriarch of *Alexandria*, the tenth centurie, who says: "In (*z*) the time of the same Emperour (that is, *Nero*) *Luke* wrote his Gospel in Greek to a noble and wise man of the *Romans*, whose name was *Theophilus*: to whom also he wrote the Acts, or the historie of the Disciples. The Evangelist *Luke* was a companion of the Apostle *Paul*, going with him where-ever he went. For which reason the Apostle *Paul* in one of his epistles says, "*Luke, the Physician, salutes you.*"

III. Havi

(*r*) *P.* 419. 420. (*s*) *P.* 422. (*t*) *P.* 423.
(*u*) *P.* 426. (*x*) *P.* 437. (*y*) *P.* 442.

(*z*) Etiam tempore hujus Imperatoris scripsit Lucas Evangelium suum Græce, ad virum nobilem ex sapientibus Romanis, cui nomen Theophilus, quem item scripsit Acta seu Discipulorum historiam. Erat autem Lucas Evangelista comes Pauli Apostoli, quocumque per aliquod tempus manens. Unde est, quod Paulus Apostolus in quadam epistola sua dicit, Lucas Medicus vos salutat. *Eutych. Annal. p.* 335. 336.

III. Having thus recited the teſtimonies of all theſe writers concerning the Evangeliſt *Luke*, I ſhall now make ſome remarks. *Remarks.*

1. We hence perceive, that the notion, that St. *Luke* was a Painter, is without foundation, no notice having been taken of it in theſe ancient writers. Indeed this is ſaid by one of our (*a*) authors, *Nicephorus Calliſti*, in the fourteenth centurie, from whom a paſſage was quoted in the way of a ſummarie concluſion. But we do not relye upon him for any thing not confirmed by other writers, more ancient, and of better credit. Nor is this account received by (*b*) *Tillemont*, or (*c*) *Du Pin*, but rejected by them as altogether fabulous, eſpecially the later: though our Dr. *Cave* (*d*) was ſomewhat inclined to admit one teſtimonie to this affair, whilſt he rejected the reſt. For a farther account of St. *Luke*'s pretended pictures of the Virgin *Marie* I refer to (*e*) Mr. *Bower*.

2. We learn alſo, what judgement ought to be formed of the account given of St. *Luke* by (*f*) *Hugo Grotius*, and (*g*) *J. J. Wetſtein*: which is, that he was a *Syrian*, and a ſlave, either at *Rome*, or in *Greece*: and that having obtained his freedom, he returned to his native place, *Antioch*: where he became a Jewiſh Proſelyte, and then a Chriſtian. Which

thoſe

(*a*) . . ἄκρως δὲ τὴν ζωγραφὴν τέχνην ἐξησκήμενος. *Niceph. l. 2. cap. 43. T. i. p. 210.*

(*b*) *Saint Luc. Mem. Ec. T. 2.*

(*c*) Nicephore et les nouveaux Grecs le font Peintre. Et il y a en differens endroits des images de la Vierge, qu'on donne pour l'ouvrage de S. Luc. Ce ſont des fictions, qui n'ont ni verité ni apparence. *Du Pin Diſſ. l. 2. p. 2. §. 5.*

(*d*) Of more authority with me would be an ancient inſcription, found in a vault near the church of S. Mary in via lata at Rome, ſuppoſed to be the place, where S. *Paul* dwelt: wherein mention is made of a picture of the B. Virgin. Una ex vii. a B. Lûca depictis: One of the ſeven painted by St. Luke. *Cave's Lives of the Apoſtles, in Engliſh, p. 222.*

(*e*) *See his Lives of the Popes. Vol. 3. p. 205. 206.*

(*f*) Noſtro autem nomen quidem Romanum fuiſſe arbitror, ſed aliquanto magius. . . . Quare et Lucas, ſi quid video, contractum eſt ex Romano nomine, quod ſuſpicor fuiſſe Lucillium. Nam ea gens tum Romæ florebat. . . . Erat noſter hic Syrus, ut veteres conſentiunt, et medicinam fecit. . . . Syria autem multos Romanis ſervos exhibebat. Et medicina, ut ex Plinio atque aliis diſcimus, munus erat ſervile. Manumiſſi autem nomen patroni induebant, ut Comœdiarum ſcriptor, Afer cum eſſet, dictus eſt a patrono Terentio Terentius. . . . Ita hic a Lucillio Lucillius, et contracte Lucas. Credibile eſt, cum Romæ medicinam factitaſſet aliquamdiu, acceptâ libertate, rediiſſe in patriam. &c. *Grot. Pr. in S. Lucam.*

(*g*) Exercuiſſe medicinam Paulus ad Coloſſenſes teſtatur. Euſebius autem et Hieronymus addunt fuiſſe natione Syrum Antiochenum. . . . Interpretes vero conjectura probabili, tum ex nomine, tum ex arte quam profitebatur, colligunt, fuiſſe ſervum manumiſſum. Obſervant enim primo, nomen ejus in mancipium fuiſſe redactum, ut pro Lucillio vel Lucano vocaretur Lucas. . . . Obſervant ſecundo, ſervos et præcipue Syros medicinam factitaſſe. . . . Quod vero quidam exiſtimant, eum Romæ ſerviſſe, et a domino, qui ipſum manumiſit, nomine Lucam appellatum fuiſſe, non ſatis certum videtur. Nam præter illum Lucilliam, quæ Romana fuit, etiam Græcis illud nomen fuit impoſitum, ut ex Anthologia conſtat. *Wetſt. Pr. ad Luc. T. i. p. 643.*

thoſe learned interpreters endeavour to make out in a ſomewhat different manner. But neither has alleged any ancient writer, ſaying, that the Evangeliſt *Luke* was once a ſlave, and afterwards became a free man. Some ſlaves indeed were ſkilful in the art of medicine, and practiſed it in the families of their Roman maſters. But does it follow, that becauſe *Luke* was a Phyſician, that he was alſo a ſlave? This therefore being entirely deſtitute of foundation in antiquity muſt be eſteemed the fiction of ſome learned critic, who was much delighted with his own ingenious ſpeculations.

3. The account given of this Evangeliſt by *Euſebe*, and *Jerome* after him, that he was a *Syrian*, and Native of *Antioch*, may be juſtly ſuſpected.

We do not find it in *Irenæus*, nor *Clement* of *Alexandria*, nor *Tertullian*, nor *Origen*, nor in any other writer before *Euſebe*. Probably, therefore, it is not founded in any general, or well atteſted tradition: but was the invention of ſome conjectural critic, who having firſt imagined, out of his own head, that *Luke* was originally a Gentil, at length determined that he was converted by *Paul* at *Antioch*. But all this was taken up without any good ground, or ſufficient authority. And *Luke* may have been a believer, before either *Paul* or *Barnabas* went to *Antioch*. The ſame account is in *Jerome*. But he only follows *Euſebe*. He does not ſeem to have had any information about it from any others. Which is an argument, that there was not any early tradition to this purpoſe.

This ſtorie, I ſay, is in *Euſebe*, and *Jerome*, and ſome others, after them, but not in all ſucceeding writers. Some of the ancients, as *Epiphanius*, and others, ſuppoſed *Luke* to have been one of Chriſt's ſeventy diſciples. Which is inconſiſtent with his being a native of *Antioch*. If any did not ſee this inconſiſtence, and allowed both, it muſt have been owing to want of due attention and conſideration. And the ſuppoſition, made by ſome, that *Luke* was one of the Seventy, ſhews, that there was no prevailing, and well atteſted tradition, that he was a native of *Antioch*. For if there had been any ſuch tradition, it is not eaſie to conceive, how any ſhould have held the opinion, that he was one of the Seventy.

It was formerly obſerved, that (*h*) *Chryſoſtom* no where ſays in his remaining works, that *Luke* was of *Antioch*. Indeed we (*i*) have loſt one of his homilies upon the title and begining of the Acts of the Apoſtles. Nevertheleſs it ſeems, that in ſome of his many homilies, ſtill remaining upon that book, or elſewhere, we ſhould have ſeen this particular, if it had been known to him. He takes notice, that (*k*) there might be ſeen in his time the houſe, in which *Paul* dwelled at *Antioch*. And he often ſpeaks of the prerogatives of that city in his homilies preached there. Methinks, this alſo ſhould have been mentioned as one: that *Luke*, whom (as is well known) he often celebrates, was a native of that city. If this had been then known, or generally believed, it is reaſonable to expect, that it ſhould have been frequently mentioned by *Chryſoſtom*, a native and Preſbyter of *Antioch*, who ſhined there as a Preacher twelve years

(*h*) *Vol.* x. *p.* 328. (*i*) *P.* 323. (*k*) *P.* 371.

ars. This has diſpoſed me to think, that in his time there was not at *ntioch* any prevailing tradition to this purpoſe.

Cave ſays, it (*l*) is likely, that *Luke* was converted by *Paul* at *Antioch*. *Hil* (*m*) ſays the ſame, rather more poſitively. Which may now be e opinion of many. I have gueſſed, that it might be the opinion of e perſon, who firſt gave riſe to the account, that *Luke* was a *Syrian*, of *ntioch*, mentioned in *Euſebe*. But I do not remember, that this is exeſsly ſaid by any of the ancient writers, out of whom I have made ſo rge collections in the preceding volumes. And the thing is altogether hlikely. If *Luke* had been a Gentil, converted by *Paul*, he would have en always uncircumciſed, and unfit to accompany *Paul*, as he did. For e Apoſtle would not have allowed the *Greeks*, or Gentils, of *Antioch*, any other place, to receive that rite. Nor are there in the Acts, or *ul*'s epiſtles, any hints, that *Luke* was his convert. Whereas, if he d been ſo, there (c) would have appeared ſome tokens of it in the ectionate expreſſions of *Paul* toward him on the one hand, or in the ſpectful and grateful expreſſions of *Luke* toward *Paul*, on the other hand.

4. It has been reckoned doubtful by divers learned men, whether the vangeliſt *Luke* was a Phyſician.

This particular is different from the fore-going. Nor has it any conxion with it. *Luke* may have been of *Antioch*, and not a Phyſician. e may have been a Phyſician, and not of *Antioch*. The queſtion is, hether *Luke, the beloved Phyſician*, mentioned by St. *Paul*, Col. iv. 14. be e Evangeliſt. Divers of the ancients, as we have ſeen, have ſuppoſed m there intended. *Chryſoſtom*'s expreſſions are theſe: "This (*n*) is the Evangeliſt. But he does not diminiſh him by naming him ſo late. He extols him, as he does *Epaphras*. It is likely, that there were others called by that name." This laſt particular, perhaps, may deſerve to be en notice of. He affirms, that this is the Evangeliſt. But he ſuppoſeth, that there were others of the ſame name.

That diſtinguiſhing character, *beloved Phyſician*, not given to the Apoſ-'s companion, and fellow laborer, in any other epiſtle, has inced divers learned and inquiſitive moderns, to doubt, whether one and

(*l*) . . . a D. Paulo, dum Antiochiæ ageret, (uti veriſimile eſt) converſus. *iſt. Lit. T. i. p.* 25.

(*m*) Scriptor operi huic ſuſcipiendo, ſi quis unquam, ſumme idoneus: utte qui ab ipſo tempore converſionis, quæ contigit circa annum æræ vulgaris LI. Ipſum enim ἐλληνιστὰς iſtis, qui magno numero Antiochiæ converti ſunt, Act. xi. 20.] omnino adnumerârim. *Prol. n.* 112.

(c) This thought occurred to Dr. *Whitby*, who in his preface to St. *Luke*'s ſpel ſpeaks to this purpoſe: "We are told, that *Luke* was converted by *Paul* at *Thebes*. *Anſwer*. But this we have only from *Nicephorus*. And it is the leſs credible, not only becauſe it comes to us ſo late: but alſo becauſe it appears not from any credible author, that St. *Paul* ever was ere. It is more probable from the ſilence of St. *Luke* and St. *Paul*, who er calleth him his ſon, that he was a Chriſtian, or a believer, long beore."

(*n*) Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ εὐαγγελιστής . . εἰκὸς δέ εἰσι καὶ ἄλλοι κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ὀνόματι. τέτοιο *ery. in Col. iv. hom.* 12. *T. xi. p.* 412.

the ſame perſon is intended. Among theſe are (*o*) *Calvin*, (*p*) *Sam. Baſnage*, (*q*) Dr. *Heumann*, whoſe obſervations and arguments I tranſcribe below. On the other hand (*r*) *Eſtius*, and (*s*) Mr. *Jones*, ſtrongly argue, that the ſame *Luke* is here intended, who is mentioned by St. *Paul* in ſome others epiſtle, even our Evangeliſt.

Upon the whole, it muſt be acknowledged, that this diſtinguiſhing character, *beloved Phyſician*, has occaſioned a difficulty. Nevertheleſs, I would hope, that it is not inſuperable. It is allowed, that in all other places of St. *Paul*'s epiſtles by *Luke* is intended the Evangeliſt. We know from the book of the Acts, that *Luke*, the writer of it, went with *Paul* to *Rome*, and ſtaid with him to the end of his captivity there. Nor is there any reaſon to ſurmiſe, that at the time of writing this epiſtle he might be abſent from the Apoſtle upon ſome ſpecial occaſion. For he joyns in his ſalutations in the epiſtle to *Philemon* of *Coloſſe*, ſent at the ſame time with this epiſtle to the *Coloſſians*. Where alſo he is ſtiled a *fellow-laborer*. Philem. ver 24. So that I cannot but think it probable, that *Luke*, the Evangeliſt, was by profeſſion a Phyſician.

5. St. *Luke* was a Jew by birth, at leaſt by religion.

None of the writers, out of whom we have made collections, call him a Gentil. Some, in *Jerome*'s time, whoſe names we do not know, ſaid, *Luke* had been a Jewiſh Proſelyte, that is, had been converted from Gentiliſm to Judaiſm, and afterwards became a Chriſtian. But none that I remember, expreſsly ſay, that he was converted from Gentiliſm to

(*o*) Non aſſentior iis, qui Lucam Evangeliſtam intelligunt. Nam et notiorem fuiſſe judico, quam ut opus fuerit tali indicatione, et ſplendidiore elogio fuiſſet inſignitus. Certe coadjutorem ſuum, aut fidum ſaltem comitem, et certaminum participem vocaſſet. Potius conjicio, hunc abfuiſſe, et alterum medici epitheto ab illo diſcerni. Quamquam non contendo, ut de re certa, ſed tamen conjectura affero. *Calvin. in Col. iv.* 14.

(*p*) Sunt tamen in Scripturâ Lucam Evangeliſtam a Luca Medico diſtinguendi cauſſæ. &c. *Baſnag. Ann.* 60. *n.* xxxiii.

(*q*) Lucam Evangeliſtam fuiſſe Medicum, Hieronymus aliique probari poſſe credunt ex Col. iv. 14. Sed ex hoc ipſo loco confirmari poſſe puto contrarium. Si enim iſto loco Paulus innuiſſet comitem ſuum omnibus notum Lucam Evangeliſtam, ſimpliciter vocaſſet Lucam, uti fecit. 2 Tim. iv. 11. At ut ſignificaret, ſe de alio Luca loqui, diſcriminis cauſſa addit ὁ ἰατρός. *C. A. Heuman. Ep. Miſc. T.* 2. *p.* 518.

(*r*) Sunt qui in dubium revocent, num de Luca Evangeliſta loquatur Apoſtolus. Hunc enim dicunt notiorem fuiſſe, quam ut artis nomine eum deſignaret. Ac ſaltem, inquiunt, eum coadjutorem ſuum, aut fidelem comitem vocaſſet. Verum, ut vetus et communis, ita probatiſſima ſententia eſt. . . . Lucam Evangeliſtam, Medicum fuiſſe, et eum ipſum, cujus hic mentio eſt: (neque enim alium Lucam Paulo familiarem ulla prodit hiſtoria:) Quod vero tacuit hoc loco adjutorem, id diſerte expreſſit ad Philemonem ſcribens, *Demas et Lucas adjutores mei*. Non enim putavit Apoſtolus rem ſatis notam ubique inculcandam eſſe. Ubi illud obſervandum eſt, Apoſtolum aſſidue Lucam cum Dema nominare, tam hoc loco, et ad Philemonem, quam etiam in ſecunda ad Tim. ep. cap. iv. Quis ergo dixerit, alium atque alium eſſe Lucam cum eodem Dema nominatum? *Com. in Col. iv.* 14.

(*s*) *See Mr. Jones's New and Full Method, Vol.* 3. *p.* 103. 104.

Christianity. Unless we should make an exception for *Nicephorus Callisti*, who in one place says so. But he is too late, and of too little credit, to be much regarded: especially, if he is singular. All our writers, who speak of *Luke*, as a companion and disciple of Apostles, must have supposed him to be a Jew. And some have said, that he was one of the Seventy, as we have seen.

That *Luke* was a Jew by birth, or at least by religion, may be argued from his being a constant companion of *Paul* in many places, particularly, at *Jerusalem*. If *Luke* had been an uncircumcised Gentil, some exceptions would have been made to him. Nevertheless nothing of that kind appears either in St. *Paul*'s Epistles, or in the Acts. Another thing leading to this supposition is his (*t*) following the Jewish computations of times: such as the Passover, Pentecost, the Fast. Of all which instances may be seen in Acts xii. 3. xx. 6. and 16. xxvii. 9.

Here it will be objected, that *Luke the Physician*, mentioned Col. iv. 14. must have been a Gentil, because at ver. 10. 11. the Apostle had mentioned *all those of the circumcision, who were his fellow-workers, and had been a comfort to him.* To which I answer. It is not certain, that *Luke*, the Evangelist, is the *beloved Physician*, there spoken of. We just now saw the reasons of doubting about it. But there is another solution. St. *Paul* (*u*) needs not to be understood to speak absolutely. There might be several exceptions to that proposition. *Timothie* was one, who joyns with the Apostle in sending the epistle. But he and *Luke* were so well known to all, as faithful to the Apostle, that they needed not to be there mentioned. And *Luke* and *Demas* follow afterwards, somewhat lower, nearer the end of the epistle, very properly. ver. 14. *Luke, the beloved Physician, and Demas greet you.* And I should be unwilling from this text, and the coherence, to conclude, that *Demas* was a Gentil. Says the Apostle: Philem. ver. 24. *There salute thee Marcus, Aristarchus, Demas, Lucas, my fellow-laborers.* The two first named were certainly Jews. I suppose, the other two were so likewise. Salutations from believers, of the Jewish People, would be very acceptable and encouraging to Gentil converts.

St. *Luke* says Acts i. 19. *insomuch as that field was called in their proper tongue Aceldama.* Whence some may argue, that he was not a Jew. But it might be observed, that none of the Evangelists, when they speak of the Jews, say any thing, to denote they were of that people. Says St. *Matthew* ch. xxviii. 15. *And this saying is commonly reported among the Jews untill this day.* Mark vii. 3. *For the Pharisees, and all the Jews, except they wash their hands, eat not.* John i. 9. *The Jews sent Priests and Levites from Jerusalem.* ch. v. 1. *After this there was a feast of the Jews.* See also ch. xix. 40. . . . 42. And does not St. *Paul* say, 1 Thess.

(*t*) Quis vero cum veri specie aliqua Lucam Evangelistam unum ex Judæis fuisse neget? Lucam qui in designandis temporibus Judæorum disciplinam adhibet, Pentecostem scilicet, Jejunium, tertiam noctis vigiliam. Quæ omnia ex Judaico more petuntur. *Basnag. An.* 60. *n.* xxxiii.

(*u*) Adde, quod iste sermo, *hi soli*, non est ita rigide accipiendus, ut absolute excludat omnes alios, sed benigno sensu: Hi fere soli sunt adjutores. *Est. ad iv. Col.* 11.

1 Theſſ. ii. 14. 15. *Ye became followers of the churches of God in Judea. For ye alſo have ſuffered like things of your own countrey-men, even as they of the Jews: who both killed the Lord Jeſus, and their own Prophets.* It might be not amiſs to obſerve alſo Acts xxviii. 17. . . 19. And I might refer to other places.

That this Evangeliſt was a Jew, is the opinion of many learned and judicious moderns: particularly, Mr. *S. Baſnage*, whom I have cited at note (*t*) and *J. A. Fabricius*, who (*x*) likewiſe is clearly of the ſame opinion. Indeed, I think, it ought not to be queſtioned.

6. *Luke*, the Evangeliſt, was, probably, an early Jewiſh believer, ſoon after Chriſt's aſcenſion, if not a hearer of Chriſt, and one of the ſeventy diſciples.

Our moſt ancient writers, as we have ſeen, ſpeak of *Luke* as a diſciple of the Apoſtles. Some have reckoned him one of the Seventy, others have thought him to be *Lucius*, mentioned by St. *Paul* in the epiſtle to the *Romans*, and others have ſuppoſed, that he was one of the two diſciples that met Jeſus in the way to *Emmaus*.

The large accounts, which *Luke* has given in the book of the Acts of ſeveral, below the rank of Apoſtles, has made me think, that he was one of the ſame rank, and poſſibly one of them. There are three inſtances of this kind. The firſt is *Stephen*, one of the ſeven Deacons, who, as we learn, *was full of faith and power, and did great wonders and miracles among the people:* againſt whom there aroſe a ſtrong oppoſition, ſo that he was the very firſt Martyr for Chriſt and his doctrine, and of whom St. *Luke* has recorded a long diſcourſe before the Jewiſh Council. ch. vii. The ſecond is *Philip*, another of the ſeven, of whom St. *Luke* writes, that he firſt *preached Chriſt* to the *Samaritans*. ch. viii. 5. . . 8. *ſo that the people with one accord gave heed to thoſe things, which Philip ſpake, hearing, and ſeeing the miracles which he did*, and what follows. The ſame *Philip* afterwards, having firſt explained the ſcriptures to him, and brought him to ſincere faith in Jeſus as the Chriſt, baptized the Chamberlain and Treaſurer of the Queen of *Ethiopia*, a Jewiſh proſelyte, and a man of great diſtinction. ver. 26. . . . 40. The third inſtance of this kind is that of the men of *Cyprus* and *Cyrene*, *who travelled as far as Phenice, Cyprus, and Antioch, preaching the word to Jews only.* Who ſoon after their coming to *Antioch, ſpake unto the Greeks, preaching the Lord Jeſus. And the hand of the Lord was with them. And a great number believed, and turned unto the Lord.* ch. xi. 19. . . 21. Theſe were the men, who firſt preached to Gentils out of *Judea:* as *Peter* was the firſt, who preached to Gentils at the houſe of *Cornelius* in *Ceſarea*. ch. x. and not long before them. We have, as it ſeems, the names of three of thoſe men. ch. xiii. 1. *Simeon, called Niger, Lucius of Cyrene, and Manaen.* The ſecond perſon, here named, may be our Evangeliſt.

A like argument may be formed in favour of St. *Luke*'s having been one of Chriſt's ſeventy diſciples, in that he, and he only of all the Evangeliſts,

(*x*) Lucas, ſive Lucius, . . . incertum, num idem cum Luca Medico Col. iv. 14. quin Judæus fuerit, at antequam Chriſto nomen daret, nec dubito quidem, præcipue ſi verum eſt quod legas in Origenis ſive Adamantii cujuſdam dialogis, adverſus Marcionitas, et Epiphanii LI. II. eum fuiſſe e numero LXX. diſcipulorum. *Bib. Gr. l.* 4. *c.* v. *T.* 3. *p.* 132.

lists, has inserted in his Gospel an account of the commission, which hrist gave unto them. ch. x. 1. . . . 20.

And indeed some learned men of later times, as well as formerly, have en of opinion, that *Luke* was one of the Seventy.

Among these is our Dr. *Whitby*, who (*b*) reckoned both *Mark* and *uke* to have been of that number.

J. A. Fabricius (*c*) was inclined to be of the same opinion. And in vour of it refers to the passages of *Adamantius* and *Epiphanius*, before ken notice of by us. This likewise was the sentiment of (*d*) Mr. *snage.*

Dr. *C. A. Heumann* has lately published a dissertation concerning hrist's Seventy Disciples, containing many curious observations. And e supposeth, that (*) these several following were of that number. *Matvias*, chosen in the room of the traitor, *Joseph*, called *Barsabas*, surnmed *Justus*, and probably, the seven Deacons, or however, some of nem, and the four teachers and Prophets of *Antioch*, *Barnabas*, *Simeon* alled *Niger*, *Lucius of Cyrene*, whom he thinks to be our *Luke* the Evanlist, and *Manaen*. Acts xiii. 1.

His argument is to this purpose. We have not in the Gospels the nmes of those Disciples. Nor did Christ form a college or companie them, as he did of the Twelve, because it was a temporarie office, hich subsisted for a short time only. They were but once sent forth. nd when they were returned, their commission was at an end. Nevereless they hereby became qualified for public service. And it may be ckoned very probable, that if an opportunity was afforded, they would e very willing, after Christ's ascension, to exert themselves in his cause. nd it is very likely, that some of these Seventy were chosen, and emloyed by the Apostles, as men, who had been already exercised in the rvice of the gospel, and were thereby fitted for farther usefulness.

So that learned writer. And it must be acknowledged, that this is specious argument. But it is rather founded in an ingenious sp culaon, than in the authority of testimonie. Which, in this case, would be nore valuable.

Indeed *Epiphanius*, beside the places (*e*) formerly alleged, where he ays, *Mark* and *Luke* were of the Seventy, has another: where (*f*) he nentions a great many, who were said to be of that number: as the seen deacons, all whom he mentions by name, and also *Matthias*, *Mark*, *uke*, *Justus*, *Barnabas*, *Apelles*, *Rufus*, *Niger*. And therefore, we cannot

(*b*) *See his Preface to St. Luke's Gospel.*

(*c*) . . . præcipue, si verum est, quod legas in Origenis seu Adamantii exclam Dialogis adversus Marcionitas, et Epiphanii H. LI. n. xi. Neque leo repugnat et Lucam et Marcum ex illis fuisse, licet Veteres miro consnsu, ut Marcum Petri, ita Lucam tradunt Pauli fuisse interpretem et sectatorem. Haud dubie enim Apostolorum etiam præ LXX illis magna præroativa erat. &c. *Bib. Gr. l. iv. cap. v. T. 3. p.* 133.

(*d*) *Ann.* 60. *num. xxviii.*

(*) *Dissertatio de Septuaginta Christi Legatis. ap. Nov. Syllog. Dissertat. Part.* . 120. . . 154.

(*e*) *Hær. LI. num. vi. xi.* (*f*) *H.* 20. *num. iv.*

not deny, that in the time of *Epiphanius* there were some, who entertained an opinion, that all these were of Christ's seventy Disciples. Nevertheless we do not find it in *Irenaeus*, or *Clement* of *Alexandria*, or *Origen*, or any others of the highest antiquity, and best credit: nor in *Eusebe* or *Jerome*, that I remember, who were acquainted with the writings of those ancient authors, and many others, which are not come to us. *Eusebe* has a chapter concerning the Disciples of our Saviour. He says, the names of Christ's twelve Apostles were well known: but (*g*) there was no where any catalogue of the Seventy. However, He mentions *Barnabas*, *Matthias*, and the disciple put up with him, and one or two more, who were said to be of the Seventy. But he takes not here any notice of *Mark*, or *Luke*, or of any of the seven Deacons.

Matthias and *Barsabas* certainly were such men, as are described Acts i. 21. 22. And they may have been of the Seventy. But we cannot be certain, because we have not been assured of it by any accounts, that demand full assent. Some of the seven Deacons may have been of the Seventy, as *Stephen* and *Philip*. But we do not know, that they were. It is very probable, that all those Deacons were not of the Seventy, particularly, *Nicolas* a proselyte, of *Antioch*. If *Luke*, the Evangelist, be the same as *Lucius, of Cyrene*, there ariseth a strong objection against his having been one of the Seventy. *Simeon called Niger, and Lucius of Cyrene* mentioned Acts xiii. 1. and *the men of Cyprus and Cyrene*, (of whom those two, just mentioned, were a part) were early believers, after Christ's ascension, and they may have heard and seen the Lord in person. But they cannot be well supposed to have been of the Seventy. Christ's twelve Apostles were of *Galilee*. It is likely, that the Seventy also were of the same countrey, or near it. Christ sent them forth from him, to go over the land of *Israel*, and to return to him in a short time, where he should be. And his usual residence was in *Galilee*. It does not appear to me at all probable, that our Lord put into that commission any men, who were born and usually resided abroad, in other countreys, out of the land of *Israel*.

Hitherto, then, we have not any full proof, that our Evangelist was one of the Seventy. Let us proceed.

St. *Luke* ch. xxiv. 13. . . 34. relates how two disciples met Jesus after his resurrection, as they were going to *Emmaus*. And he says, that the name of one of them was *Cleophas*. *Theophylact* in his comment upon this place, as (*h*) formerly shewn, observes: "Some (*i*) say, that one of these two was *Luke* himself: but that the Evangelist concealed his own name." *Nicephorus Callisti* (*k*) in one place, makes not doubt, that *Luke* was the other disciple not named. It is likely, that he had met with it in more ancient writers. *Sam. Basnage* (*l*) readily declares himself of the

(*g*) Τῶν δὲ ἑβδομήκοντα μαθητῶν κατάλογος μὲν ἀδὴς ἀδαμῆ φέρεται. *H. E. l. i. c.* 12.

(*h*) *Vol. xi. p.* 423.

(*i*) Τινὲς τὸν ἕνα τέτων τῶν δύο αὐτὸν τὸν λουκᾶν εἶναί φασι· διὸ καὶ ἀπέκρυψε τὸ ἑαυτῦ ὄνομα ὁ εὐαγγελιστής. *Theoph. in Luc. cap. xxiv. p.* 539.

(*k*) Τοῖς περὶ λεκᾶν καὶ κλεόπαν τὴν ὁδὸν πορευθεῖσι γνωρίζεται, πρὸς ἑσπέραν εἰς Ἐμμαοῦν αὐτοῖς συγκαταλιθεῖς. *Niceph. l. i. c.* 34. *p.* 117.

(*l*) Nulla sane magis idonea ratio observatur animo, cur Cleopæ, non alterius, Lucas meminerit: quomodo Joannes, ubi de se mentionem agitat, nomen

e ſame opinion. Indeed, I think, it has a great appearance of proba-
ity. It is much more likely, than the tradition, or interpretation in
athanius, that (*m*) it was *Nathanael*. The ſame *Boſnage* ſays that if
Nathanael had been the other, St. *Luke* would have named him.

St. *Mark* ch. xvi. 12. 13. has a like account, but briefer, of two, to
hom Chriſt appeared, as *they were walking into the countrey*. He does
ot name either of them. *Grotius* (*n*) allows, that *Mark*'s and *Luke*'s
ſtories are of the ſame perſons. Both the Evangeliſts ſpeak of theſe as
wo of them. They were not of the Twelve, but yet they were of their
ompanie, ſuch as had been with Jeſus: as is allowed by (*o*) *Grotius*, and
) *Beza*. Nevertheleſs they ſay, that (*q*) *Luke* is not the other. He is
cluded, as they ſay, by the tenour of his introductions both to his Gof-
l, and the Acts. Their reaſonings will be conſidered preſently.

However, ſuppoſing *Luke* to be the perſon here intended, I do
ot think, that he is thereby ſhewn to be one of the Seventy.
leophas and the other were diſciples of Chriſt, and eye-witneſſes.
ut it does not therefore follow, that they were of the number of the
eventy.

We proceed. Among the Salutations in the epiſtle to the *Romans*
re theſe. ch. xvi. 20. *Timothie my work-fellow, and Lucius, and Jaſon,*
nd Soſipater, my kinſmen, ſalute you. All theſe were Jewiſh believers,
nd the three laſt mentioned, as it ſeems, were the Apoſtle's relations.
That by *Lucius* ſome ſuppoſed the Evangeliſt *Luke* to be intended, we
ave been informed by ſo ancient a writer as *Origen*. And it is very
kely, that St. *Luke*'s name was writ differently: *Lucas*, *Lucius*, and *Lu-*
anus. There is the more reaſon to think, that the Evangeliſt is here
ntended, becauſe he muſt have been with the Apoſtle at the time of
riting the epiſtle to the *Romans*. Says Mr. *Tillemont*: "Many (*r*)
believe, that St. *Luke* is he, whom St. *Paul* in his epiſtle to the *Romans*
" calls

nomen diſſimulat ſuum. Si de grege Apoſtolorum fuiſſent, aut virorum multa
aude in Evangelio celebratorum, uti Nathanael, quod Epiphanio viſum,
terum atque iterum dicemus, tam ejus quam Cleopæ nomen fœneraſſet. *Ann.*
33. *num. CL.*

(*m*) *See vol. viii. p.* 316.

(*n*) Quare immerito Enthymius hic aliam putat hiſtoriam indicari, quam
eam, quæ a Luca copioſe deſcribitur. *Grot. ad Marc. xvi.* 12.

(*o*) . . δυσὶν ἐκ αὐτῶν] τῶν μετὰ Ἰησοῦ γενομένων, ut ſupra dixit ver. 10.
Nam hoc nomine etiam alii extra xii. cenſentur, præcipue qui de numero
erant illorum ſeptuaginta. *Grot. ad Marc. xvi.* 11.

(*p*) Ex iis, ἐξ αὐτῶν, nempe diſcipulis, non autem ex Apoſtolis. Aliorum
enim præter Apoſtolos mentio facta fuit præcedente verſu 9. *Bez. in Luc.*
xxiv. 13.

(*q*) Alterum fuiſſe hunc noſtrum Lucam, quidam ex veteribus arbitrantur,
quorum opinio refellitur ex præfatione Actis Apoſtolorum præpoſita. *Bez.*
ad Luc. xxiv. 18.

Duo ex illis, nempe eorum, quos modo λοιπῶν, *ceterorum* nomine deſignarat,
ſectatoribus Chriſti. Probabiliter ſentiunt Veteres, fuiſſe hos de numero
LXX. . . Nomen alterius infra exprimit Lucas, Cleopam vocans. Alterum
eſſe Lucam multi putârunt, quos ſatis ipſe refellit in Evangelii auctoreſcio,
e occultatis teſtibus ſe ſeparans. *Grot. ad Luc. xxiv.* 13.

(*r*) *Mem. Ec. Tom.* 2. *S. Luc.*

" calls *Lucius*, making his name a little more Latin. And it is the mo
" likely, inasmuch as the Acts assure us, that St. *Luke* was then with S
" *Paul.* If that be so, he was related to this Apostle." *Grotius*, wh
supposed our Evangelist to have been of *Antioch*, taking notice of th
above-mentioned observation of *Origen*, says, that (*s*) *Lucius*, in Ro
xvi. is the same, as *Lucius* of *Cyrene*, mentioned Acts xiii. 1.

Fabricius (*t*) esteemed it somewhat probable, that *Lucius* is the Evan
gelist.

Dr. *Heumann* supposes (*u*) this *Lucius* to be St. *Luke*, and the same a
Lucius of *Cyrene*, whom (*x*) he computes to be one of the seventy Disci
ples, as before seen.

Mr. *Basnage* likewise argues very strongly, that (*y*) *Lucius* is ou
Evangelist.

Indeed this opinion cannot be well said to be destitute of probability
since there is a good deal of reason to think, that *Luke* was in the Apo
stle's companie, when he wrote the epistle to the *Romans*. And if *Lu
cius* be not he, no mention is made of him. Which is very un
likely.

If this be our Evangelist, we hence learn, that he was a Jew, and re
lated to the Apostle. And if this be *Lucius* of *Cyrene*, we know his cha
racter, and, in part, his historie, from Acts xi. 19. . 21. and xiii. 1. .
4. He was an early Jewish believer after Christ's ascension, and toge
ther with others was very serviceable in early preaching the gospel to
Jews and Gentils out of *Judea*. And, once more, if the other, who ac
companied

(*s*) Docet nos Origenes, in annotationibus epistolæ ad Romanos, fuisse
qui crederent Lucium eum, qui in eadem epistola nominatur. xvi. 21.
esse hunc ipsum Lucam, et Lucium dici flexione Romana, Lucam Græca.
Ego Lucium illum, cujus ibi meminit Paulus, puto non alium esse a Cy
renensi, quem noster hic nominat Actor. xiii. 1. *Grot. Præf. ad Evang.
S. Luc.*

(*t*) Fuerunt enim jam olim, qui teste Origene Lucam eundem putârunt cum
Lucio, quem Paulus inter συγγενεῖς suos refert Rom. xvi. 21. Neque verisi
militudine destituitur hæc sententia. *Fab. Bib. Gr. ubi supra. p.* 132.

(*u*) Lucas non est verum, id est, pure expressum nomen Evangelistæ, sed vel
Lucanus, (quem in modum ut ex Silvanus factum est Silas) vel Lucius. Ac
perverisimile est, Evangelistam nostrum esse Lucium illum Cyrenæum, cujus fit
mentio Act. xiii. 1. Quem nec diversum esse credo ab illo Lucio, quem
Paulus Rom. xvi. 21. vocat cognatum suum, simulque testatur, cum in suo
comitatu fuisse. *Heuman. Ep. Misc. T.* 2. *p.* 519.

(*x*) Jure igitur credimus, et hos quatuor [Act. xiii. 1.] fuisse e septua
ginta illorum discipulorum numero. Jam inter hos si Lucius non est alius
quam Lucas Evangelista, merito et Lucam nostrum recensemus inter septua
ginta illos discipulos. *Diss. de* LXX. *Christi Legat.* § *xx. p.* 149.

(*y*) Lucam Evangelistam Paulo consanguineum fuisse verisimilitudinis
multum habet. Lucium sane, cujus nomine Romanos salutat Apostolus, ex
ipsius cognatis unus erat. Sunt vero non pertenues conjecturæ, quibus adduc
amur ad existimandum unum eundemque virum cum Luca Lucium esse.
Quæ antiqua sane sententia fuit, cujus meminit Origenes in Rom. xvi. . . .
Silam quidem Paulus ipse Silvanum vocat. Aderat etiam Paulo comes
Lucas, cum missa est ad Romanos epistola, quem insalutatos præteriisse, pror
sus sit incredibile: quod tamen factum fuisset, si Lucius est a Luca diversus.
Basn. ann. 60, *n. xxxiii.*

mpanied *Cleophas* in the way to *Emmaus*, be *Luke* the Evangeliſt, he as a diſciple and eye-witneſſe of Jeſus Chriſt. But I do not ſay, one of he Seventy.

Now we come to conſider the objection of *Beza*, *Grotius*, and divers hers: who have ſuppoſed, that St. *Luke*, in the introduction to his Gof-el, excludes himſelf from the number of eye-witneſſes. But though his has been a difficulty with many, there have been of late divers learn-d men, remarkable for inquiſitiveneſſe, and good judgement, who are ot much moved by it. One of them is Dr. *Whitby*, in his preface to t. *Luke*'s Goſpel, already taken notice of by us. Another (z) *Fabri-us*, a third (a) *Baſnage*, the fourth *Heumann*: who in his forecited Diſ-rtation obſerves, that (b) St. *Luke*'s introduction imports no more, than hat he was not an eye-witneſſe from the beginning, nor an Apoſtle. ut he may have been for ſome while a follower of Chriſt very conſiſt-ntly with what he there writes. And, probably, he was ſo. But he ry fitly puts the credit and authority of his hiſtorie upon the teſtimonie f the Apoſtles.

I ſhall likewiſe tranſcribe below a paſſage of *Petavius* (c) from his Animad-

(z) Neque obſtat porro, quod Lucas affirmat, ſe ea ſcribere, quæ acperit ab illis, qui fuiſſent ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται. Nam non de omnibus LXX dici oe poterat, quod Act. i. 21. et ſeq. ad Apoſtolum requiritur. *Bib. Gr. T.* 3. 133.

(a) *Ann.* 60. *num.* xxviii.

(b) Repugnare quidem videri poſſit ipſe Lucas cap. i. 2. ſcribens, ſe quæ trat accepiſſe α τοῖς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται. Verum non ſe negat fuiſſe αὐτόπτην, qui gat, ſe αὐτόπτην ἀπ' ἀρχῆς fuiſſe. Concedimus itaque, non ab initio ſtatim, Apoſtolos, quos ὑπηρέτας τοῦ λόγου appellat, interfuiſſe rebus a Chriſto ctis Lucam. Sed aliquo jam tempore ſuncto ſuo munere Meſſiæ ſe appliſſe Lucam, et poſtea ſemper in ejus comitatu fuiſſe, quo minus credamus, e ipſius teſtimonium minime impedit. Accedit, quod modeſtiæ erat, Apoſtoum potius, quam ſuum ipſius teſtimonium commendare, jubereque lectores, ſi rte ſibi crediturі ſint ægrius, fidem habere Apoſtolis, teſtibus nulli obnoxiis ceptioni. *Heum. Diſſ. ib. num.* xx.

(c) Quod Lucas & diſcipulorum numero fuerit, aſſerit et Dorotheus in Syppſi . . . Sed contra ſentiunt plerique, et id ex ipſis Lucæ verbis colligunt, m ait: Ἔδοξε κἀμοὶ . . Sed tantum abeſt, ut hæc diſcipulum Chriſti fuiſſe, ac on pleraque, cum ab eo gererentur, oculis uſurpaſſe negent, ut contrarium otius hinc elici poſſit. Verbum enim παρακολουθεῖν nonnunquam ad eam noiam refertur, quæ oculis ipſis, ac propria intelligentia comparatur, non orum ſermonibus. Ut cum Demoſthenes ὁ ἐν τῷ περὶ παραπρεσβείας, de Æſhine, cujus in legatione comes fuerat, ſic loquitur: Καὶ ὁ τότε ποιηθέντα ὑμῖν, καὶ παρηκολουθηκὼς ἅπασι κατηγορῶ. Sic igitur Lucas ἀνωθεν παρηκολουθήκοσι πᾶσιν ἀκριβῶς dicitur, hoc eſt, comperta, exploratаque, ac ſpectata etiam, buiſſe. Ac videri poteſt, et nonnulla hæc antitheſis eſſe, ut cum ſuperiore rſu dixerit: Quemadmodum multi res a Chriſto geſtas ſcribere aggreſſi ſunt, ὡς παρέδοσαν ἡμῖν οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ſtatim ſubjiciat: Ἔδοξε κἀμοὶ παρηκολουθηκότι, e eſt, qui non, ut illi ex παραδόσεως, ſed ex propria id ſcientia compererim. terum tamen ſi ad eum ſenſum accommodari Lucæ verba nihil prohibet, non reo tamen Chriſti diſcipulum fuiſſe certo pronunciare auſim: cum huic adſari ſententiæ longe plures Patres intelligam. Sed illa commemoravi, ut ne ae ipſi de ſe tenlanti refragari quiſquam Epiphanium arbitretur. *Petav. animadv. in Epiphan. Hær.* LI. *num.* xi. *p.* 89. 90.

Animadverſions upon *Epiphanius*, though it be ſomewhat long. I d
it the rather, becauſe he is an older author than any of thoſe, hithert
cited in behalf of this interpretation. He is conſidering what *Epipha*
nius ſays of *Luke*'s being one of Chriſt's ſeventy diſciples. The ſum c
what he advanceth is to this purpoſe: " He dares not affirm, that *Luk*
" was a diſciple of Chriſt, becauſe many of the Fathers have though
" otherwiſe. But he ſays, there is nothing in St. *Luke*'s introduction t
" induce us to think, he was not a diſciple of Chriſt, or that he had n
" ſeen a large part of the things related by him: but rather the contrari
" And he was willing to ſhew, that *Epiphanius* is not contradicted by S
" *Luke* himſelf."

7. St. *Luke* was for a good while a conſtant companion of St. *Paul*.
But he was alſo acquainted with other Apoſtles.

Tertullian, and *Chryſoſtom*, as we have ſeen, call St. *Paul Luke*'s Ma
ter. But they need not be underſtood to intend, that *Luke* learned no
thing from other Apoſtles. So *Irenaeus* ſaid: " *Luke*, the companion o
" *Paul*, put down in a book the Goſpel that had been preached by *Paul*."
But in another place he ſays: " That (*) *Luke* was a fellow-laborer o
" the Apoſtles, eſpecially, of *Paul*." And in another place he calls *Luk*
(**) " a follower and diſciple of the Apoſtles." And *Euſebius* ſai
" *Luke* was for the moſt part a companion of *Paul*, but had alſo mor
" than a ſlight acquaintance with the other Apoſtles." And *Jerome* ſays
" It was ſuppoſed, that *Luke* did not learn his Goſpel from the Apoſtl
" *Paul* only, who had not converſed with the Lord in the fleſh, but alſ
" from other Apoſtles. Which alſo he acknowledgeth at the beginin
" of his volume, ſaying: *Even as they delivered them unto us, who from th*
" *beginning were eye-witneſſes of the word*."

That muſt be right, I think, becauſe it is agreeable to the writer
own words in the introduction to his work. I always conſider *Paul* a
an *eye-witneſſe*. But he was not an eye-witneſſe from the begining: no
a miniſter of the word, from the begining. He muſt have had a diſtinc
knowledge of all things concerning the Lord Jeſus. Chriſtianity, a
has been often, and juſtly ſaid, is founded in facts. In order to preac
it, *Paul* muſt have had a knowledge of Chriſt's life, preaching, miran
cles, death, reſurrection, and aſcenſion. As he was not inſtructed b
other Apoſtles in the doctrine preached by him, he muſt have had i
from revelation. And I ſuppoſe, that a man, who, like *Luke*, ofte
heard *Paul* preach, might have compoſed a Goſpel, or hiſtorie of Jeſu
Chriſt from *Paul*'s ſermons, preached in divers places, and to men o
all characters. And the ancients ſeem to have ſuppoſed, that *Luke* ha
thereby great aſſiſtances for compoſing his Goſpel. Which I do no
deny. Nevertheleſs it ſeems fairly to be concluded from his own intro
duction, that he had conſulted others alſo.

It might not be amiſs, if I had room for ſuch obſervations, to com
pare St. *Luke*'s Goſpel and the hiſtorical parts of St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles
an

(*) Quoniam non ſolum proſequutor, ſed et cooperarius fuerit Apoſtolo
rum, maxime autem Pauli. *Iren. l.* 3. *c.* 14. *n.* 1. *p.* 201. *b.*

(**) Lucas autem ſectator et diſcipulus Apoſtolorum. *Ibid. cap. x.* [*al. xi.*
in p. 189.

nd alſo of his diſcourſes recorded by *Luke* himſelf in the book of the Acts. It is reaſonable to think, that wherever any diſciples of Jeſus preached the Chriſtian Religion, they gave an account of the things concerning Chriſt. Wherever the Apoſtles, or others, preached, in order to induce faith in Jeſus and his doctrine, their firſt diſcourſes muſt have been hiſtorical. The reaſon of the thing leads us to this. And we are aſſured of it from their diſcourſes, of which we have an account. We perceive this in the diſcourſes of St. *Peter* at *Jeruſalem*. Acts ii. 22. . . 36. iii. 12. . . 26. iv. 10. and at the houſe of *Cornelius* in *Ceſarea*, . 34. . . 43. from *Paul*'s diſcourſes in the ſynagogue at *Antioch* in *Piſidia*. Ch. xiii. 23. . . 38. at *Athens*, xvii. 31. at *Corinth*, xix. 8. before he Governor *Feſtus*, and King *Agrippa*, ch. xxvi. and at *Rome*: though hen many years had paſſed, ſince the aſcenſion of Chriſt, and ſince his eligion had begun to be preached, and propagated in the world. St. *Luke*'s general account of *Paul* there is thus: *And Paul dwelt two whole ears in his own hired houſe, and received all that came in unto him, preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching thoſe things which concern the Lord Jeſus Chriſt*. xxviii. 30. 31. "That is, ſays (*d*) *Grotius*, his miracles, doctrine, death, reſurrection, and the miſſion of the Spirit: by which things men were aſſured, that the heavenly kingdom was ſet up." And this may have been the occaſion of the frequent uſe of thoſe expreſſions, *preaching Chriſt, and preaching Jeſus Chriſt*, as equivalent to preaching the Chriſtian Religion, or the doctrine of the Goſpel.

I muſt own, that in the ſurvey of St. *Luke*'s Goſpel, and St. *Paul*'s diſcourſes and epiſtles, I have not diſcerned any ſuch ſpecial agreement, as is to be induced to think, that one of them had copied the other.

St. *Paul* ſays, at *Antioch* in *Piſidia*, Acts xiii. 23. *Of this man's ſeed has God raiſed unto Iſrael a Saviour, Jeſus*. And 2 Tim. ii. 8. *Remember, that Jeſus Chriſt, of the ſeed of David, was raiſed from the dead, according to my goſpel*. Theſe things are agreeable to St. *Luke*'s Goſpel. But they are alſo in St. *Matthew*'s. And muſt have been taught by all the Apoſtles, and all preachers of the goſpel.

Acts xx. 35. *And to remember the words of the Lord Jeſus, how he ſaid: It is more bleſſed to give, than to receive*. That ſaying of our Lord is not recorded by St. *Luke* in his Goſpel, nor by any other of the Evangeliſts.

1 Cor. xv. 5. . . 7. *And that he was ſeen of Cephas, then of the Twelve. After that, he was ſeen of above five hundred brethren at once. . . After that he was ſeen of James, then of all the Apoſtles*. St. *Luke*'s account of our Saviour's appearances after his reſurrection are in ch. xxiv. and Acts i. . . . 12. And if they are obſerved, I ſuppoſe, that no remarkable agreement between *Paul* and *Luke* will be diſcerned, but rather the contrarie. The *five hundred brethren*, mentioned by St. *Paul*, probably, ſaw Jeſus in *Galilee*: where, as in Matth. xxvi. 32. xxviii. 7. and Mark xvi. 7. he appointed to meet the diſciples. But of this there is nothing in St. *Luke*. And all our Saviour's appearances to the diſciples, mentioned

(*d*) Miracula ejus, et præcepta, et mortem, et reſurrectionem, et miſſionem Spiritus Sancti. Per quæ certi fiebant homines de regno illo cœleſti. *Prot. ad Act. xxviii.* 31.

tioned by him, were at *Jeruſalem*, or in it's neighborhood. Nor does *Luke* give any hint of that particular appearance to *James*, mentioned by St. *Paul*. Not now to add any thing farther.

However, I ſhall tranſcribe below (*e*) ſome obſervations of Mr. *Wetſtein*, relating to this matter.

8. It may be reckoned probable, that St. *Luke* died a natural death: foraſmuch as none of the moſt ancient writers, ſuch as *Clement* of *Alexandria*, *Irenæus*, *Origen*, *Euſebius*, *Jerome*, ſay any thing of his martyrdom. *Gregorie Nazianzen*, in (*f*) one of his orations, ſeems to put *Luke* among Martyrs. Nevertheleſs, as is well obſerved by (*g*) *Tillemont*, *Elias Cretenſis*, in the eighth centurie, famous for his Commentaries upon *Gregorie*, ſuppoſeth it certain, that (*h*) *Luke* did not dye a Martyr any more than *John*, the Apoſtle and Evangeliſt: but that after having ſuffered much in the cauſe of Chriſt, and the goſpel, he returned in peace to the God of peace. *Gaudentius*, Biſhop of *Breſcia*, about 387. obſerves, that (*i*) in his time it was generally ſaid, that *Luke* and *Andrew* finiſhed their courſe at *Patræ* in *Achaia*. He does not ſay, in the way of martyrdom. I do not perceive *Paulinus*, about the year 403. to (*k*) celebrate *Luke*, as a Martyr, but rather *Nazarius*, mentioned in the next verſe. If Martyr belongs to *Luke*, it may be underſtood in a general ſenſe, as equivalent to Confeſſor, or a great ſufferer for the goſpel.

9. *Cave* ſays, that (*l*) *Luke* lived a ſingle life, and died in the 84. year of his age, about the year of Chriſt 70. but of what death, is uncertain. And it is true, that *Nicephorus*, in the fourteenth centurie, ſays, that (*m*) *Luke* died in the 80. year of his age. And in ſome editions of *Jerome*'s book of Illuſtrious Men there is a paſſage, near the end of the article of St. *Luke*, importing, that he lived 84. years in celibacie. But *Martiany*, the learned Benedictin editor of *Jerome*'s works, ſays,

(*e*) Si Lucas vel Pauli hortatu, vel peculiari Spiritus Sancti afflatu ad ſcribendum impulſus fuiſſet, rem memoratu tam dignam . . . ſilentio neutiquam tranſiiſſet. Quod vero quidam exiſtimant, ex locis 2 Tim. ii. 8. et 1 Cor. xv. 4. collatis cum Luc. x. 7. et xxiv. 34. probari, Lucæ, quod dicitur, Evangelium ad Paulum potius auctorem eſſe referendum, nobis parum fit verofimile. *Wetſtein. ad Luc. cap. i. ver.* 3. *Tom. i. p.* 644.

(*f*) *Orat.* 3. *p.* 76. (*g*) *St. Luc. Mem. Ec. T.* 2.

(*h*) Quippe ne longe abeam, Joannes . . . et item Lucas haudquaquam interempti fuere, verum cum permultas propter Chriſtum et ejus evangelium calamitates pertuliſſent, in pace ad eum qui pacis Deus eſt, reverſi ſunt. *Elias Cr. Annot. p.* 322. 323.

(*i*) Andreas et Lucas apud Patras, Achaiæ civitatem, conſummati referuntur. *Gaud. Serm.* 17. *ap. Bib. PP. Tom.* 5. *p.* 969. *C.*

(*k*) Hic pater Andreas, et magno nomine Lucas,
Martyr et illuſtris ſanguine Nazarius.
Paulin. Ep. 32. *p.* 210. *Conf. Annot. p.* 75. *Paris* 1685.

(*l*) Vitam egit cœlibem, ac mortuus eſt anno ætatis 84. circa annum (ut nonnulli volunt) 70. Quo vero mortis genere incertum eſt. *Hiſt. Lit. p.* 25.

(*m*) Ογδοήκοντα ἐτῶν γενόμενος. ὡς φασιν. *Niceph. l.* 2. *c.* 43.

ays, that (*n*) paſſage is not in any manuſcripts. Nor does he know, whence that ſilly fiction was borrowed. *Fabricius* (*o*) confirms that account.

IV. There is no great difficulty in ſettling the time of St. *Luke*'s writing his Goſpel. The Acts of the Apoſtles were publiſhed in 63. or 64. and not long after his Goſpel, as is generally allowed. Accordingly Dr. *Mill* (*p*) ſuppoſeth thoſe books to have been two parts of one and the ſame volume, and to have been publiſhed in the year of Chriſt 64. *The Time of this Goſpel.*

This argument was repreſented at length (*q*) formerly. The reader is referred to it, that I may not enlarge upon it in this place.

V. However, I cannot forbear to obſerve ſome marks of Time in the Goſpel itſelf. *Marks of Time in the Goſpel itſelf.*

1. The occaſion of writing it, as St. *Luke* aſſures us in the introduction, was, that *many* had already publiſhed narrations of theſe things. But it cannot be reaſonably thought, that many ſhould have writ hiſtories of Jeſus Chriſt preſently after his aſcenſion, nor indeed till many years after it.

2. There are ſeveral things in the Goſpel, from which it may be fairly argued, that it was not writ, till after *Peter* and *Paul*, and perhaps other Apoſtles likewiſe, had preached to Gentils, and received them into the Church, without their embracing the peculiarities of the law of Moſes.

3. In ch. ii. 10. the angel ſays to the ſhepherds near *Bethlehem: I bring you good tidings of great joy to all people.* At ver. 30. . . 32. *Simeon* ſays, at the preſentation of Jeſus in the temple: *Mine eyes have ſeen thy ſalvation, which thou haſt prepared before the face of all people: a light to lighten the Gentils, and the glorie of thy people Iſrael.* In ch. iii. 8. ſays *John* the Baptiſt: *God is able of theſe ſtones to raiſe up children to Abraham.* And I might here refer to ch. i. 78. 79. I ſuppoſe, that when St. *Luke* recorded theſe things, he underſtood them. Which he could not do, till after the goſpel had been freely and fully publiſhed among Gentils.

4. That St. *Luke* underſtood the ſpirituality of the doctrine of the Goſpel, may be concluded from the account, which he has given of our Lord's diſcourſe, recorded ch. vi. 20. . . 49. I might for this refer to ch. i. 74. 75. and other places.

5. Ch. vii. 9. When our Lord had heard the centurion's profeſſion of faith, *he marvelled at him, and ſaid: I have not found ſo great faith, no not*

3

(*n*) Falſo additur in hoc loco: *Vixit octoginta et quatuor annos, uxorem non habens.* Nullum exſtat veſtigium horum verborum in manuſcriptis codicibus. Neque novi, unde putida hæc commenta fluxerint. *Martian.*

(*o*) Sed illa Eraſmus, Martinus Lipſius, et Suffridus Petri, in exemplaribus ſuis mſſ. non invenerunt. *Fabr. in loc. ap. Bib. Eccleſ.*

(*p*) Voluminibus hujus D. Lucæ partem poſteriorem, ſeu λόγον δεύτερον quod attinet, librum dico Actuum Apoſtolorum, haud dubium eſt, quin is ſcriptus fuerit ſtatim poſt λόγον πρωτον, ſive Evangelium. *Poleg. num.* 121.

(*q*) *See in this volume ch. iv. ſect. iv.*

not in Israel. In Matth. viii. 11. 12. is a farther enlargement. The like to which may be seen in Luke xiii. 28. . . 30.

6. In ch. xiii. 6. . . . 9. is the parable of *the fig-tree, spared one year more:* representing the ruin of the Jewish church and people as near, if they did not speedily repent.

7. In ch. xi. 48. . . 51. are predictions of the calamities coming upon the Jewish people. In ch. xiii. 34. 35. are our Lord's lamentations over the city of *Jerusalem*, in the view of the calamities coming upon it. See likewise xvii. 22. . . 37. xix. 11. . . 27. xx. 9. . . 18. xxi. 5. . . . 11. and ver. 20. . . 35. As St. *Luke* enlargeth so much in his accounts of these predictions, it may be argued, that the accomplishment was not far off, when he wrote.

8. In ch. xiv. 16. . . 24. is the parable of *a great supper*. When they who were first invited, refused to come. Whereupon the invitations were enlarged, and made more general. And in the end he who made the supper declares, that *they who were first bidden, should not taste of it*. representing the call of the Gentils, and the general rejection of the Jews for their unbelief.

9. In ch. xiii. 18. . . 21. are the parables of the *grain of mustard-seed* and *leaven*, representing the wonderful progresse of the gospel: of which, probably, St. *Luke* had been witnesse, when he recorded them.

10. Ch xxiv. 46 47. . . *And he said unto them. . . that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem.* When St. *Luke* wrote this, it is very likely, that he well understood the commission of the Apostles, as reaching to men of all denominations, throughout the whole world.

11. But I need not enlarge farther on these internal characters of time, the other argument being sufficient and satisfactorie.

The Place, where it was writ. VI. I must say something concerning the place, where St. *Luke*'s Gospel was writ.

Jerome, as before (*r*) quoted, in the prologue to his Commentaries upon St. *Matthew*, says, that (*s*) *Luke*, the third Evangelist, published his Gospel in the countreys of *Achaia* and *Boeötia*. In his book of Illustrious Men he says, the (*t*) Acts were writ at *Rome*. *Gregorie Nazianzen* says, that (*u*) *Luke* wrote for the *Greeks*, or in *Achaia*. And speaking of the provinces of divers of the Apostles and Evangelists, he (*x*) assigns *Judea* to *Peter*, the Gentils to *Paul*, *Achaia* to *Luke*, *Epirus* to *Andrew*, *Ephesus* or *Asia* to *John*, *India* to *Thomas*, *Italie* to *Mark:* in which countrey, undoubtedly, many of the ancients believed this last mentioned Evangelist to have writ his Gospel. *Chrysostom* does not say where *Luke* wrote: but only that (*y*) he wrote for all in general.

We are told by (*z*) *Philostorge*, that in the reign of the Emperour *Constan-*

(*r*) *Vol. x p.* 84. 85.
(*s*) In Achaiæ Boeotiæque partibus volumen condidit. *Ibid.*
(*t*) *Ib. p.* 95. (*u*) *Vol. ix. p.* 133.
(*x*) Εγω πέτρᾳ ἡ ἰουδαία, τὶ παύλῳ κοινὸν πρὸς τὰ ἔθνη, λευκὰ πρὸς ἀχαίαν . . . μαρκῳ πρὸς ἰταλίαν. *Gregor. Or.* 25. *p.* 438. *A.*
(*y*) *Vol. x. p.* 318. (*z*) *Vol. vii. p.* 317.

Constantius St. *Luke*'s reliques were translated from *Achaia* to *Constantinople*. It must therefore have been the general persuasion in those times that St. *Luke* had died, and had been buried in *Achaia*. *Nicephorus* says, that (*a*) when *Paul* left *Rome*, *Luke* returned to *Greece*, where he preached the gospel, and converted many: where also he suffered martyrdom, and was buried. Soon afterwards he says, that (*b*) in the reign of *Constantius Luke*'s body was translated from *Thebes* to *Constantinople*. The connection leads us by *Thebes* to understand *Thebes* in *Greece*.

Grotius says, he thinks, that (*c*) about the time that *Paul* left *Rome*, *Luke* also went thence into *Achaia*, and there wrote his books, which we have, as *Jerome* likewise says. *Cave* thought, that (*d*) both St. *Luke*'s books were writ at *Rome*, and before *Paul*'s captivity there was at an end.

But by *Mill*, *Grabe*, and *Wetstein*, it is said, that *Luke* published his Gospel at *Alexandria*, in *Egypt*. Let us observe their proofs.

First of all (*e*) *Mill* and (*f*) *Wetstein* quote *Oecumenius*, as saying, that *Luke* preached at *Thebes* in *Egypt*. Nevertheless I do not find it in *Oecumenius*. And I suppose, that *Simeon Metaphrastes*, a writer of no great credit, in the tenth centurie, in his life of St. *Luke*, is their authority. For he is the writer quoted by (*g*) *Grabe*, though he does it cautiously. Nor does *Metaphrastes* say, that St. *Luke* published his Gospel in *Egypt*. He supposeth it to have been writ before he went thither. For he says, that (*h*) when *Luke* preached there, he sometimes argued from the Old Testament, and sometimes from the Gospel, which he had writ.

It may be reckoned probable therefore, that this journey of St. *Luke* into *Egypt* is a mere fiction, a thing without ground ascribed to him by some, after he had left *Paul*, and after he had writ his Gospel.

Nevertheless

(*a*) Συνδιάγων δ' ἐν ῥώμῃ τῷ παύλῳ, ἐκαινίσει τὴν ἑλλάδα ἀνθις. κ. λ. *Niceph. l. 2. cap. 43. p. 210.* (*b*)

(*b*) *Ibid. C.*

(*c*) Puto autem Româ isse Lucam in Achaiam, atque ibi ab eo conscriptos nos habemus libros. Quod et Hieronymus prodidit. *Grot. Præf. in Evang. Luc.*

(*d*) Utrumque anno Christi 59 S. Paulo nondum ex carcere dimisso, scripsisse videtur. *In Luc. H. L. p. 25.*

(*e*) Certe post discessum a Româ Libyam petiisse nostrum hunc Evangelium, ac apud Thebanos verbum prædicasse testatur Oecumenius comment. Lucam. *Mill. Prol. n. 114.*

(*f*) . . . vel secundum Hieronymum . . . in Achaiæ Boeotiæque finibus, ii tamen Thebas Ægyptias, ubi teste Oecumenio Lucas prædicavit, pro Boeotiis accepisse videtur. *Wetst. N. T. Tom. i. p. 643.*

(*g*) Taceo recentiores, veluti Simeonem Metaphrasten, qui in Vita S. Lucæ Græce et Latine edita ad calcem commentariorum Oecumenii. p. 857. ita scribit: Totam Libyam percurrens in Ægyptum pervenit. &c. *Grabe Spic. T. i. p. 33.*

(*h*) Καὶ νῦν μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς παλαιᾶς περιέχων γραφῆς, νῦν δὲ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἔτος ἀνεῖτο τὸ ἐυαγγελίου διερμηνίνων αὐτοῖς τὰ περὶ χριστοῦ. *Sim. Metaphr. de Vit. S. Lucæ, p. 858. B.*

Nevertheleſs thoſe learned men (*i*) have been pleaſed to argue from this paſſage of *Metaphraſtes*, that *Jerome* miſtook *Thebes* in *Beötioa* for *Thebes* in *Egypt*. Which appears to me to be altogether arbitrarie. I ſhould rather think, that ſome later writer miſtook the place, and inſtead of *Thebes* in *Boeötia*, thought of *Thebes* in *Egypt*, a very famous city, and better known to himſelf than the other.

It may be of uſe to take here more at large the paſſage of *Nicephorus*, in part quoted juſt now. "*Luke*, (*k*) ſays he, was born at *Antioch*, which "is in *Syria*, by profeſſion a Phyſician, and alſo well ſkilled in painting. "He came to *Paul* at *Thebes* with it's ſeven gates: where renouncing "the errour of his anceſtors, he embraced the Chriſtian doctrine, and "of a Phyſician for the body, became a Phyſician for the Soul. He like-"wiſe wrote a Goſpel, as *Paul* dictated it to him, and alſo the Acts of "the Apoſtles. Whilſt *Paul* was at *Rome*, [or, When *Paul* had been "at *Rome*] he returned into (D) *Greece*." This, I think, muſt confirm our ſuppoſition, that ſomebody miſtook *Thebes* in *Egypt* for *Thebes* in *Boeötia*. It is plain, that *Nicephorus* means *Thebes* of *Greece*. And he ſeems to have ſuppoſed, in this place, that *Luke* was converted about the time he came to be with *Paul* in *Macedonia* and *Greece*. See Acts xvi. 10. He ſays, *Luke returned into Greece*. Therefore the *Thebes* before-mentioned muſt have been in that countrey. Nor was *Paul* ever at *Thebes* in *Egypt*. *Luke* therefore could not meet him, and be converted by him there. He calls it *Thebes with it's ſeven gates*. So (*l*) *Thebes* in *Boeötia* was ſometimes called.

Secondly. Another argument, that St. *Luke*'s Goſpel was writ at *Alexandria*, is, that (*m*) it is ſo ſaid in the *Syriac* verſion.

But thoſe titles are of no great weight. Before the three Catholic Epiſtles, received by the *Syrians*, is a title or inſcription, importing that (*n*) they were writ by *the Apoſtles, James, Peter, and John, witneſſes*

of

(*i*) Neque aliunde in aliam ſententiam ductum arbitror Hieronymum, qui in Achaiæ Boeotiæque finibus hoc Evangelium conditum ait, quam quod ſeu lecto, ſeu ex traditione alicubi accepto, Lucam apud Thebanos prædicaſſe ac conſcripſiſſe Evangelium, incolas iſtos fuiſſe exiſtimarit Thebarum Boeotiarum, non autem Thebarum urbis Ægypti ſuperioris. *Mill. Prol. n.* 115. *Vid. et Wetſtein. citat. ſupra not.* (*f*).

(*k*) *Niceph. l.* 2. *cap.* 43. *p.* 210. *A. B.*

(D) All muſt be ſenſible, that this ſtorie of *Nicephorus* is very ſtrange. For in one place he without heſitation ſpeaks of St. *Luke*, as the companion of *Cleophas*, mentioned *Luke* xxiv. 18. *Lib.* 1. *cap.* 34. *p.* 117. *A.* And he ſeveral times ſpeaks of *Mark* and *Luke*, as two of Chriſt's ſeventy diſciples: *Lib.* 2. *cap.* 43. *et in cap.* 45. *p.* 213. *B.* ἢ ἐκ τῶν ὁ. δυο ἑτέρους, μάρκον καὶ λουκᾶν.

(*l*) *Vid. Cellar. Geogr. Antiq. lib.* 2. *cap.* 13.

(*m*) Ita quippe ſonat titulus ejus in verſione Syriaca, ante mille annos edita: Evangelium Lucæ Evangeliſtæ, quod protulit et evangelizavit Græce in Alexandria magna. *Grabe Spic. T. i. p.* 33. *Conf. Mill. Prol. n.* 114.

(*n*) Sanctorum Apoſtolorum, Jacobi, Petri, Johannis, transfigurationis Chriſti ſpectatorum, epiſtolæ ſingulæ.

of *our Saviour's transfiguration*, taking *James* to be the ſon of *Zebedee*: whereas the epiſtle of *James* could not be writ till long after his death, who was beheaded by *Herod Agrippa*, as related Acts xii. 1. 2. And St. *Paul*'s ſecond epiſtle to *Timothie* (*o*) is ſaid by the ſame *Syrians*, to have been writ at *Rome*, and ſent by *Luke*. Which is manifeſtly contrarie to the epiſtle itſelf. See 2 Tim. iv. 11. 12.

St. *Luke*'s Goſpel is alſo ſaid in the *Perſic* verſion, (*p*) to have been writ at *Alexandria*. But then it is allowed, that this verſion was made from the *Syriac*, not from the *Greek*.

Thirdly, it is alſo urged, that there are *epigraphai* or inſcriptions in ſome manuſcripts, at the end of this Goſpel, where it is ſaid, that it was writ in the great city of *Alexandria*.

But it is well known, that thoſe inſcriptions at the end of the books of the New Teſtament are of little value, divers of them containing manifeſt miſtakes; and they are in late manuſcripts only, or however, ſuch as are not of the higheſt antiquity.

Fourthly. *Grabe* (*q*) likewiſe inſiſts upon a paſſage in the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions, where the Apoſtles are brought in, relating what Biſhops had been appointed by them in their own time. And it is ſaid, that in *Alexandria*, *Anianus*, the firſt Biſhop, was ordained by the Evangeliſt *Mark*, and *Abilius* by *Luke*, alſo Evangeliſt. And (*r*) *Mill* in like manner quotes the conſtitutions, after *Grabe*, though almoſt aſhamed ſo to do.

But it ſhould be conſidered, that the author of that work is anonymous, and unknown, and his time not certain. He ſays what he pleaſeth. And has been convicted of falſhood in ſuch accounts (*s*) as theſe, as well as in others. It has very much the appearance of fiction, that the firſt Biſhop of *Alexandria* ſhould be ordained by *Mark*, and the ſecond by *Luke*. And poſſibly it is a fiction of the writer himſelf. For I do not recollect, that this is ſaid any where elſe. *Epiphanius*, as well as more ancient writers, muſt have been totally unacquainted with this ordination, and with St. *Luke*'s journeys in *Egypt*. For he ſays, that (*t*) this

(*o*) Ad Timotheum vero ſecunda Romæ ſcripta, fuit miſſa per eundem Lucam Medicum et Evangeliſtam. *Ebedjeſu Catal. ap. Aſſeman. Bib. Or. T. iii. p.* 12.

(*p*) Et in verſione Perſica, quam tamen non ex Græco, ſed Syriaco textu tranſlatam exiſtimat admodum R. Waltonus: Evangelium Lucæ, quod lingua Græca Ægyptiaca in Alexandria ſcripſit. *Grab. ubi ſupr. p.* 33.

(*q*) Atque hoc non parum confirmatur ex eo quod lib. vii. Conſt. Apoſt. Clement. cap. 46. Lucas dicatur Alexandriæ fuiſſe, ibique Epiſcopum Avilium ordinaſſe. *Urbis Alexandrinorum Anianus primus a Marco Evangeliſta ordinatus eſt, ſecundus vero Avilius a Luca, et ipſo Evangeliſta.* Grabe ibid.

(*r*) Et ſi Conſtitutionum Apoſtolicarum ſeu auctori ſeu conſarcinatori fides in eccleſia Alexandria, a Marco primum fundata. . . Avilium Aniani prim Epiſcopi ſucceſſorem, ordinaverit. *Mill. Prol. n.* 141.

(*s*) *See in this work vol. viii. p.* 352.

(*t*) *Hær. L. i. num. xi. p.* 433.

this Evangeliſt preached the goſpel in *Dalmatia, Gaul, Italie,* and *Macedonia,* but eſpecially in *Gaul.*

Du Pin having taken notice of what is ſaid relating to this matter in the inſcriptions, which are in ſome manuſcripts, the titles in the *Syriac* and *Perſic* verſions, *Metaphraſtes,* and the Conſtitutions, concludes "All (*u*) theſe monuments deſerve no credit. We ought to adhere to "what is ſaid by *Jerome,* as moſt probable: that this Goſpel was com-"poſed in *Achaia,* or *Boeötia.*"

Upon the whole, there appears not any good reaſon to ſay, that St. *Luke* wrote his Goſpel at *Alexandria,* or that he preached at all in *Egypt.* It is more probable, that when he left *Paul,* he went into *Greece,* and there compoſed, or finiſhed, and publiſhed his Goſpel, and the Acts of the Apoſtles.

His Character. VII. I would now offer ſomething by way of character of this Evangeliſt. But I ſhall do it briefly, and cautiouſly. And if I mention doubtful things doubtfully, I may hope to eſcape cenſure. It is probable, that he is *Lucius,* mentioned Rom. xvi. 21. If ſo, he was related to St. *Paul* the Apoſtle. And it is not unlikely, that that *Lucius* is the ſame as *Lucius* of *Cyrene,* mentioned by name. Acts xiii. 1. and in general with others. ch. xi. 20. It appears to me very probable, that St. *Luke* was a Jew by birth, and an early Jewiſh believer. This muſt be reckoned to be a kind of requiſite qualification for writing a hiſtorie of Chriſt and the early preaching of his Apoſtles to advantage. Which, certainly, St. *Luke* has performed. I do not perceive ſufficient reaſon to believe, that *Luke* was one of Chriſt's ſeventy diſciples. But he may have been one of the two, whom our Lord met in the way to *Emmaus,* on the day of his reſurrection, as related Luke xxiv. 13... 35. He is expreſsly ſtiled by the Apoſtle *his fellow-laborer.* Philem. ver. 24. If he be the perſon intended Col. iv. 14. (which ſeems very probable,) he was, or had been, by profeſſion a Phyſician. And he was greatly valued by the Apoſtle, who calls him *beloved.* Which muſt be reckoned much to his honour. For nothing could be ſo likely to recommend any man to St. *Paul*'s eſteem, as faithfulneſſe to the intereſts of pure religion. It is undoubted, that he accompanied *Paul,* when he firſt went into *Macedonia.* Acts xvi. 8... 40. And though we are not fully aſſured, that he continued to be with him conſtantly afterwards: we know, that he went with the Apoſtle from *Greece* through *Macedonia,* and *Aſia,* to *Jeruſalem,* and thence to *Rome,* where he ſtayed with him the whole two years of his impriſonment in that city. This alone makes out the ſpace of above five years. And it is an attendance well becoming *Lucius* of *Cyrene:* to which no man could be more readily diſpoſed, than one of the firſt preachers of the goſpel to the Gentils. We do not exactly know, when St. *Luke* formed the deſign of writing his two books. But, probably, they are the labour of ſeveral years. During St. *Paul*'s impriſonment in *Judea,* which laſted more than two years, and was a time of inaction for the Apoſtle, St. *Luke* had an opportunity for compleating his collections, and filling up his plan. For in that time unqueſtionably *Luke* converſed with many early

(*u*) *Diſſertat. ſur la Bible. liv. 2. ch. 2. §. v. p. 39.*

ly Jewiſh believers, and eye-witneſſes of the Lord, and ſome of the poſtles, who were ſtill at *Jeruſalem*. And I make no doubt, but that more that ſeaſon he had converſed with ſeveral of the Apoſtles, and her eye-witneſſes of our Lord's perſon and works. Nor can any heſitate to allow the truth of what is ſaid by ſome of the ancients, that *Luke*, who for the moſt part was a companion of *Paul*, had likewiſe more than a slight acquaintance with the reſt of the Apoſtles. Whilſt he was with *Paul* at *Rome*, it is likely, that he had ſome leiſure for compoſing, and writing. When St. *Paul* left *Rome*, I imagine, that *Luke* accompanied him no longer: but went into *Greece*, where he finiſhed, and publiſhed, one after the other, his two books. Which he inſcribed to *Theophilus*, an honorable friend, and a good Chriſtian in that countrey. Here *Luke* lived, and perhaps ſomewhat in years. Nor need it to be reckoned an improbable ſuppoſition, that he was older than the Apoſtle.

VIII. I ſhall conclude this chapter with ſome obſervations upon St. *Luke*'s Goſpel, and the Acts of the Apoſtles. But thoſe upon his Goſpel will chiefly relate to the introduction: though ſome were mentioned formerly. *Obſervations upon his Goſpel.*

1. St. *Luke*'s two books, his Goſpel and the Acts, are inſcribed to *Theophilus*. Whereby ſome underſtand any good Chriſtian in general, others a particular perſon.

Epiphanius (*x*) ſpeaks as if he was in doubt, whether thereby ſhould be underſtood a particular perſon, or a lover of God in general. *Salvian* (*y*) ſeems to have ſuppoſed it to be only a feigned name.

Auguſtin (*z*) and *Chryſoſtom* (*a*), and many others, have thereby underſtood a real perſon. *Theophylact* expreſſeth himſelf after this manner: "*Theophilus*, (*b*) to whom *Luke* wrote, was a man of ſenatorian rank, and poſſibly a Governour: foraſmuch as he calls him *moſt excellent*, the ſame title, which *Paul* uſeth in his addreſſes to *Felix* and *Feſtus*." *Oecumenius* ſays, "that (*c*) *Theophilus* was a Prefect or Governour." However, we have no particular account in the ancients, who he was, or of what countrey.

Cave (*d*) ſuppoſed *Theophilus* to have been a Nobleman of *Antioch*. and in his Lives of the Apoſtles and Evangeliſts (*e*) writ in Engliſh, he refers

(*x*) Εἰτ' ἂν τινὶ θεοφιλῷ τότε γράφων ταῦτο ἔλεγεν, ἢ παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ θεὸν ἀγαπῶντι. *Epiph. Hær. LI. n. vii. p.* 429. *A.*

(*y*) Poſitus itaque in hoc ambiguæ opinionis incerto, optimum fere credit, ut beati Evangeliſtæ ſacratiſſimum ſequeretur exemplum: qui in utroque divini operis exordio Theophili nomen inſcribens, cum ad hominem ſcripſiſſe videatur, ad amorem Dei ſcripſit: hoc ſcilicet digniſſimum eſſe judicans, ut ad ipſum affectum Dei ſcripta dirigeret, a quo ad ſcribendum impulſus fuerat. *Salvian. ad Salon. ep.* 9. *p.* 215.

(*z*) *De Conſenſ. Evan. l.* 4. *c.* 8. *T.* 3.

(*a*) *Chryſ. in Act. Hom. i. T.* 9. *p.* 3. 4.

(*b*) *See Vol. xi.* p. 423.

(*c*) Ἡγεμὼν ἦν οὗτος ὁ θεόφιλος, &c. *Comm. in Act. T.* 2 *p.* 2 *C.*

(*d*) Utrumque opus inſcripſit, Theophilo optimati, (ut credere fas eſt,) Antiocheno. *Hiſt. Lit. in Luca.*

(*e*) *P.* 224.

refers to the Recognitions: where is mentioned a rich man of *Antioc* of this name. But I do not esteem that to be any proof, that St. *Luk* *Theophilus* was of *Antioch*. That fabulous writer is not speaking of *Pa* nor of *Luke*, but of *Peter*: who, as he says, in (*f*) seven days convert ten thousand people at *Antioch*. And *Theophilus*, the greatest man in t city, turned his house into a church. Moreover, supposing him to i tend St. *Luke*'s *Theophilus*, his authority is of no value. A writer at t end of the second centurie does not speak of his own knowledge. A if St. *Luke* published his books in *Greece*, which to me seems probable should be inclined to think, that *Theophilus*, to whom they are addresse was a man of the same countrey.

2. It may be of more importance to enquire, whom St. *Luke* means the *many*, who before him had *attempted* to write histories of Jesus Chri *Epiphanius* says, that (*g*) St. *Luke* intended *Cerinthus*, *Merinthus*, a others. How *Origen* (*h*) expressed himself concerning this, in his pr face to St. *Luke*'s Gospel; and how *Jerome* (*i*) in his preface to St. *Ma thew*, may be seen by those, who are pleased to look back. They sa that many attempted to write Gospels, as *Basilides*, *Apelles*, and othe And they mention divers Gospels, not received by the Church: Such the *Gospel of Thomas*, and *Matthias*, *the Gospels of the Egyptians*, and *of t Twelve*. But it is not necessarie to be supposed by us, that they thoug that all, if any, of those Gospels were writ before St. *Luke*'s, or that spoke of them. For *Basilides* and *Apelles* could not write Gospels befo the second centurie. And they might suppose, that several, if not all t other, mentioned by them, were writ after St. *Luke*'s. The meaning what these ancient writers say, is, that the Church receives four Gospe only. There were many others. But to them may be applied t words of St. *Luke*: they only *took in hand*, or *attempted*. They did n perform, as *Matthew*, and *Mark*, and *Luke*, and *John*, did. And th might express themselves in that manner concerning Gospels writ aft St. *Luke*'s, as well as before it.

However, *Theophylact*, as was formerly (*k*) observed, in the preface his Commentarie upon St. *Luke*, expresseth himself, as if he thought t Evangelist referred to the Gospels according to the *Egyptians*, and a cording to the *Twelve*.

3. We will now observe the judgements of some learned modern *Grabe* (*l*) allows, that St. *Luke* did not refer to the Gospels of *Basilid*

(*f*) Et ne multis immorer, intra septem dies, plus quam decem millia h minum credentes Deo baptizati sunt, et sanctificatione consecrati: ita ut om aviditatis desiderio Theophilus, qui erat cunctis potentibus in civitate fu limior, domus suæ ingentem basilicam, ecclesiæ nomine consecravit. *Recog l. x. cap.* 71.

(*g*) . . φάσκων ἐπειδήπερ πολλοὶ ἐπεχείρησαν· ἵνα τινὰς μὲν ἐπιχειρητὰς δέ φημι δὲ τὸν περὶ κήρινθον, καὶ μήρινθον, καὶ τὸν ἄλλας. *H. LI. n. vii. in.*

(*h*) *See Vol. iii. p.* 317. 318. (*i*) *See Vol. x. p.* 140. 141.

(*k*) *Vol. xi. p.* 422.

(*l*) Reliqua quippe ab Origene et Ambrosio nominata falsa Evangeli veluti Basilidis, aliudque Manichæorum, Apostolo Thomæ perperam adscri tum, procul omni dubio post S. Lucæ obitum prodiere: adeo ut ea in prim Evangelii verbis, in quorum explicatione Origenes et Ambrosius ista afferun respice

Thomas, or ſome others, mentioned by *Origen*. For they were not bliſhed, till after St. *Luke*'s death. But he thinks, that St. *Luke* might fer to the Goſpel according to the *Egyptians*, and according to the *elve*, and ſome others, now unknown.

That St. *Luke* might refer to the Goſpel according to the *Egyptians*, he nks for the following reaſons, which I ſhall conſider.

The firſt is, that (*m*) St. *Luke*'s Goſpel was writ in *Egypt*. To hich I anſwer: That is ſaid without ground, as has been lately (*n*) own.

Grabe's ſecond argument is, that (*o*) *Clement* of *Rome*, or ſome other, the fragment of the ſecond epiſtle aſcribed to him, has quoted the Goſl according to the *Egyptians*. Which argument, as one would think, ght have been ſpared: ſince *Grabe* himſelf allows, that (*p*) ſecond iſtle to be ſuppoſitious, and not to have been compoſed, till about e middle of the third centurie. If that be the true date of the epi-e, it is too late a thing, to warrant the ſuppoſition, that St. *Luke* re-red to the Goſpel according to the *Egyptians*.

I ſhall take no further notice of *Grabe*. But I imagine, that the Goſl according to the *Egyptians* was not compoſed before the ſecond cen-rie. *Clement* of *Alexandria* is the firſt known Catholic author, that has ted it. And in his time it was very obſcure and little known. This) was ſhewn formerly.

Dr. *Mill* does not much differ from *Grabe*. He thinks, that (*r*) of e many Narrations, to which St. *Luke* refers, the two principal were e Goſpels according to the *Hebrews*, and according to the *Egyp-ans*.

The general account, which *Mill* gives of thoſe Memoirs or Narra-ons, ſeems to be very juſt and reaſonable. And I intend to tranſcribe m here largely. " About (*s*) the year 58. or ſomewhat ſooner, ſays " *Mill*,

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ſpicere haud potuerit. Contra vero haud eſt abſimile, iſta ſecundum He-æos et Egyptios ante fuiſſe ſcripta, atque ad ea, una cum aliis pluribus jam notis, Lucam intendiſſe digitum, dum præfatus eſt. &c. *Gr. Spic. T. i.* 31. 32.

(*m*) Evangelium, de quo agitur, ab Ægyptiis editum fuiſſe ante Lucæ vangelium, huncque iſtud inter alia, ſi non præcipue, reſpexiſſe, dum in rooemio plures hiſtorias evangelicas memorat, ad quas emendandas, et de-ctus eorum ſupplendos, ſuam literis conſignaſſe ſe innuit, probabile redditur x eo, quod Lucas Evangelium ſcripſiſſe dicatur Alexandriæ in Ægypto. *Id. . p.* 33. *in.*

(*n*) *See before p.* 103 . . 105.

(*o*) Accedit, quod jam Clemens Romanus, vel quiſquis eſt auctor ep. 2. ad orinthios, certe antiquiſſimus, iſto Evangelio uſus eſſe ex fragmento mox citando, colligatur. *Ibid. p.* 34.

(*p*) Cererum quæras, quando epiſtola illa Clementi ſuppoſita fuerat, re-ondeo, id ſeculo iii. et quidem medio, factum eſſe. *Ib. p.* 269. *in.*

(*q*) *See Vol. ii. p.* 527 . . . 530. *ſecond edition. p.* 526 . . 529. *firſt edition.*

(*r*) Ex dictis autem hiſce hiſtoriolis . . duæ præ ceteris celebratæ erant, ım et ipſæ Evangelia appellabantur, ſecundum Hebræos alterum, alterum ecundum Ægyptios. *Proleg. n.* 38. *vid. et n.* 39 . . . 41. *et n.* 112. *&c.*

(*s*) Sub hoc quidem tempus, annum dico LVIII. ſeu etiam aliquanto ıtio, contextæ fuere a fidelibus quibuſdam illius ævi διηγήσεις; evangelicæ, ſeu

" *Mill*, were compoſed by ſome of the faithful Evangelical Narrations, " or ſhort hiſtories of Chriſt. This appears from St. *Luke*'s introduc- " tion to his Goſpel. From which we learn, in the firſt place, that they " were not our Evangeliſts, *Matthew* and *Mark*. For *Matthew* was an " eye-witneſſe. Nor can two be called *many*. In the next place, it is " to be obſerved, that theſe narrations conſiſted of *things moſt ſurely be-* " *lieved among us*, that is, as I underſtand it, *of the things fulfilled and* " *done by Chriſt among the firſt profeſſors of the faith:* of which number " *Luke* reckons himſelf. *Laſtly*, from the words of that introduction it " appears, that thoſe Narrations were received either from the Apoſtles " themſelves, or from their aſſiſtants in the work of the goſpel. It is " therefore manifeſt, that there were ſome of the firſt Chriſtians, who " before *Luke*, (and alſo, as we may ſuppoſe, before *Matthew* and *Mark*,) " wrote hiſtories of the things done by Chriſt, and received from apo- " ſtolical traditions: and that not with a bad, or heretical deſign, as ma- " ny inſinuate, who comment upon this introduction of St. *Luke*, but " with the ſame deſign, as our Evangeliſts: that Chriſtians might have " at leaſt ſome account in writing of the Lord's actions. Nevertheleſs it " may be alſo inferred from what St. *Luke* here ſays, that their hiſtories " were inaccurate, and imperfect: there were in them ſome things not " certain, or well atteſted, and poſſibly, here and there, ſome miſtakes. " For which cauſe it ſeemed good to him, who had attained to full in- " formation, to write a compleat and copious hiſtorie of the things done " by Chriſt."

If this account be right, ſome conſequences may be deduced, which will be of uſe to us.

And indeed, it ſeems to me to be very right. There were ſeveral hiſtories of Chriſt, to which St. *Luke* here refers. They were compoſed with a good view, like to that of our Evangeliſts. But they were defective and inaccurate. If there were any miſtakes, I would imagine, that they were not numerous, nor in things of the greateſt importance. Nor were the writers ſufficiently qualified for the work, which they had undertaken.

ſeu hiſtoriolæ de rebus Chriſti. Patet hoc ex Evangelii D. Lucæ proœmio: . . . Exinde colligimus, in primis equidem, πολλοὺς hoſce, qui hiſtoriolas conficiebant, alios prorſus eſſe ab Evangeliſtis noſtris, Matthæo et Marco. Erat enim Matthæus unus ex αὐτόπταις, ideoque neque ab iſtorum traditionibus pendebat, ſicut hi quos memorat Lucas. Ne dicam, quod duos duntaxat nemo πολλοὺς dixerit. Deinde vero notandum, eos narrationes ſuas inſtituiſſe περὶ τῶν πεπληροφορημένων ἐν ἡμῖν πραγμάτων, hoc eſt, ut ego lubens interpretor, *de rebus apud primos fidei profeſſores*, quorum numero ſeipſum accenſet Lucas, a Chriſto *impletis* ſive geſtis. Denique liquet ex verbis modo citatis, traductas fuiſſe narratiunculas iſtas ſeu proxime, ſeu mediate ſaltem, ab Apoſtolis ipſis, eorumque in opere evangelico adjutoribus. Manifeſtum eſt igitur, fuiſſe e primis Chriſtianis nonnullos, qui ante Lucam, [addo etiam Matthæum et Marcum,] res Chriſti, (ſeu Evangelia) ex apoſtolicis traditionibus undecunque acceptis, conſcripſerant: idque non ſtudio aliquo maligno, ſeu hæretico, quod inſinuant fere qui in hoc Lucæ proœmium commentati ſunt: ſed eodem plane fine, quo Evangeliſtæ noſtri: ut haberet ſcilicet Eccleſia rerum a Domino noſtro geſtarum qualem qualem notitiam. Ceterum cum in iis quæ ſequuntur apud Lucam, ſingula Chriſtianæ rei hiſtoriam ſpectantia accurate ſe aſſecutum eſſe dicat Evangeliſta . . . haud obſcure quidem hinc colligi videtur,

undertaken. This, I think, to be intimated by St. *Luke*, though modeſtly, and without cenſorioufneſſe, in what he ſays of himſelf, *that he had perfect underſtanding of all things from the very firſt.* Which, probably, could not be ſaid of the compoſers of the Narrations, to which he refers. They were men, who had an honeſt zeal. But they had writ too haſtily, before they had obtained full information. For which reaſon their hiſtories could not anſwer the end aimed at.

Theſe things being allowed to be right, ſeveral conſequences may be deduced by us.

In the *firſt* place, and in particular, we hence learn, that the Goſpel according to the *Twelve*, or according to the *Hebrews*, was not one of thoſe Narrations, or Memoirs, to which St. *Luke* refers. For theſe were very ſhort hiſtories: [*hiſtoriolæ* as *Mill* calls them:] that was a full Goſpel, or large hiſtorie of Jeſus Chriſt. Many, in *Jerome*'s time, ſuppoſed it to be the authentic Goſpel of St. *Matthew*: which, certainly, is not a ſhort and imperfect Memoir. From the notice taken of that Goſpel by ſeveral ancient writers, eſpecially by *Jerome*, it appears to me very probable, (and, I ſhould think, muſt appear very probable to others likewiſe,) that the Goſpel according to the *Twelve*, or according to the *Hebrews*, either was St. *Matthew*'s original *Hebrew* Goſpel with additions: or his original *Greek* Goſpel, tranſlated into *Hebrew* with additions. But this laſt ſeems to me moſt likely, as has been often ſaid already upon divers occaſions.

Secondly. Another thing to be deduced from *Mill*'s account, if right, is, that (E) the Goſpel according to the *Egyptians* was not one of the Narrations to which St. *Luke* refers. For that Goſpel was not compoſed upon the ſame principles with thoſe of our Evangeliſts. It was an heretical Goſpel, as appears from the fragments of it, collected by *Grabe*, and (*r*) probably, it was compoſed in the ſecond centurie, by ſome *Encratites*, enemies of marriage.

Thirdly. I add one thing more, whether it be a conſequence from what has been already ſaid, or not: that nothing remains of the Narrations, to which St. *Luke* refers, not ſo much as any fragments, they not being quoted in any Chriſtian writings, now exſtant.

3. I ſhall now tranſcribe a part of Dr. *Doddridge*'s remarks upon St. *Luke*'s introduction. "This (*s*) muſt refer to ſome hiſtories of the life of Chriſt,

detur, τῶν πολλῶν iſtorum διηγήσεις minus accuratas fuiſſe, minuſque perfectas: ita quidem, ut in his, quæ tradiderant, aliqua hinc inde occurrerint parum certa, ne dicam a vero aberrantia. Unde omnino viſum ſit ipſi plenariam hiſtoriæ hujus cognitionem conſecuto, integrum jam et luculentum rerum a Chriſto geſtarum Commentarium ſcribere. *Mill. Prolog. num.* 35. . . . 37.

(E) I am not ſingular in ſuppoſing, that the Goſpel according to the *Egyptians* is not intended by St. *Luke*. *Beza* ſays the ſame ſtrongly. And as I imagine, he juſtly aſſerts, it not to have been writ, till after St. *Luke*'s Goſpel. Quod iſtos ait Lucas, non ſatis commode præſtitiſſe: minime tamen opinor, fabulaſas, imo etiam impias narrationes intelligens, tandem Eccleſiæ ſub Nicodemi, Nazaræorum, Thomæ, Ægyptiorum, nominibus impudentiſſime obtruſas. *Bez. ad Luc. cap. i. ver.* 1.

(*r*) *Vid. Grabe Spic. T. i. p.* 31. . . 37.

(*s*) *See his Family Expoſitor. Vol. i. p.* 1.

" Chriſt, now loſt. For *Matthew* and *Mark*, the only Evangeliſts that " can be ſuppoſed to have written before *Luke*, could not with any pro- " priety be called *many*. And of theſe two, *Matthew* at leſt wrote from " perſonal knowledge, not from the teſtimonie of others. I conclude, " that the books referred to are loſt: as I am well ſatisfied, that none of " the apocryphal Goſpels, now extant, publiſhed, particularly, by *Fa-* " *bricius*, and *Jones*, can pretend to equal antiquity, with this of St. " *Luke*. . . And St. *Luke* ſeems to allow theſe hiſtories, whatever they " were, to have been honeſtly written, according to information receiv- " ed from capable judges."

4. Mr. *Beauſobre*, ſpeaking of theſe Memoirs, ſays: " The (*t*) life " of our Saviour was ſo beautiful, his character ſo ſublime and divine, " his doctrine ſo excellent, and the miracles, by which he confirmed it, " were ſo ſhining, and ſo numerous, that it was impoſſible, but many " ſhould undertake to write Memoirs of them. This produced many " hiſtories of our Saviour, ſome more, others leſs exact. It is great " pity, that they are loſt. For we might have conſulted them, and could " have judged for ourſelves concerning the character of the writers, and " their compoſition. St. *Luke*, who ſpeaks of Narrations, or Goſpels, " that had preceded his own, intimates indeed, that they were defective, " but he does not condemn them, as fabulous, or bad."

5. That is right. Thoſe Memoirs were not bad, nor fabulous. But they were imperfect, as I apprehend, to a great degree. Nor do I la- ment the loſſe of them. I can pay ſo much deference to the judgement of Chriſtian Antiquity, eſpecially, the earlieſt of all, as to believe, that thoſe *many Narrations*, to which St. *Luke* refers, did not deſerve to be preſerved, or to be much taken notice of, after the publication of the Goſpels of our firſt three Evangeliſts. I imagine, that when once theſe came abroad, the former appeared to the faithful ſo low, and mean, and defective, that they could not bear to ſee, or read them.

Obſervations upon the book of the Acts.

IX. I ſhall now make ſome obſervations upon the other work of our Evangeliſt.

1. The book of the Acts was writ according to (*u*) *Mill*, in the year 64. And from what has been argued by us in ſeveral places that muſt appear to be as likely a time, as any. It could not be writ till after St. *Paul's* confinement at *Rome* was come to a period. I ſuppoſe, it to have ended in the former part of the year of Chriſt 63. And I think it probable, that St. *Luke* finiſhed this book the ſame, or the next year, ei- ther at *Rome*, or in *Greece*.

2. It cannot be diſagreeable to recollect here ſome of the obſervations of ancient writers upon this book, the only book of the kind, which we have, containing a hiſtorie of the preaching of Chriſt's Apoſtles after his reſurrection.

3. *Tertullian* (*x*) often ſpeaks of the importance of this book, as ſhewing Chriſt's fulfilment of the promiſe of the Holy Ghoſt to his diſciples.

4. " The (*y*) Acts of the Apoſtles, ſays *Jerome*, in his letter to *Pau-* " *linus*,

(*t*) *Hiſt. de Manich. Tom. i. p.* 449. (*u*) *Prolegom. num.* 121.
(*x*) *See Vol. ii. p.* 588. . . . 590. *or p.* 587. . . 589.
(*y*) Actus Apoſtolorum nudam quidem ſonare videntur hiſtoriam, et naſcentis

'linus, concerning the ſtudie of the Scriptures, ſeems to promiſe a bare 'hiſtorie, and an account of the early infance of the Church: but if we 'conſider, that the writer is *Luke* the Phyſician, we ſhall at the ſame 'time diſcern, that every word is ſuited to heal the maladies of the ſoul."

5. Says *Auguſtin*: "*Luke* (z) after having writ a Goſpel, containing 'a hiſtorie of Chriſt's words and works to the time of his reſurrection 'and aſcenſion, wrote ſuch an account of the Acts of the Apoſtles, as 'he judged to be ſufficient for the edification of believers. And it is 'the only hiſtorie of the Apoſtles, which has been received by the 'Church: all other having been rejected, as not to be relied upon."

6. I beg leave to refer my readers to the paſſages of *Chryſoſtom*, already (a) tranſcribed, relating to this book: and to the whole of his firſt homilie upon it. I add now only one paſſage more out of the ſame homilie. "The (b) Goſpels, ſays he, are the hiſtorie of the things, which 'Chriſt did, and ſpake. The Acts the hiſtorie of the things, which 'another Paraclet ſpake and did."

7. It is not needful for me to make a diſtinct enumeration of the things contained in this book. Every one who has peruſed it with care, cannot but know, that it contains an account of the choice of *Matthias* to be Apoſtle in the room of the traitor, of the wonderful and plentiful pouring out of the gift of the Holy Ghoſt upon the Apoſtles, and other diſciples of Jeſus at *Jeruſalem*, at the Pentecoſt next ſucceeding his crucifixion, and of the teſtimonie bore by the Apoſtles to his reſurrection and aſcenſion in their diſcourſes, and by many miracles, and various ſufferings: their preaching firſt at *Jeruſalem*, and in *Judea*, and afterwards by themſelves, or their aſſiſtants, in *Samaria*: and then to Gentils in *Judea*, and afterwards out of it, as well as to Jews: and of the converſion of *Paul* and his preaching, miracles, labours, ſufferings, in many cities and countreys, parts of the Roman Empire, and the polite world, and at length in *Rome* itſelf.

8. If we were to indulge ourſelves in making remarks upon this uſeful and excellent performance, nothing, perhaps, would be more obſervable than it's brevity and conciſeneſſe: by which means many things muſt have been omitted, which happened during the period of that hiſtorie. For it is very true, which *Chryſoſtom* ſaid, that (c) *Luke* leaves us thirſting for more.

9. Says *Le Clerc*: "*Luke*'s (d) Apoſtolical Hiſtorie relates the begin-

" ings

centis Eccleſiæ infantiam texere. Sed ſi noverimus, ſcriptorem eorum Lucam eſſe Medicum, cujus laus eſt in evangelio, animadvertemus pariter, omnia verba illius animæ languentis eſſe medicinam. *Ad Paulin. ep.* 50. *al.* 103. *T. 1. P. 2. p.* 574.

(z) *See Vol. x. p.* 237. 238. (a) *See Vol. x. p.* 323... 330.

(b) Τὰ μὲν ἐν εὐαγγελίοις ἀν ὁ χριστὸς ἐποίησεν καὶ εἶπεν ἱστορία τις ἐστὶν· αἱ δὲ πράξεις, τοῦ ἑτέρου παρακλήτου εἶπε καὶ ἐποίησε. *In Act. hom. i. Tom.* 3. *p.* 9. *B.*

(c) *Vol. x. p.* 327.

(d) Hic vero deſinit Lucæ Hiſtoria Apoſtolica, quâ initia prædicationis evangelicæ apud Judæos, Ethnicoſque, et miniſterio quidem Petri et Pauli ornatiſſimum ſcribere adgreſſus eſt. De ceteris Apoſtolis altum ubique apud eum eſt ſilentium. . . Utinam vero, vir quiſpiam apoſtolicus, pari judicio et ordine, ceterorum res geſtas literis mandaſſet, quæ narrationi Lucæ deſunt ſupplere voluiſſet, idque opus ad nos perveniſſet! *Cler. H. E. An.* 61. *n. iv.*

" ings of the preaching of the Gospel among Jews and Gentils, chiefly " by the ministrie of *Peter* and *Paul*. For of the other apostles he is " almost entirely silent... I wish, says he, that some other apostolical " man, of like judgment and integrity, had writ the historie of the other " Apostles, and had undertaken to supply what was wanting in *Luke*'s " historie, and that this work had come down to us." But, however desirable it may now appear to us, we cannot perceive from ecclesiastical historie, that ever such a work was published.

10. *Estius* imagined, " that (*e*) *Luke*, possibly, intended to write a " third book, to supply, particularly, the omissions of the two years, " which St. *Paul* spent at *Rome*." But I verily believe, there is no ground at all for that conjectural supposition.

11. Again: *Le Clerc*, above mentioned, thinks, " that (*f*) *Luke* breaks off the historie of St. *Peter*, of whom he had said so much before, very abruptly, in those words, Acts xii. 17. *And he departed and went to another place*." Nevertheless St. *Luke* afterwards drops St. *Barnabas* in a like manner. ch. xv. 39. And in the end he will take his leave of the Apostle *Paul* himself without much more ceremonie.

12. Those omissions are no reflection upon the writer, nor any disparagement to his historie. The proper deduction to be made by us is this: We hereby perceive, that it was not the design of St. *Luke*, to aggrandize *Peter*, or *Paul*, or any of the Apostles, nor to write their lives: but to record the evidences of our Saviour's resurrection, and to write a historie of the first preaching and planting the Christian Religion in the world. This design he has admirably executed. And having filled up his plan, he concluded.

13. However, undoubtedly, many things are omitted by St. *Luke*. Some of which we may learn from St. *Paul*'s epistles. I shall observe some omissions.

14. St. *Luke* has not in the course of his historie, mentioned the writing of any of St. *Paul*'s epistles. It is probable, that he was at *Corinth*, when the Apostle wrote thence his large epistle to the *Romans*. Nevertheless he takes not any notice of it, nor of the epistles writ by St. *Paul* at *Rome*, when he certainly was with him, nor indeed of any other. By comparing the epistles themselves, and St. *Luke*'s historie of the Apostle in the Acts, we are enabled to trace the time and place of divers of those epistles. But they are no where particularly mentioned by the historian.

15. In Acts ix. 19. . . . 26. St. *Luke* after the account of St. *Paul*'s conversion, speaks of his being at *Damascus*, and his preaching there, and of the opposition, which he there met with from the Jews, and his escape thence, and then going to *Jerusalem*. But St. *Paul* Gal. i. 17. 18. informs

(*e*) Sed proculdubio multa actorum Pauli a Luca sunt omissa. . . . Ac fortasse Lucas meditabatur tertium librum, in quo repeteret acta illius biennii . . . sicut Act. i. quædam exposuit tacita ultimo capite Evangelii. *Est. ad Act. Ap. xxviii.* 30.

(*f*) Mirum est, Lucam, postquam liberationem Petri e carcere narravit cap. xii. 17. eumque *in alium locum*, hoc est, extra Ierosolymam, ivisse dixit, ne verbulum quidem de eo habere, de quo tam multa alia dixerat. *Id. ibid.*

18. informs us, that after his converſion he went into *Arabia*, and then returned to *Damaſcus*: and that three years paſſed between his converſion and his going to *Jeruſalem*. This is an inſtructive inſtance. For the omiſſion is certain, and undoubted. I am of opinion, that St. *Luke* did not omit the journey into *Arabia*, becauſe he did not know of it: but deſignedly, and becauſe he did not judge it neceſſarie to be mentioned. *Jerome* (*g*) has taken particular notice of the omiſſion of that journey into *Arabia*.

16. Like omiſſions are in St. *Luke*'s Goſpel. I ſhall take notice of two.

1.) Having given the hiſtorie of our Lord's preſentation at the temple, he ſays ch. ii. 39. *And when they had performed all things according to the law of the Lord, they returned into Galilee, to their own city, Nazareth.* Nevertheleſs, I think, the holy family did not now go directly from *Jeruſalem* to *Nazareth*, but to *Bethlehem*. There, as I ſuppoſe, our Lord received the homage of the Magians. And afterwards, to avoid the perſecution of *Herod*, they removed thence to *Egypt*, and then returned to *Nazareth*. All which is recorded Matth. ii. 1 . . . . . 13. The viſit of the Magians muſt have been after the preſentation at the temple. If it had been before, and if they had preſented *their gifts, gold, and frankincenſe, and myrrh*: mentioned Matth. ii. 11. *Marie* would not have made the leſſer offering for her purification, mentioned Luke ii 23. 24. Nor could the child Jeſus have been ſafely brought to *Jeruſalem*, or ſuch notice have been taken of him at the temple, as St. *Luke* particularly relates, ch. ii. 25 . . . 38. if *Herod, and all Jeruſalem*, had been juſt before alarmed by the inquiries of the Magians: *Where is he that is born King of the Jews?* Matth. ii. 1. 2. Omitting therefore all thoſe things, St. *Luke* ſays, as above obſerved, and afterwards *they returned to Nazareth*, the place of their uſual abode. Which is agreeable to Matth. ii. 22. 23.

2.) Another thing obſervable is, that all our Saviour's appearances to his diſciples, after his reſurrection, recorded by St. *Luke* in xxiv. were at *Jeruſalem*, or near it. He takes not any notice of our Saviour's meeting the diſciples in *Galilee*, ſo particularly mentioned Matth. xxviii. 7. and Mark xvi. 7. St. *John* alſo ch. xxi. 1 . . . 23. ſpeaks of our Saviour's ſhewing himſelf to the diſciples at *the ſea of Tiberias*. And St. *Paul* aſſures us, that our Lord was ſeen *of above five hundred brethren at once*. 1 Cor. xv. 6. Which, probably, was in the ſame countrey. And though at the beginning of his book of the Acts, St. *Luke* reſumes the account of our Saviour's ſhewing himſelf to the diſciples after his reſurrection; there is nothing more about *Galilee*, than in the former relation. Inſomuch, that, if we had St. *Luke*'s hiſtories only, we might have been apt to conclude, that all the appearances of our Saviour to his diſciples were at *Jeruſalem*, or near it, and no where elſe.

17. St. *Paul*'s epiſtles inform us of many things omitted by St. *Luke*. But

(*g*) Lucam vero idcirco de Arabia præteriiſſe, quia forſitan nihil dignum apoſtolatu in Arabia perpetrarat: et ea potius compendioſa narratione dixiſſe; quæ digna Chriſti evangelio videbantur. Nec hoc ſegnitiæ Apoſtoli deputandum, ſi fruſtra in Arabia fuerit: ſed quod aliqua depenſatio et Dei præceptum fuerit, ut taceret. *Hier. in Ep. ad Gal. cap. i. T. 4. p. 235.*

But we ſhould have known many more, if we had had a parallel hiſtorian. A compariſon of St. *Luke*'s hiſtorie of our Saviour with that of the other Evangeliſts may aſſure us of this.

18. In the eleventh chapter of the ſecond epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, St. *Paul* mentions divers viſions and revelations, with which he had been favored. But St. *Luke* has not taken notice of any of them. St. *Paul* in his ſpeech to the people at *Jeruſalem*, recorded by St. *Luke* Acts xxii. 17. mentions a tranſe, which he had in the temple. But St. *Luke* has no where told us the exact time of it. Nor has he otherwiſe mentioned it.

19. I do not think, that theſe things were omitted by St. *Luke*, becauſe St. *Paul* concealed them from him: or becauſe by ſome other means he was unacquainted with the time and place of them. But it was a regard to brevity, that induced him to paſs them over. They were not neceſſarie to be inſerted in his hiſtorie. Without them he has recorded ſufficient atteſtations of *Paul*'s apoſtolical authority, and of the truth, and divine original of the doctrine taught by him.

20. Says St. *Paul*, unwillingly, and conſtrained by the diſadvantageous inſinuations and charges of ſelf-intereſted and deſigning men. 2 Cor. xi. 23. *Are they miniſters of Chriſt?* [*I ſpeak as a fool:*] *I am more. In labours more abundant, in ſtripes above meaſure, in priſons more frequent, in deaths oft.*

In priſons more frequent. Therefore before writing this epiſtle in the year 57. *Paul* had been impriſoned ſeveral times: though St. *Luke* has mentioned before this time one impriſonment only, which was at *Philippi*. Acts xvi. 23. . . 40. Upon which *Eſtius* (*b*) obſerves, that *Paul* did and ſuffered many things, not mentioned in the Acts. And Rom. xvi. 7. *Salute Andronicus and Junia, my kinſmen, and my fellow priſoners . . . who alſo were in Chriſt before me.* *Paul* was not a priſoner, when he wrote the epiſtle to the *Romans*, in the beginning of the year 58. But (*i*) he had been in priſon before with thoſe two early Chriſtians, his relations. But where, or when, we cannot exactly ſay.

21. Ver. 24. *of the Jews five times received I forty ſtripes ſave one.* Nevertheleſs St. *Luke* has not mentioned one of thoſe times. *Eſtius* conjectures, that (*k*) *Luke* omitted theſe, and many other things, becauſe he was not with the Apoſtle, when they happened, and *Paul* out of modeſtie

(*b*) De Paulo autem incarcerato ante hanc epiſtolam, in Actis Apoſtolorum non legimus quidem, niſi cap. xvi. ubi a Philippenſibus in carcerem miſſus legitur. Sed permulta Paulus et fecit et paſſus eſt, quæ in Actis non ſcribuntur. *Eſt. ad 2 Cor. xi. 23.*

(*i*) Porro concaptivos intellige, quod aliquando communia cum Paulo vincula pro Chriſto paſſi fuiſſent. Ubi tamen, aut quando factum ſit, ignoratur. *Eſt. ad Rom. xvi. 7.*

(*k*) Sed cur Lucas in Actis ne unius quidem flagillationis ex quinque meminit? Ideo videlicet, quod de Paulo pene ea ſola, quibus ipſe præſens fuit, ſigillatim recenſeat: alia vero vel ſilentio pertranſeat, vel ſummatim ac breviter referat. . . Qua in re notanda humilitas Pauli, qui ſuas tot et tam graves pro Chriſto paſſiones Lucæ comiti ſuo non aperuerit, ne hic quidem recitaturus, niſi coëgiſſet eum amor ſalutis Corinthiorum. *Id. ib. ad ver. 24.*

deſtie forbore to tell him of them. I rather think, that *Luke* was fully acquainted with *Paul*'s hiſtorie. But he aimed at brevity, and judged the things mentioned by him to be ſufficient.

22. Ver. 25. *Thrice was I beaten with rods:* meaning, I ſuppoſe, by Roman Magiſtrates. But St. *Luke* has mentioned one inſtance only of this: which was at *Philippi*, when *Paul* and *Silas* both underwent this hard uſage. Acts xvi. 19. . . 40. Of this (*l*) likewiſe *Eſtius* has taken notice in his Commentarie.

Once was I ſtoned: undoubtedly meaning at *Lyſtra* in *Lycaonia*, as related by St. *Luke* Acts xiv. 19. 20.

Thrice I have ſuffered ſhipwrack. St. *Luke* has recorded but one inſtance, which was not untill after this time, in the Apoſtle's voyage from *Judea* to *Rome*. Acts xxvii. Which therefore muſt have been the fourth.

A night and a day have I been in the deep. At one of thoſe times I eſcaped with the utmoſt difficulty, by getting on a plank, and floating in the ſea a night and a day, or a whole day of four and twenty hours.

23. Ver. 26. *In journeyings, often, in perils of water*, or rather *rivers*. Which (*m*) are ſometimes very dangerous. But St. *Luke* has not recorded any dangers of the Apoſtle upon rivers, either in croſſing them, or ſailing upon them.

24. Says *Tillemont* in his life of St. *Paul*: "The (*n*) greateſt part of "interpreters think, that St. *Paul* made no voyages, but thoſe, which are "taken notice of in the Acts. . . . Nevertheleſs we muſt neceſſarily acknowledge, that beſide what St. *Luke* informs us of the ſufferings of "St. *Paul*, this Apoſtle was five times ſcourged by the Jews, twice beaten "with rods, and thrice ſhipwrecked. All this happened, before he "wrote his ſecond epiſtle to the *Corinthians:* that is, in the time, of "which St. *Luke* has writ the hiſtorie. Nevertheleſs St. *Luke* ſays no"thing of all this. It is certain therefore, that either he has omitted "the circumſtances of the moſt remarkable events, which he relates, "or that St *Paul* made ſeveral voyages, of which he has taken no "notice."

25. The reaſon of St. *Luke*'s ſilence here I take to be the ſame that has been already aſſigned of his ſilence upon other occaſions. It was not neceſſarie, that theſe things ſhould be related. To have writ an account of all the Apoſtle's journeys, and dangers, would have rendered the work more voluminous and prolix, than was judged proper. When St. *Luke* ſet about compoſing and publiſhing this book, he had all the materials before him, and his plan was formed. Agreeably to which, he determined to write at large the hiſtorie of St. *Paul*'s voyage from *Judea* to *Rome*, in which are many remarkable incidents, and to omit ſome other of

(*l*) *Ter virgis cæſus fum:* a Gentilibus. Erat enim Romanis conſuetudo, virgis cœdere nocentes. . . Porro Lucas tantum ſemel meminit [illegible] contumeliæ Paulo illatæ: ſcilicet Act. xvi. ubi ſcribit eum una cum Sila virgis cæſum a Philippenſibus. *Eſt. in loc.*

(*m*) *Periculis fluminum:* quæ interdum non minus periculoſa ſunt navigantibus, quam mare. *Eſt. in loc.*

(*n*) *Mem. Ec. T. i. St. Paul, note xviii.*

of the Apoſtle's journeys and voyages: though divers of them likewiſe were attended with affecting circumſtances.

26. The chapter, from which I have juſt now tranſcribed ſeveral things, concludes in this manner. ver. 31. . . . 33. *The God and Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who is bleſſed for evermore, knows that I lie not. In Damaſcus the Governor under Aretas, the King, kept the city of the Damaſcens with a garriſon, deſirous to apprehend me. And through a window in a baſket was I let down by the wall, and eſcaped his hands.*

I have often reflected with great ſatisfaction on St. *Luke*'s not omitting this dangerous attempt upon the Apoſtle's liberty, and life: with which himſelf was ſo much affected, and which he has here mentioned with ſuch ſolemnity. The hiſtorie of it may be ſeen in Acts ix. 23. . . 25.

I now proceed to ſome other things.

27. St. *Paul* aſſures us Gal. ii. 1. . . 3. that when he went up to *Jeruſalem* upon occaſion of the debate concerning the manner of receiving Gentil converts, he took *Titus* with him. Which is not ſaid by St. *Luke* Acts xv. though he gives a particular account of *Paul*'s going from *Antioch* to *Jeruſalem* upon that occaſion. Nor indeed has St. *Luke* once mentioned *Titus* in his hiſtorie: though St. *Paul* wrote an epiſtle to him, and has mentioned him ſeveral times in his epiſtles, ſent to others.

28. Gal. ii. 11. . . 21. St. *Paul* ſpeaks of *Peter*'s being at *Antioch*, before he and *Barnabas* had ſeparated. But St. *Luke* ſays nothing of it. *Jerome*, in his Commentarie upon the epiſtle to the *Galatians*, ſays: "We "(*o*) are not to wonder, that *Luke* has taken no notice of this. For by "the uſual privilege of hiſtorians he has omitted many things per-"formed by *Paul*, and which we know from himſelf."

29. Rom. xvi. 3. 4. St. *Paul* applauds an action of great generoſity in *Aquila* and *Priſcilla*. But St. *Luke* has not informed us of the place, or occaſion of it Doubtleſs he did not omit it, for want of reſpect to thoſe excellent Chriſtians, whom he has mentioned more than once. ch. xviii. 18. and 26. But that particular did not come within the compaſſe of his deſign.

30. Many things, not expreſsly mentioned by St. *Luke*, may be argued, and concluded to have been done, from thoſe which he has recorded.

1.) In Acts iv. 23. . . 30. is recorded a prayer of the Apoſtles, in which they requeſt, that they may be enabled to work miracles for farther confirming the doctrine taught by them. And unqueſtionably, their prayer was heard, and their requeſt granted, and they did work many miracles in the name of Chriſt, more than are related by St. *Luke*.

2.) Acts v. 12. *And by the hand of the Apoſtles were many ſigns and wonders done among the people.* And what follows. Whence it may be concluded,

(*o*) Nec mirum eſſe, ſi Lucas hanc rem tacuerit, quum et alia multa, quæ Paulus ſuſtinuiſſe ſe replicat, hiſtoriographi licentiâ prætermiſerit. *In Gal. cap. ii. T. 4. p. 244.*

concluded, that (*p*) many miracles were wrought, not only by *Peter* and *John*, but also by the other Apostles also, beside those, which are particularly recorded. See also ch. ii. 43.

3.) Says Mr. *Biscoe*: "Many (*q*) and great miracles are related in "the historie of the Acts to be wrought by St. *Paul*, and his fellow-"laborers, in their preaching the gospel to the Gentils. And agreeably "hereto St. *Paul* says, 2 Cor. xii. 12. *Truly the signs of an Apostle were* "*wrought amongst you in all patience, in signs, and wonders, and mighty* "*deeds*. And to the *Romans*, ch. xv. 18. 19. . . I make no doubt, says "that learned writer, but the Apostles wrought miracles in every city, "where they came with a view to preach the gospel, and make converts. "St. *Luke* is so very succinct in his historie of the Acts, that he often "omits them. He gives an account of only a miracle or two wrought "at *Philippi* in his whole relation of St. *Paul*'s journey from *Antioch* to "the West, when he converted a great part of *Macedonia* and *Achaia*: "though it is evident from St. *Paul*'s own epistle, already quoted, that "he at that time did many signs and wonders at *Corinth*. And that he "did the same at *Thessalonica*, is not obscurely intimated in his first "epistle to the *Thessalonians*. ch. i. 5. We read nothing in the Acts of "the Apostles of what St. *Paul* did in *Galatia* the first time, more than "that he went through it. Acts xvi. 6. And all that is added the se-"cond time he was there is, that *he went over all the countrey of Galatia,* "*strengthening all the disciples*. ch. xviii. 23. Which indeed is an inti-"mation, that the first time he was there he preached the gospel among "them, and made converts. But from his epistle to the *Galatian* "churches it is fully evident, that he wrought miracles among them, "and conferred on them gifts of the Holy Spirit. For he asks them: "*He that ministereth to you the Spirit, and worketh miracles among you,* "*doth he it by the works of the law, or by the hearing of faith?* Gal iii. "25. That he means himself, is manifest from the whole tenour of the "epistle. See ch. i. 6. iv. 11. 13 14. 19."

There follow other like observations, which I may not transcribe.

4.) Mr. *Biscoe*, as above, *makes no doubt, but the Apostles wrought miracles in every city, where they came, with a view to preach the gospel, and make converts.* I am of opinion, that this may be truly supposed of *Paul*, particularly, and that it may be concluded from what St. *Luke* has writ. For, according to him, *Paul* wrought miracles in *Cyprus*. Acts xiii. 11. at *Lystra* xiv. 10. at *Philippi* xvi. 16. . . 18. See also 25. 26. and very many at *Ephesus*. xix. 11. . . 17. And at *Troas* he raised *Eutychus* to life. xix. 9 . . 12. In his voyage from *Judea* to *Rome* he wrought many miracles. xxviii. 3. . . 6. and 7. . . 10. From these miracles, recorded by St. *Luke*, it may be well argued, that St. *Paul* wrought miracles

(*p*) *Oecumenius* says, that *Luke* omitted many miracles wrought by the Apostles for avoiding ostentation. Πολλῶν δὲ θ υμάτων ἐπιτελεμένων ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποςόλων, ὡς κ) ἀνωτέρω ἐμνήσθη ὁ τᾶυτα γράφων λεκᾶς, [cap. ii. 43.] ἀδηνὸς ἐκείνων ὀνομασὶ μνημονέυει, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖο γράφει μόνον ἀφ' ἓ πάλες ἐκινήθησαν. . . ἢ κ) ὅτε ὠ κόμπε χάριν ἡ συγγραφὴ αὐτῷ ἄυιη ἐσπεδασθη. *Oecum. in Act. Cap. iii. Tom. i. p. 25. A. B.*

(*q*) *The Historie of the Acts confirmed. ch. xi.* §. 8. *p.* 407. 408.

racles in all, or moſt other places, where he went, and made any ſtay, preaching the goſpel. In particular, it may be argued, that *Paul* wrought miracles at *Athens*, and at *Rome*. What they were, we cannot ſay, becauſe they have not been recorded by St. *Luke*, nor by any other credible writer. That miracles were performed by the Apoſtle in thoſe cities appears to me very probable.

5.) St. *Luke* (*r*) has not given any account of St. *Paul*'s appearing before the Emperour *Nero* at *Rome*, when he was ſent thither by *Feſtus*. Nevertheleſs, that *Paul* was brought before *Nero* ſoon after his arrival at *Rome*, is highly probable. And though St. *Luke* has not expreſsly ſaid ſo, it may be concluded from what he has ſaid. For he has again and again ſufficiently intimated, that *Paul* was certainly to appear before the Emperour, to whom he had appealed. See Acts xxv. 10. 11. 12. 21. xxvi. 32. xxvii. 24. xxviii. 9. The Apoſtle therefore was brought before *Nero*, and pleaded before him. But St. *Luke* forbore to give a diſtinct account of it, becauſe he had already given a particular account of *Paul*'s pleadings before *Felix*, and *Feſtus*, and *Agrippa*. And from them may be concluded, what was the tenour of his apologie before the Emperour himſelf.

6.) St. *Paul*, in his epiſtle to the Chriſtians at *Rome*, ſays, ch. i. 11. *I long to ſee you, that I may impart unto you ſome ſpiritual gift, to the end ye may be eſtabliſhed.* And ch. xv. 29. *I am ſure, that when I come unto you, I ſhall come unto you in the fulneſſe of the bleſſing of the goſpel of Chriſt.* And unqueſtionably, the event was agreeable to theſe wiſhes and expectations.

7.) St. *Luke* has not particularly recorded thoſe things in his hiſtorie. But from what he has ſaid they may be inferred. Says our hiſtorian. Acts xxviii. 13. . . 16. *And we came the next day to Puteoli. Where we found brethren, and were deſired to tarry with them ſeven days. And ſo we went toward Rome. And from thence, when the brethren heard of us, they came to meet us, as far as Appii Forum, and the Three Taverns. Whom when Paul ſaw, he thanked God, and took courage. And when he came to Rome, the Centurion delivered the priſoners to the Captain of the Guard. But Paul was ſuffered to dwell by himſelf, with a ſoldier that kept him.* And ver. 30. *Paul dwelled two whole years in his own hired houſe.*

8.) From the things here ſaid it may be fairly concluded, that during the Apoſtle's ſtay at *Rome*, there was a very delightful communication of civil and religious offices between him and the believers there, according to the abilities, and the exigences of each. Before he left *Rome*, the *Philippians* ſeem to have ſent him a ſupplie by *Epaphroditus*. Philip. iv. 10. . . 18. But it may be well ſuppoſed, that the price of his lodging, and the expences of his maintenance, were provided for, chiefly, by the Chriſtians, whom he found at *Rome*, when he came thither, and by the converts, which he made afterwards. The ſoldiers likewiſe, who by turns attended upon him, would expect to be conſidered, if they carried it

(*r*) Mirum, quod Lucas hic nullam faciat mentionem primæ defenſionis Pauli, de qua ipſe 2 Tim. iv. Quam factam fuiſſe primo anno, quo Romam venit, non dubitandum. *Eſt. ad Act. xxviii.* 30.

it civilly toward their prisoner. All which, we may suppose, was taken care of by the good Christians at *Rome*: who, as St. *Luke* assures us, went out to meet him, and conducted him into the City.

CHAP. IX.

St. JOHN, Apostle, and Evangelist.

I. *His Historie from the N. T.* II. *His Age.* III. *When he left Judea, to go to Ephesus.* IV. *His Historie from ecclesiastical Writers.* V. *The Time, when he was banished into Patmos.* VI. *How long he was there.* VII. *Testimonies of ancient Writers to his Gospel.* VIII. *Opinions of learned Moderns concerning the Time, when this Gospel was writ.* IX. *An Argument, to prove, that it was writ before the destruction of Jerusalem.* X. *Objections considered.* XI. *Observations upon this Gospel.*

I. *JOHN* was the son of *Zebedee*, a fisherman upon the sea of *Galilee*, probably (*a*) of the town of *Bethsaida* and (*b*) *Salome*. *John* was the younger brother. For *James* is always (*c*) mentioned first, except in *Luke* ix. 28. And *John* is generally reckoned the youngest of all Christ's disciples. *His Historie from the N. T.*

Though *Zebedee* was by trade a fisherman, he needs not be reckoned poor. For, as St. *Mark* has particularly observed, he was not only master of a boat, and nets, but had *hired servants*. ch. i. 20. Moreover, we may recollect what *Peter* said to Christ, who also had been a fisherman upon the same sea. *We have left all, and followed thee.* Matt. xix. 27. They left their employments, by which they gained a subsistence: and for the present there was self-denial in their attendance upon Jesus.

It is not unlikely, that *Zebedee* died not long after these two brothers were called to be Apostles. However, the circumstances of the familie may be collected from what is said of their mother, who is mentioned, Matt. xxvii. 55. and Mark xv. 41. among *those women, who followed Jesus out of Galilee, and ministred unto him.* That ministrie is described Luke

(*a*) Zebedæum gente Galilæum fuisse ex loco commorationis circa lacum Gennesareth suspicamur. Incertius autem, Bethsaidenem pronunciare, ut plerique faciunt: cum id nitatur tantum testimonio Evangelii, secundum quod Andreæ ac Petro hoc oppidum adsignantis. Neque tamen argumenta ad manus sunt, quibus vulgatam hanc opinionem impugnemus. *Lampe Prolegom. in Johan.*

(*b*) *Compare Matt. xxvii. 55. with Mark xv. 40. and xvi. 1.*

(*c*) *So Matt. iv. 21. x. 2. Mark i. 19. iii. 17. x. 35. Luke v. 10. Act. i. 13.*

Luke viii. 3. To which might be added, that ſhe is mentioned among thoſe women that brought ſweet ſpices to embalm the body of Jeſus. Mark xvi. 1 Luke xxiii. 55. And our Lord, having recommended his mother to this diſciple, it is ſaid, that *he took her to his own home.* John xix. 27.

If *Salome* was related to our Lord in the manner ſuppoſed by (*d*) *Theophylact*, or ſome other way, with which we are not diſtinctly acquainted; that may have been, in part, the ground and reaſon of ſeveral things mentioned in the Goſpels: as the petition of theſe two brothers, diſciples, for the two firſt places in Chriſt's kingdom: *John*'s being the beloved diſciple, and friend of Jeſus, and being admitted to ſome freedoms, denied to the reſt: and, poſſibly, (*e*) performing ſome offices about his perſon: and, finally, our Lord's committing to him the care of his mother, ſo long as ſhe ſhould ſurvive him.

In Acts iv. 13. It is ſaid of *Peter* and *John*, that they were *ignorant and unlearned men.* Which, indeed, is nothing elſe, but that they were neither (*f*) Doctors, nor Magiſtrates, but men of private ſtations, who had not been educated in the ſchools of the Rabbies: or, as Dr. *Doddridge* has happily tranſlated this text, *illiterate men, and in private ſtations of life.* So *Oecumenius* ſays, that (*g*) St. *John* in ſending a letter to *Caius* had *Paul* for an example, who wrote to *Timothie*, and *Titus*, and to *Philemon*, an idiot: that is, a man of a private ſtation: whereas *Timothie* and *Titus* had a public character in the Church, as they were Evangeliſts.

There can be no doubt, that *Zebedee*'s ſons, as the children of all pious Jews at that time, were well acquainted with the ſcriptures of the Old Teſtament. They had read them, and had heard them read and explained in the ſynagogues. They had alſo been accuſtomed to go to *Jeruſalem*, at the feaſts, and had diſcourſed with many upon the things of religion. They now were in expectation of the appearing of the Meſſiah, foretold in the Law and the Prophets. But, undoubtedly, were in the common prejudice of the nation, that it would be, in part, at leaſt, a worldly kingdom. And it is very likely, that they had heard *John* preach: though they did not attend ſtatedly upon him, as his diſciples.

(*d*) *See Vol. xi. p.* 424. 425.

(*e*) Opus ſcilicet erat ipſi aliquo, quem interdum ad matrem mitteret, (quod non ita raro factum eſſe, facile intelligitur,) quo uteretur ad lavandos ſibi pedes, ad induendos ſibi et exuendos calceos. [vid. Matt. iii. 11. Marc. i. 8. Luc. iii. 16. Joan. i. 27.] qui ſibi præſto eſſet ad mandata ſubita, qui in cubiculo ſibi adjaceret dormienti, qui alia ſibi præſtaret minuta officiola domeſtica, qui propterea perpetuus ſibi eſſet pediſſequus, nec niſi juſſus ab ipſo recederet. *Heuman. Diſſ. Syll. Tom.* 2. *p.* 338.

(*f*) Ἀγράμματοι, *ſine literis:* id eſt, non verſati in doctrinis thalmudicis, quales illiterati Hebræis. Nam ſcripturas Apoſtoli et legerant, et memoria tenebant. Καὶ ἰδιῶται. Idiotæ ſunt Hebræis, qui neque Magiſtratus ſunt, neque Legiſperiti. *Grot. in. loc.*

(*g*) Πρὸς δὲ γαΐον ἵνα γράφων ἔχει παῦλον τίτῳ γράφοντα καὶ τιμοθέῳ, καὶ πρὸς φιλήμονα δὲ ἰδιώτην. *Oecum. T.* 2. *p.* 606. *C.*

ciples. For all the people of *Judea* in general went to *John*'s baptiſm.

Says St. *John* i. 35. 36. *Again, the next day after John ſtood, and two of his diſciples. And looking upon Jeſus, as he walked, he ſaith: Behold the lamb of God.* . . From ver. 40. we learn, that one of theſe two, which heard *John* ſpeak, was *Andrew, Simon Peter's brother.* And (*b*) ſome have ſuppoſed, that our Evangeliſt, who writes this, was the other. Which I do not look upon as certain, though I do not deny it.

Whether the other was *John*, or not, it ought to be reckoned unqueſtioned, that before he was called to be an Apoſtle, he had ſeen and heard the Lord Jeſus, and had been witneſſe of ſome miracles wrought by him. It appears to me very probable, that (*i*) he was one of the diſciples, who were preſent at the wedding in *Cana* of *Galilee*, where water was made wine. John ii. 1. . . . 11.

The call of *James* and *John* to attend upon Jeſus ſtatedly, is related Matt. iv. 21. 22. Mark i. 19. 20. Luke v. 1. . . 10.

St. *Mark*, putting down the names of the twelve Apoſtles, when he mentions *James* and *John*, ſays, that our Lord *ſurnamed them Boanerges, which is ſons of thunder.* ch. iii. 17. By which it ſeems unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that our Lord intended to reproach them with ſome fault in their natural temper, as if they were fierce and furious: though (*k*) a learned writer has intimated ſo much. That (*l*) name muſt have been very honourable, prophetically repreſenting the reſolution and courage, with which they would openly and boldly declare the great truths of the goſpel, when fully acquainted with them. How *John* anſwered this character, we know from what is ſaid of him in the book of the Acts, and from his own writings, and from things recorded of him in eccleſiaſtical hiſtorie. How well *James*, the other brother, anſwered that character, may be concluded from his being beheaded by *Herod Agrippa* at *Jeruſalem*, not many years after our Lord's aſcenſion. Which, we cannot doubt, was owing to an open and ſtedfaſt teſtimonie to the reſurrection of Jeſus, and to other ſervices for the Church: whereby he had greatly ſignalized himſelf in the ſhort period of his life after our Lord's aſcenſion. Poſſibly (*m*) he had, with a freedom, not a little offenſive,

(*b*) Duorum alter ver. 41. nominatur. Alter videtur ipſe Evangeliſta noſter fuiſſe, uti vilum in vita ejus. Lib. i. cap. 2. *Lampe in Joh. cap. i. ver.* 35. 36.

(*i*) However, *Baſnage* diſputes this. Neque probabile admodum, Joannem his interfuiſſe nuptiis. Quod ſi concederetur, &c. *Baſn. Ann.* 30. *num. xxxviii.*

(*k*) "However it was, our Lord, I doubt not, herein had reſpect to the "furious and reſolute diſpoſition of thoſe two brothers, who ſeem to have "been of a more fierce and fiery temper, than the reſt of the Apoſtles." *Cave's Life of St. James the Great. num.* 5. *p.* 142.

(*l*) *Vid. Fr. Lamp. Prolegom. l. i. cap.* 2. *num. vii. . . . xv.*

(*m*) Accedit altera ratio, quæ eos adhuc proprius ſpectabat, nempe quod in icono miniſterii ſui præ ceteris Apoſtolis Baptiſtæ ſimiles futuri. Nempe ſicut Baptiſta in ea totus erat, ut per tonitru præconii ſui judicium jam tum Judæis

fenſive, ſpoke of the calamities coming upon the Jewiſh people, if they did not repent, and believe in Jeſus, as the Chriſt: as alſo *John* the Baptiſt had declared in his preaching. Matt. iii. 7. . . 12. Luke iii. 17. and *Stephen* in his. Acts vi. 13. 14. *James* (A) was the firſt Martyr for Chriſt among the Apoſtles. And bids fair for obtaining his petition, in a higher ſenſe, than it was at firſt intended: of *ſitting on the right hand or the left hand of Chriſt in his kingdom.* And the other brother, ſurviving all the other Apoſtles, bore the longeſt teſtimonie to the truth of the goſpel.

This account of that name is agreeable to (*n*) what *Grotius* ſays in his Annotations. But Dr. *Heumann* (*o*) has another thought. He obſerves, that *Simon*, to whom Jeſus gave the name of *Peter*, is often ſo called. But we do not read, that the two ſons of *Zebedee* were any where elſe ſpoken of by the name *Boanerges*, either by themſelves or others. He thinks, that the words ſhould be thus rendered: *And he had ſurnamed them Boanerges:* that is, upon a particular occaſion he ſo called them. That occaſion, (*q*) he ſuppoſes to be the hiſtorie related Luke ix. 52. . . 56.

Judæis imminens indicaret et averteret; ita ad miniſterium fratrum horum potiſſimum ad Judæos ſpectaturum erat. Jacobus quidem ea fini poſt aſcenſionem Domini nunquam, quod ſcimus, ab Hieroſolyma, diſceſſit, donec pro fide martyrium ſubiret. Hoc vero ei eveniſſe, quam maxime probabile eſt, quia invidioſa præ ceteris ejus concio fuit, periculum inſtans incredulorum ex Judæis omni data occaſione ingeminans. &c. *Lamp. ib. l.* 1. *cap.* 2. *num. xv.*

(A) It has long been the general opinion of the people of *Spain*, that this *James*, the ſon of *Zebedee*, planted the goſpel in that countrey. *Gaſpar Sanctius*, a learned *Spaniſh* Jeſuit, wrote a treatiſe in defence of it, beſide what he ſays in his Commentarie upon the Acts of the Apoſtles. But it is inconſiſtent with the hiſtorie in the Acts. None of the Apoſtles left *Judea* ſo ſoon. Nor is this opinion founded on the teſtimonie of any ancient writers, of good credit. And it is now generally given up, even by Popiſh writers. *Vid. Baron. A. D.* 41. *num. i. Tillemont S. Jacques Le Majeur, et note vi. Mem. Ec. Tom. i.* I tranſcribe here the Judgement of *Eſtius.* Deinde, quando occiſus eſt, vixdum cœperat evangelium gentibus prædicari, ut ex præcedentibus et ſequentibus patet. Nec dum Apoſtoli diſperſi erant in remotas gentes: ſed ejus rei commodum tempus exſpectabant. Denique nullus ſcriptor antiquus certæ fidei refert, Jacobum Hiſpanias vidiſſe. *Eſt. in Act. Ap. Cap. xii. ver.* 2.—*Vid. et Baſnag. Ann.* 44. *num. iv. v. et Dictionaire de Moreri. S. Jacques le Majeur.*

(*n*) Omnino mihi videtur Chriſtus, in hujus nominis impoſitione reſpexiſſe ad Aggæi vaticinium. cap. ii. 7. . . . Quod de evangelii prædicatione exponit Scriptor ad Hebræos. xii. 26. Ad hanc ergo maximam rerum mutationem ſignificat Chriſtus, Zebedæi filios eximios ſibi miniſtros fore. Et certe deſtinatam illis excellentiam quandam inter ipſos Apoſtolos vel hoc oſtendit, quod cum Petro ſeorſim a ceteris multarum rerum teſtes ſunt aſſumti. Adde, quod Jacobus primus Apoſtolorum omnium ſanguine ſuo Chriſti doctrinam obſignavit, et quod Johannes omnibus Apoſtolis ſuperſtes diutiſſime teſtimonium perhibuit veritati. *Grot. ad Marc. iii.* 17.

(*o*) *Nova Sylloge Diſſert. Part. i. p.* 254. . . 259.

(*q*) Legimus, et adverſus Petrum indigne ſe gerentem, in hæc verba erupiſſe Chriſtum: Apage, Satana. Jam uti Satanas non factum eſt ordinarium

Petri

52. . . 56. That is an ingenious conjecture. But if this name had been given them in the way of reproof and cenſure, as Chriſt once called *Peter* Satan. Matt. xvi. 23. Mark viii. 33. one would ſcarcely expect to ſee it here. The place, as ſeems to me, leads us to think, the name honorable, as well as *Peter*. Which has been the general opinion of all times.

In *Suicer*'s Theſaurus, at the word Βοανηρ may be ſeen the obſervations of many ancient writers upon this name. I take *Theophylact*'s only. Who ſays, that (*r*) when Chriſt called theſe two diſciples ſons of thunder, he intimated, that they would be great preachers, and eminent divines.

From the time they were called by Chriſt, they ſtatedly attended upon him. They heard his diſcourſes, and ſaw his miracles.

They were two of the Twelve, whom (*s*) Chriſt ſent forth upon a commiſſion, to preach in the land of *Iſrael*. Which was of great uſe to them. Thereby (*t*) they learned to truſt in God, and were prepared for the greater difficulties of their Apoſtleſhip afterwards.

John addreſſed himſelf to Chriſt, ſaying: *Maſter, we ſaw one caſting out demons in thy name. And we forbad him, becauſe he followeth not with us.* . . So in Luke ix. 49. 50. And more at large in Mark ix. 38. . . 41.

But it was a thing, in which ſeveral were concerned. For *John* ſays: *We ſaw one caſting out demons, in thy name. And we forbad him.* The hiſtorie, as recorded by the Evangeliſts, led me to think ſo. And Mr. *Lampe* (*u*) was of the ſame mind. Moreover, it might be done ſome while before.

Our Lord was going from *Galilee* to *Jeruſalem* before the feaſt of Tabernacles, as ſome think, or before the feaſt of the Dedication, as (*x*) Dr. *Doddridge* argues. And, as he was to paſs though the countrey of *Samaria, he ſent meſſengers before his face. And they went, and entered into a village of the Samaritans, to make ready for him. But they did not receive him, becauſe his face was, as though he would go unto Jeruſalem. When his diſciples, James and John, ſaw this, they ſaid: Lord, wilt thou, that we command fire to come down from heaven, and conſume them, even as Elias did. But he turned, and rebuked them, and ſaid: Ye know not what manner of ſpirit ye are of. . . And they went to another village.* Luke ix. 51. . . 56. Some have been of opinion, that the meſſengers ſent by our Lord, to prepare entertainment for him, were theſe two diſciples. If ſo, this propoſal might be ſuſpected to proceed as much from reſentment

Petri cognomen, ſic nec Zebedæi fratres niſi ſemel nominati ſunt Boanerges. Nec proinde laudis hoc nomen eſt, (quæ quidem inveterata eſt opinio,) ſed nomen vitii. Non eſt, inquam, appellatio honorifica, ſed invectiva. *Ib. p.* 259.

(*r*) Υιοὺς δὲ βροντῆς ὀνομάζει τοὺς τοῦ ζεβεδαίου, ὡς μεγαλοκήρυκας καὶ θεολογιτάτους. *In Marc. Tom. i. p.* 205. *C.*

(*s*) *See Matt. x.* 46. *Mark. vi.* 7. *Luke ix.* 1.

(*t*) *See Luke xxii.* 35.

(*u*) *Ubi ſupr. l. i. cap.* 2. *num.* 18.

(*x*) *Family-Expoſitor, Vol. ii. p.* 183.

ment of an injurious treatment of themſelves, as of their maſter. But to me that is not certain. I rather think, that thoſe meſſengers were different perſons. So (*y*) likewiſe argues Mr. *Lampe*.

The two brothers, *James* and *John*, were ambitious of high poſts of honour and dignity in Chriſt's kingdom: which, with others, they eſteemed to be of a worldly nature. The petition was preſented by their mother, but at their inſtigation. And they ſeem to have been preſent at the ſame time. For our Lord's anſwer is directed to them. Matt. xx. 20. . . 23. Mark x. 35. . . 40.

The two brothers, *James* and *John*, and *Peter*, were the only diſciples that were admitted to be preſent with our Lord at the raiſing of the daughter of *Jairus*. Mark v. 37. Luke viii. 51. The ſame three diſciples were taken up by Chriſt into the mount, when he was transformed in a glorious manner, and Moſes and Elias appeared, talking with him. Matt. xvii. 1. Mark ix. 2. Luke ix. 28. The ſame three were admitted to be preſent at our Lord's devotions in the garden, when he retired from the reſt. But they all failed to watch with their Lord, as he had deſired. Matt. xxvi. 36. . 45. Mark xiv. 32. . . . 42.

Says St. *Mark* xiii. 1. 2. *And as he went out of the temple, one of his diſciples ſaith unto him: Maſter, ſee what manner of ſtones, and what buildings are here. And Jeſus anſwering ſaid unto him: Seeſt thou theſe great buildings! There ſhall not be left one ſtone upon another, that ſhall not be thrown down.* Compare Matt. xxiv. 1. 2. It follows in *Mark* xiii. 3. 4. *And as he ſat on the mount of olives, over againſt the temple, Peter, and James, and John, and Andrew, aſked him privately: Tell us, when ſhall theſe things be? and what ſhall be the ſign, when all theſe things ſhall be fulfilled?* Whereby we perceive, that to thoſe four diſciples, eſpecially, our Lord addreſſed himſelf, when he delivered the predictions concerning the great deſolation coming upon the Jewiſh People, recorded in that chapter, and in Matt. xxiv. and Luke xxi.

This Apoſtle and *Peter* were the two diſciples, whom Jeſus ſent to prepare for eating his laſt paſſover. Luke xxii. 8. Compare Matt. xxvi. 17. . . 19. Mark xiv. 13. . . 16.

Our Lord, ſitting at ſupper with his diſciples, ſaid: *One of you will betray me.* *Peter* beckoned to *John*, who leaned on the boſom of Jeſus, *that he would aſk, who it ſhould be, of whom he ſpake.* Which he did. And our Lord gave him a ſign, by which he might know, whom he intended. John xiii. 21. . . 26. This is an inſtance of the freedom, which *John* might take, as the beloved diſciple, and friend of Jeſus.

When our Lord was apprehended by the Jewiſh officers, we are informed by St. *Mark* xiv. 51 52. *And there followed him a certain young man, having a linen cloth caſt about his naked body. And the young men laid hold*

(*y*) Cui tamen in eo non accedimus, quod filios Zebedæi ipſos illos legatos putat fuiſſe, quos Ieſus in vicum Samaritanorum hoſpitium rogaturos miſerat. Unde ob illatam ſibi injuriam videntur exacerbati eſſe, ſed textus legatos illos a filiis Zebedæi ſatis clare diſtinguit. Accedit, quod Ieſus ad illos τραφεὶς converſus fuerit. Quod indicat, illos, cum Domino conſilium proponerent, non fuiſſe Domino obvios, ſed pone eum ſequentes. *Lampe Proleg. l. 1. cap. 2. n. xix. not.* (*b*).

hold of him. And he left the linen cloth, and fled from them. Some have thought, that this young man was *John*. *Cave* (z) gives a good deal of countenance to that ſuppoſition. Others (*a*) have thought him to be *James*, the Lord's brother. But *Grotius*, and juſtly, wonders, that (*b*) any ſhould have been of opinion, that he was one of the Apoſtles.

That *Peter* followed our Lord at a diſtance, and was admitted into the Hall of the Jewiſh High-Prieſt, we are aſſured from all the Goſpels. It has been ſuppoſed by many, that *John* ſhewed the like teſtimonie of affection and reſpect for his Lord. For he ſays ch. xviii. 15. *And Simon Peter followed Jeſus. And ſo did another diſciple. That diſciple was known to the High-Prieſt. And ſpake to her that kept the door, and brought in Peter.*

Nevertheleſs it may be queſtioned, whether St. *John* hereby intends himſelf. *Chryſoſtom* (*c*) ſuppoſeth him to be meant, and that St. *John* concealed his name out of humility and modeſtie. To the like purpoſe alſo (*d*) *Theophylact*. Nor (*e*) had *Jerome* any doubt here. But *Auguſtin* (*f*) was cautious in ſaying, who it was: though he thought it might be *John*.

Let us now obſerve the ſentiments of moderns. *Whitby* upon the place ſays: "He ſeems not to be *John*. For he being a Galilean, as "well as *Peter*, they might equally have ſuſpected him upon that ac-"count." However to this it might be anſwered, that *John* being known to the High-Prieſt, he was ſafe. But then another difficulty will ariſe. For it may be ſaid: How came *John* to be ſo well known to the High-Prieſt, and his familie, as to be able to direct his ſervant to admit a ſtranger, as *Peter* was, and at that time of night?

Grotius,

(z) "Indeed upon our Lord's firſt apprehenſion, he fled after the other Apoſtles; it not being without ſome probabilities of reaſon, that the ancients conceive him to have been that *young man*, that followed after Chriſt, *having a linen cloth caſt about his naked body:* whom when the officers laid hold upon, he left the linen cloth, and fled naked away." *Cave's Life of St. John, num. ii. p.* 151.

(*a*) *See Whitby upon Mark xiv.* 51.

(*b*) Non de Apoſtolorum grege. Quod miror, veteribus in mentem venire potuiſſe. Nec e domo, in quam Chriſtus in urbe diverterat, ſed ex villa aliqua horto proxima, ſtrepitu militum excitatus, et ſubito accurrens, ut conſpiceret, quid agerent. *Grot. ad Marc. xiv.* 51.

(*c*) Τίς ἐστιν ὁ ἄλλος μαθητής; Ὁ ταῦτα γράψας, κ. λ. *Chr. in Joan. hom.* 83. *al.* 82. *T.* 8. *p.* 491.

(*d*) Τίς ἦν ὁ ἄλλος μαθητής; Αὐτὸς ἔτος ὁ ταῦτα γράψας· ἀποκρύπτει ἑαυτὸν διὰ ταπεινοφροσύνην, κ. λ. *Theoph. in Joh. xviii. p.* 809.

(*e*) Unde et Ieſus Joannem Evangeliſtam amabat plurimum. Qui propter generis nobilitatem erat notus Pontifici, et Judæorum inſidias non timebat: in tantum ut Petrum introduceret in atrium, et ſtaret ſolus Apoſtolorum ante crucem, matremque Salvatoris in ſua reciperet. *Ad Princip. virg. ep.* 96. *al.* 16. *T.* 4. *p.* 780.

(*f*) Quiſnam iſte ſit diſcipulus, non temere affirmandum eſt, quia tacetur. Solet autem ſe idem Joannes ita ſignificare, et addere, quem diligebat Ieſus. Fortaſſis ergo hic ipſe eſt. Quiſquis tamen ſit, ſequentia videamus. *In Joann. Evang. Tr.* 113. *T.* 3. *P.* 2.

Grotius, likewiſe thought, that (*g*) this *other diſciple* could not be *John*, or any one of the Twelve, but rather ſome believer, an inhabitant of *Jeruſalem*, and, poſſibly, the perſon, at whoſe houſe our Lord had eat the paſchal ſupper.

Lampe (*h*) heſitates. And at length allegeth the ſentiment of a learned writer, who conjectured, that this *other diſciple* was *Judas*, the traitor. For *Judas*, he thinks, was ſoon touched with remorſe for what he had done. And he might follow Jeſus to the High-Prieſt's, hoping, that by ſome means he might eſcape out of the hands of thoſe, to whom he had betrayed him. *Judas* being there himſelf, might be very willing to let in *Peter*. Whether this conjecture be ſpecious, or not, I cannot ſay. But it does not ſeem to me very likely, that St. *John* ſhould characteriſe *Judas*, by the title of *another diſciple*, after he had betrayed his Lord and Maſter.

After all, I am not able to determine this point. At firſt reading this place of St. *John*, we are naturally enough led to think, that by *the other diſciple* ſhould be meant himſelf. But upon farther conſideration there ariſe difficulties, that many induce us to heſitate.

Whether he followed Jeſus to the Hall of *Caiaphas*, or not, we are aſſured, that he attended the crucifixion, and ſeems to have been the only one of the Twelve, that did ſo.

John xix. 25. . . 27. *Now there ſtood by the croſſe of Jeſus his mother. . . When Jeſus therefore ſaw his mother, and the diſciple ſtanding by, whom he loved, he ſaith unto his mother; Woman, behold thy ſon. Then ſaith he to the diſciple: Behold thy mother. And from that hour that diſciple took her unto his own home.* There might be ſeveral reaſons for that determination: as *John*'s being a relation, the ſweetneſſe of his temper, and his having ſomewhat of his own. He had been the beloved diſciple, or friend of Jeſus. And therefore was the moſt proper to be thus truſted.

(*g*) Et ſane non eſt probabile, aut ipſum Johannem hic intelligi: (cur enim Galilæus cum eſſet, minus interrogaretur ab adſtantibus, quam Petrus?) aut aliquem ex Duodecim, ſed alium quendam Hieroſolymitanum, non æque manifeſtum fautorem Ieſu: quales multi erant in urbe, ut ſupra didicimus. xii. 42. Valde mihi ſe probat conjectura exiſtimantium, hunc eſſe eum, in cujus domo Ieſus cœnaverat, ob id quod legitur. Matt. xxvi. 18. *Grot. ad Joh. xviii.* 15.

(*h*) Scripſeram hæc, cum J. Caſp. Merhenii Obſervat. Crit. in Paſſ. J. C. conſulens, novam ab eo hypotheſin proponi deprehenderem, . . . quæ notatu non indigna eſt. Ipſum ſiquidem Judam proditorem pro hoc diſcipulo habet, quem Joannes nominatu poſt turpiſſimum proditionis crimen indignum cenſuit. . . . Id autem quod potiſſimum in rem ſpectare videtur, neque a noſtra ſententia, quam de conſilio Judæ in prodendo ſervatore fovemus, abludit, ita habet: *Judam poſt commiſſum ſcelus pudore ſuffuſum pedetentim cohortem ſuiſſe ſecutum, atque in Petrum ita incidiſſe, cui ſcelus ſuum excuſare, quin negare potuit, ſe ea mente Chriſto oſculum dediſſe, ut Chriſtum proderet, ſed ut periculum imminens ei ſubindicaret.* Nos ſane de eo vix dubitamus, Judam pœnitentiâ ſceleris jam tum fuiſſe tactum, atque conſcientiæ ſtimulis ea propter agitatum facile potuiſſe eo conſilio Ieſum captum ſequi, ut reſciret, annon aliquâ ratione, pro ſolito, Ieſus manus captorum evaſurus eſſet. Liberam jam lectori optionem relinquimus. *Lampe in Evang. Joann. cap. xviii. Tom.* 3. *p.* 523. *not.* (*f*).

ed. And doubtleſs this deſignation was perfectly agreeable to our Lord's mother.

John ſaw his Lord expire on the croſſe. And ſtill farther. *One of the ſoldiers with a ſpear pierced his ſide. And forthwith came thereout blood and water. And he that ſaw it bore witneſſe. And his record is true.* ch. xix. 34. 35.

And undoubtedly he alſo ſtaid afterwards, and ſaw the body of Jeſus laid in the ſepulchre, and the ſtone placed at the mouth of it: as related by himſelf. xix. 38. . . 42. Comp. Matt. xxvii. 53. . . 60. Mark xv. 45. . . 47. Luke xxiii. 50. . . 56.

Early in the morning, on which our Lord roſe from the dead, *Marie Magdalen*, and other women, came to the ſepulchre, and ſaw that it was open, the ſtone having been taken away. *Marie Magdalen* knowing where ſhe could find the two Apoſtles, *Peter* and *John*, went back to the city and told them, that *they had taken away the Lord out of the ſepulchre: and*, ſays ſhe, *we know not where they have laid him. So they ran both together, to the ſepulchre.* And by what they ſaw there, they were led to the perſuaſion, that Jeſus was riſen from the dead. As related John xx. 1. . . 10.

John was preſent with the other diſciples, when Jeſus ſhewed himſelf to them in the evening of the day, on which he aroſe, and likewiſe eight days after. ch. xx. 19. . . 29.

He has alſo particularly related the hiſtorie of our Lord's ſhewing himſelf to ſeveral diſciples at the ſea of *Tiberias:* when they had an extraordinarie draught of fiſhes, in number one hundred and fifty-three. There were preſent at that time *Simon Peter, Thomas, Nathanael, the ſons of Zebedee, and two other diſciples.* ch. xxi. 1. . 23. Beſide other things, which I omit, our Lord having had diſcourſe with *Peter*, and having foretold his martyrdom: *Peter* put to him a queſtion, concerning *John*, ſaying: *Lord, what ſhall this man do? Jeſus ſaith unto him: If I will, that he tarry, till I come, what is that to thee? Follow thou me. Then went this ſaying abroad among the brethren, that that diſciple ſhould not die. Yet Jeſus ſaid not unto him: He ſhall not die. But if I will, that he tarry, till I come, what is that to thee?* Thus checking, as I apprehend, *Peter*'s curioſity. However, it has been ſuppoſed by judicious Commentators, that here is an intimation, that *John* ſhould not die before the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*. Nor is their any doubt, but he ſurvived that event, which few or none of the other Apoſtles did. Though (*i*) our Lord's words may be underſtood to contain only an obſcure intimation, that whereas *Peter*'s days would be ſhortened by martyrdom, this diſciple ſhould be preſerved, till he died in the ordinarie courſe of nature.

From all which we perceive, that (*k*) St. *John* was preſent at moſt of the

(*i*) Ita obſcure ſignificat, Johannem, non, ut Petrum morte violenta moriturum, ſed tali, quâ ſine hominum vi ſolveretur, ubi Chriſtus tempus idoneum judicaſſet. Quod et contigit, ut Veterum plures conſentiunt. *Grot. ad Joan. xxi.* 22.

(*k*) Ex ipſa hiſtoria evangelica Joannis probabile ſit, omnibus eventibus, itineribus, miraculis, concionibus ſervatoris noſtri ipſum interfuiſſe. . . cum probabile ſit, illum fuiſſe inter diſcipulos duos Joannis Baptiſtæ, a quibus col-

the things related by him in his Gospel: and that he was an eye and ear-witness of our Lord's labours, journeyings, discourses, miracles, his low abasement even to an ignominious death, and his being alive again, and then ascending to heaven.

Having (*l*) been present with the rest of the Apostles at the Lord's ascension, he (*m*) returned with them from mount *Olivet* to *Jerusalem*, and continued with them, joyning with them in their devotions, and in the choice of another, to supply the place of *Judas*: and (*n*) partook in the plentiful effusion of the Holy Ghost upon the Apostles and their companie on the day of Pentecost next ensuing.

Peter and *John*, who often accompanied each other, healed the lame man at the temple, and upon that occasion preached to the people who assembled about them. For which they were brought before the Jewish Council, and after some debates were dismissed with orders, not to preach any more in the name of Jesus. Acts iii. and iv. 1. . . 22.

Some while after this, the number of believers still increasing in *Jerusalem*, *John* and the rest of the Apostles were apprehended, and put into the common prison. But they were the same night delivered by an angel, who commanded them to *go and speak in the temple to the people*. Which they did *early in the morning*. Whereupon they were again taken up, and brought before the Council, who consulted how they might put them to death. But by the advice of *Gamaliel* that design was laid aside. *And when they had beaten them, they commanded, that they should not speak in the name of Jesus, and let them go. Whereupon the Apostles departed from the presence of the Council, rejoicing. . . And daily in the temple, and from house to house, they ceased not to teach and preach Jesus Christ.*

Afterwards, there being a violent persecution at *Jerusalem*, many were scattered abroad. *Philip*, one of the seven, went down to *Samaria*, and preached to them, and wrought many miracles, insomuch that great numbers believed. When the Apostles, who were at *Jerusalem*, heard of this, they sent unto them *Peter* and *John*, that they might receive the Holy Ghost. Having performed that service, they returned to *Jerusalem*. And in their way preached the gospel in many villages of the *Samaritans*. Acts viii. 5. . . 25.

From

lectionis discipulorum initium Jesus fecit, uti L. i. cap. 2. §. ii. ostendimus: inde colligimus, Evangelistam nostrum statim ab initio rebus, quæ scribit, interfuisse, et hanc esse veram rationem, cur non altius filum historiæ suæ inciperat. Ex omnibus quoque sequentibus narrationibus nulla est, in qua absentem Evangelistam nostrum statuamus fuisse, nisi forte excipere velis illa, quæ in palatio Annæ et Caiaphæ acciderunt. Cap. xviii. 13. . . 17. De quibus tamen res est dubia, quia definiri accurate nequit, annon discipulus, qui Petrum in Palatium Caiaphæ introduxerit, ipse Evangelista noster fuerit. Sed licet illa præsens non perceperit, a Petro tamen, socio intimo, statim proculdubio audivit. Et forte per ejus relationem excitatus est, ut ad Prætorium Pilati summo mane advolaret, atque ita cum reliquis mulieribus Jesum ad crucem sequeretur. . . Ex quo patet, quanta cum emphasi præ ceteris Apostolis et Evangelistis dicere potuit: Quæ audivimus, quæ vidimus. 1 Jo. i. 1. 2. *Lamp. Proleg. l. 2. cap. 4. num. vi.*

(*l*) *Mark xvi.* 19. *Luke xxiv.* 50. . . . 53. *Acts i.* 1. . . . 12.
(*m*) *Acts i.* 12. . . 26. (*n*) *Acts ii.* 1. . . 13.

From what St. *Paul* says in the second chapter of the epistle to the *Galatians* we perceive, that *John* was present at the Council of *Jerusalem*: of which an account is given Acts xv. Which Council was held in the year 49. or 50. or thereabout. And it may be reckoned probable, that till that time *John* had staid in the land of *Israel*, and had not been abroad in any Gentil countreys.

I would add, that though no miracles are related to be done by St. *John*, beside those, which have been here taken notice of; I reckon it very probable, that many miracles, beside those particularly mentioned by the historian, were wrought by him, and other Apostles, during their stay in *Judea*. This may be inferred from general expressions of St. *Luke* in several places. *And many signs and wonders were done by the Apostles.* Acts ii. 43. *And with great power gave the Apostles witnesse of the resurrection of the Lord Jesus.* ch. iv. 33. *And by the hands of the Apostles were many signs and wonders wrought among the people.* ch. v. 12. Comp. iv. 29. 30.

From the book of the Revelation. ch. i. 9. we learn, that St. *John* was for a while in the island called *Patmos*, where he was favored with visions and revelations.

Thus far we have endeavored to collect the historie of this Apostle from the New Testament.

II. From ecclesiastical historie we learn, that St. *John* lived to a great age, and that in the later part of his life he resided in *Asia*, particularly at *Ephesus*, the chief city of that countrey. *His age.*

Concerning his abode in *Asia* we have divers testimonies of good credit. *Irenæus* in (*o*) two places of his work against Heresies, both (*p*) cited by *Eusebe*, says, that *John* the Apostle lived in *Asia* till the time of *Trajan*. [Who succeeded *Nerva* in the year of Christ 98.] *Eusebe* (*q*) understands *Clement* of *Alexandria* to speak to the like purpose. *Origen* also says, that (*r*) *John* having lived long in *Asia*, died at *Ephesus*. *Polycrates*, Bishop of *Ephesus* about 196. is an unexceptionable witnesse, that (*s*) *John* was buried in that city. *Jerome* (*t*) in his book of Illustrious Men, and in his books against *Jovinian*, says, "that the Apostle *John* lived in *Asia*, to the time of *Trajan*. And dying at a great age, in the sixty-eighth year after our Lord's passion, was buried near the city of *Ephesus*." Supposing our Lord to have been crucified in the year 32. of the vulgar æra, which (*u*) seems to have been *Jerome*'s opinion, sixty-eight years will reach to the year 100. or the third of *Trajan*. At which year of that Emperour the death of St. *John* is placed by *Jerome* in his (*x*) Chronicle.

What was *John*'s age, when called by Christ, we are not informed. *Baronius*

(*o*) *Iren. adv. Haer. l.* 2. *cap.* 22. *n. v. p.* 148. *ed. Mass. et l.* 3. *cap.* 3. *p.* 178.
(*p*) *Euseb. H. E. l.* 3. *cap.* 23. *in.*
(*q*) *Vid. Euseb. ibid.*
(*r*) *Ap. Euseb. l.* 3. *cap.* 1.
(*s*) *Ap. Euseb. l. v. cap.* 24. *in.*
(*t*) *See Credib. Vol. x. p.* 100. *and* 101.
(*u*) *Vid. Basnag. Ann.* 101. *num. ii.*
(*x*) *P.* 165, *ex ed. Scalig.*

Baronius (*y*) thought he might then be about 22 years of age. Having been with Chriſt three years, he was about 25 years of age when our Lord was crucified. *Tillemont* (*z*) ſuppoſes St. *John* to have been about 25 or 26 years of age when called to be an Apoſtle. *Lampe* (*a*) thinks, that he was about the ſame age with our Saviour. For my part, I cannot perſuade myſelf, that any of Chriſt's Apoſtles, when called to attend upon him, that they might be his witneſſes to the world, were much under the age of thirty. If it hence follows, that *John* was a hundred years of age, or thereabout, when he died, it is not at all incredible, nor unlikely.

When he left Judea.

III. As it is an allowed point, that *John* dwelt in *Aſia* in the later part of his life; we may be reaſonably deſirous to know, when he ſettled in that countrey. And for determining this, the books of the New Teſtament may afford good hints. For (*b*) in all St. *Luke*'s hiſtorie of the preaching and travels of *Paul*, particularly in *Aſia*, no mention is made of *John*. Which may induce us to think, that he was not there at that time. Nor are there any ſalutations ſent to *John* in any of St. *Paul*'s epiſtles, writ at *Rome*: ſeveral of which were ſent to *Epheſus*, or other places, not very remote from it: as the epiſtle to the *Epheſians*, the ſecond epiſtle to *Timothie*, probably, at *Epheſus*, the epiſtle to the *Coloſſians*, and the epiſtle to *Philemon*, at *Coloſſe*.

I will now obſerve the opinions of ſome learned moderns. *Baronius* thought, that (*c*) this Apoſtle did not come to reſide in *Aſia*, until after the death of St. *Peter*, and St. *Paul*. *Du Pin* ſays: We (*d*) do not exactly know, when he came into *Aſia*. Perhaps it was about the year 70. *Tillemont* was of opinion, that (*e*) St. *John* did not come to reſide in *Aſia*, till about the year 66. But he ſuppoſeth, that upon ſome occaſion, he had before that been in that countrey, without making a ſtay there. Which laſt, as I apprehend, is ſaid without any good authority. Mr. *Lampe* was of opinion, that (*f*) *John* did not leave *Judea*, till after the death of *James*, called the Leſs, and but a ſhort time only, before the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*.

To me it ſeems not unlikely, that St. *John* came into *Aſia*, about the time that the war broke out in *Judea*, in the year 66. or a ſhort time before,

(*y*) *Ann.* 101. *num.* ix.

(*z*) *S. Jean l'Evangeliſte. art.* x. *et note* xv. *Mem. Tom.* i.

(*a*) Quare nihil impedit, quo minus ejuſdem ferme ætatis cum ſervatore noſtro fuerit. *Prolegom. in Jo. l.* i. *cap.* 2. *num.* i. *not.* (*a*)

(*b*) "In the diviſion of provinces, which the Apoſtles made among themſelves, *Aſia* fell to his ſhare, though he did not preſently enter into his charge. Otherwiſe, we muſt have heard of him in the account, which St. *Luke* gives of St. *Paul*'s ſeveral journeys into, and reſidence in thoſe parts." *Cave's Life of St. John.* §. *iv.*

(*c*) *A. d.* 97. *num.* ii.

(*d*) *Du Pin Diſſ. Prel. l.* 2. *ch.* 2. §. *vi.*

(*e*) *St. Jean. art. iv.*

(*f*) Poſt ejus *(Jacobi Minoris)* exceſſum neminem ex τῶν δώδεκα grege et conſtantius et diutius Hieroſolymis ſubſtitiſſe noſtro Apoſtolo: ita ut vix exiguo ante exordium intervallo, inde ſe avelli pateretur. *Proleg. l.* i. *cap.* 2. *n.* xv. *p.* 29.

fore, when, probably, St. *Peter* and *Paul* had been before crowned with martyrdom.

As St. *John* ſtaid a good while in *Paleſtine*, it may be reaſonably concluded, that the virgin *Marie* did not go with him to *Epheſus*, as (*g*) *Baronius*, and ſome others have thought, but died, before he went thither. Which was the opinion of (*h*) *Cave*, and (*i*) *Baſnage*.

IV. St. *John* having had a long life, many things have been ſaid of him, ſome true, others falſe. Moſt of them have been already taken notice of in ſeveral chapters of this work. It may not be improper to recollect them here, with ſome remarks. *His Hiſtorie from other Writers.*

1. *Apollonius*, who wrote againſt the *Montaniſts*, and flouriſhed about the year 211. ſays, in a fragment, preſerved by *Euſebe*, "That (*k*) by the divine power *John* raiſed up a dead man to life at *Epheſus*." Which miracle is alſo taken notice of by (*l*) *Sozomen*, and (*m*) *Nicephorus*, and may have been really done. But if we had had a more circumſtantial hiſtorie of it, and if it had been mentioned by ſome other early writers, beſide *Apollonius*, it would have been more credible.

2. There was a book forged with the title of the *Travels of Paul and Thecla* by a Preſbyter, who was depoſed for ſo doing, as related by *Tertullian*. *Jerome* ſays, that he was a Preſbyter in Aſia, and that he was convicted before St. *John* of being the author of it, and for that reaſon was depoſed. Of this matter we have already ſpoken diſtinctly already, and therefore refer to what was then (*n*) ſaid.

3. It is alſo related of our Apoſtle, that going to bathe at *Epheſus*, and perceiving, that *Cerinthus*, or, as others ſay, *Ebion*, was already in the bath, he came out again haſtily, and would not make uſe of the bath. The probability of which account was examined (*o*) formerly.

4. It is ſaid, that by order of the Emperour *Domitian* St. *John* was caſt into a caldron of boyling oyl at Rome, and came out again, without being hurt. The (*p*) truth of which ſtorie likewiſe has been conſidered by us.

5. *Polycrates*, Biſhop of *Epheſus* in the later part of the ſecond centurie, ſays, that *John* was Chriſt's High-Prieſt, wearing on his forehead a golden plate. Which account (*q*) has been conſidered, and the judgements of divers learned men upon it alleged.

6. *Euſebe* has a ſtorie, from a work of *Clement* of *Alexandria*, of a young man in a city of *Aſia*, not far from *Epheſus*, who after having been inſtructed

(*g*) *A. d.* 44. *n. xxix.*

(*h*) "Probable therefore it is, that he dwelt in his own houſe at *Jeruſalem*, at leaſt till the death of the bleſſed Virgin." *Cave's Life of St. John*, §. *iv.*

(*i*) *Vid. Baſnag. Ann.* 46. *num. xxxviii.*

(*k*) *See ch.* 31. *num. iv. Vol. iii. p.* 16.

(*l*) *Soz. l.* 7. *cap.* 27. *p.* 750. (*m*) *Niceph. l.* 4. *cap.* 25.

(*n*) *See ch.* 27. *vol. ii. p.* 641. . . 643. *and ch.* 29. *p.* 698. &c.

(*o*) *See ch.* 6. *vol. i. p.* 190. 191. *note* (B) *the ſecond edition, and ch.* 114. *vol. x. p.* 108.

(*p*) *See ch.* 27. *vol. ii. p.* 604. *note* (E) *the ſecond edition, and ch.* 114. *vol. x. p.* 108.

(*q*) *See ch.* 114. *vol. x. p.* 104. . . 107.

ſtructed in the Chriſtian Religion took to evil courſes, and became profligate: but nevertheleſs was afterwards brought to repentance by our Apoſtle. This account is inſerted at large by *Euſebe* (*r*) in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorie. It has been repeated in like manner by *Simeon Metaphraſtes* in his Life of St. *John*. *Chryſoſtom* (*s*) has referred to it. It is alſo briefly told in the (*t*) Paſchal Chronicle. I have already taken ſome notice of this (*u*) ſtorie. *S. Baſnage* (*x*) thinks it to be a fable, or feigned apologue, compoſed to convey uſeful inſtruction. Mr. *Lampe* (*y*) is favorable to this hiſtory. And, perhaps, it may be true, abating ſome circumſtances. Which are not ſeldom added to ſuch accounts, to render them the more entertaining.

7. *Jerome* has given an account of St. *John*'s method of preaching, when he was of a great age, and was not able to make a long diſcourſe. This (*z*) was taken notice of by us in a proper place. Nor is the truth of it, though related by *Jerome* only, diſputed, either by (*a*) *Lampe*, or (*b*) *Le Clerc*.

8. It is generally ſuppoſed, that (*c*) *John* is one of thoſe Apoſtles, who lived a ſingle life. It is ſaid by (*d*) *Tertullian*, and *Jerome*. Which laſt affirms, that (*e*) eccleſiaſtical hiſtory aſſures us of it. And he makes it the ground of all the peculiar privileges of this Apoſtle.

9. Another

(*r*) *L.* 3. *cap.* 23.

(*s*) *Ad Theodor. Lapſ. T. i. p.* 31. *ed. Bened.*

(*t*) *Chr. Paſch. p.* 251. *D.*

(*u*) *See ch.* 114. *vol. x. p.* 107. 108.

(*x*) Apologo quam hiſtoriæ videtur eſſe propior. . . . Ac ſane neſcimus, ſi vera hiſtoria eſt, cur Clemens *μύθε*, *fabulæ*, nomen ipſi primum impoſuerit. Fabula fuit ratione rei ſignificantis, veritaſque reſpectu rei ſignificatæ, quæ mentibus proponebatur, nempe eximii paſtoris officium, ac vis pœnitentiæ. Non inſolens erat antiquis, uti apologis ejuſmodi ad informandos mores. . . . . Si cui tamen placet de Joanne Clementis narrationem veram hiſtoriam eſſe, quia ſic veteribus viſum, de hac re quidem contendere nolumus. *Baſn. ann.* 97. *num. x.*

(*y*) *Prolegom. l. i. cap. v. num. iii. . . . . ix.*

(*z*) *Vol. x. p.* 103.

(*a*) Licet enim Hieronymus ſolus hujus narrationis auctor ſit, nihil tamen occurrit, quod non cum more Joannis, ut cum ratione Eccleſiæ ejus temporis apprime convenit. *Lamp. Proleg. l. i. cap. v. n. xi.*

(*b*) *H. E. ann.* 99. *num. i.*

(*c*) *Vid. Lamp. Proleg. l. i. cap. i. num. xiii.*

(*d*) Joannes Chriſti ſpado. *De Monog. cap.* 17. *p.* 688.

(*e*) Talem fuiſſe eunuchum, quem Jeſus amavit plurimum, Evangeliſtam Joannem, eccleſiaſticæ credunt hiſtoriæ: qui recubuit ſuper pectus Jeſu: qui, Petro tardius ambulante, elatus virginitatis alis cucurrit ad Dominum: qui in ſecreta divinæ ſe nativitatis immergens, auſus eſt dicere: In principio erat Verbum, &c. *In Iſ. cap.* LVI. *Tom.* 3. *p.* 410.

Joannes vero noſter, quaſi aquila, ad ſuperna volat, et ad ipſum Patrem pervenit, dicens: In principio erat Verbum, &c. Expoſuit virginitas, quod nuptiæ ſcire non poterant. Et ut brevi ſermone multa comprehendam, do ceamque, cujus privilegii ſit Joannes, imo in Joanne virginitas: a Domino virgine, mater virgo virgini diſcipulo commendatur. *Adv. Jovin. l. i. T.* 4. *P.* 2. *p.* 169. *Vid. et ad. Princip. virg. ep.* 96. *al.* 16. *ib. p.* 780. *f.*

9. Another thing ſaid of *John*, is, that he was baniſhed into *Patmos*, an iſland of the Mediterranean Sea, not far from the coaſt of *Aſia*. And, if he is the writer of the book of the Revelation, which we do not now diſpute, the thing is unqueſtioned. But I have deferred the conſideration of this particular, till now, becauſe learned moderns are not agreed about the time of it.

V. I ſhall therefore firſt put down the accounts of ancient authors, and then obſerve the opinions of learned men of later times. *The time, when he was baniſhed to Patmos.*

Irenæus ſays of the revelation, "that (*f*) it was ſeen no long time ago, but almoſt in our age, at the end of the reign of *Domitian*." And though *Irenæus* does not ſay, that St. *John* was then in *Patmos*, yet ſince he ſuppoſeth him to be the perſon, who had the revelation, he muſt have believed him to be then in *Patmos*, as the book itſelf ſays. ch. i. 9.

Clement, of *Alexandria*, in his book, entitled, Who is the rich man that may be ſaved, as cited by *Euſebe*, ſpeaks (*g*) of "*John*'s returning from *Patmos* to *Epheſus*, after the death of the tyrant." By whom, it is probable, he means *Domitian*.

Tertullian, in his Apology, ſpeaks of *Domitian*, as (*h*) having baniſhed ſome Chriſtians, and afterwards giving them leave to return home: probably intending St. *John*, and ſome others. In another work he ſays, "that (*i*) *John* having been ſent for to *Rome*, was caſt into a veſſel of boyling oyl, and then baniſhed into an iſland:" in the time of *Domitian*, as is moſt probable.

Origen, explaining Matt. xx. 23. ſays: "*James* (*k*) the brother of "*John*, was killed with a ſword by *Herod*. And a Roman Emperour, "as tradition teaches, baniſhed *John* into the iſland *Patmos* for the teſ"timonie, which he bore to the word of truth. And *John* himſelf bears "witneſs to his baniſhment, omitting the name of the Emperour, by "whom he was baniſhed, ſaying in the Revelation: *I John, who alſo am "your brother and companion in tribulation, and in the kingdom and patience "of Jeſus Chriſt, was in the iſle of Patmos, for the word of God, and for the "teſtimonie of Jeſus Chriſt.* And (*l*) it ſeems, that the Revelation was "ſeen in that iſland."

Victorin, Biſhop of *Pettaw* about 290. again and again ſays, that (*m*) *John* was baniſhed by *Domitian*, and in his reign ſaw the revelation.

Euſebe,

(*f*) *See cap.* 17. *Vol. i. p.* 379.

(*g*) Επειδὴ γὰρ τὸν τύραννον τελευτήσαντος, ἀπὸ τῆς πάτμου τῆς νήσου μετῆλθεν εἰς τὴν ἔφεσον. κ. λ. *Ap. Euſeb. H. E. l.* 3. *c.* 23. *p.* 92.

(*h*) Tentaverat et Domitianus, portio Neronis de crudelitate. Sed qua et homo facile cœptum repreſſit, reſtitutis etiam quos relegaverat. *Apol. cap.* 5.

(*i*) . . . habes Romam, . . . ubi Apoſtolus Joannes, poſteaquam in oleum igneum demerſus, nihil paſſus eſt, in inſulam relegatur. *De Pr. Haer. cap.* 6. *p.* 245.

(*k*) *Comm. in Matt. T. i. p.* 417. *Huet.*

(*l*) Καὶ ἔοικε τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τεθεωρηκέναι. *Ibid. C.*

(*m*) *See Vol. v. p.* 223.

Eusebe, giving an account of *Domitian*'s persecution, says: "In (*n*) this persecution, as it is said, *John*, the Apostle and Evangelist, being still living, was banished into the island *Patmos* for the testimonie of the word of God."

Epiphanius, as formerly (*p*) shewn, says: "*John* prophesied in the isle of *Patmos*, in the reign of *Claudius*." And in another place, then only referred to, he says: "*John* wrote his Gospel in his old age, when he "was more than ninety years old, after his return from *Patmos*, which "(*q*) was in the time of *Claudius Cæsar*."

Jerome, in his book of Illustrious Men, as (*r*) formerly cited, says: "*Domitian* in the fourteenth year of his reign raising the second persecution after *Nero*, *John* was banished into the island *Patmos*, where he wrote the Revelation." And in another work, also cited (*s*) formerly, he says again: "*John* was a Prophet, as he saw the Revelation in the island *Patmos*, where he was banished by *Domitian*." And I shall now transcribe below (*t*) in his own words, without translating them, his comment upon Matt. xx. 23. where he speaks of St. *John*'s having been banished into *Patmos*: but does not name the Emperour, by whom he was banished.

Sulpicius Severus says, "that (*u*) *John*, the Apostle and Evangelist, was banished by *Domitian* into the island *Patmos*: where he had visions, and where he wrote the book of the Revelation."

Arethas, in his Commentarie upon the Revelation supposed to be writ in the sixth centurie, says, upon the authority of *Eusebius*, that (*x*) *John* was banished into *Patmos* by *Domitian*.

Isidore, of *Seville*, near the end of the sixth centurie, says: "*Domitian* (*y*) raised a persecution against the Christians. In his time the Apostle *John* having been banished into the island *Patmos* saw the Revelation."

We may now make a remark or two.

1. All these testimonies are of use, whether they name the island, whe e *John* was banished, or the Emperour, by whom he was banished, or not. They all agree, that St. *John* was sent thither by way of punishment, or restraint, for bearing witness to the truth. Which confutes

(*n*) *H. E. l.* 3. *cap.* 18. (*p*) *Vol. viii. p.* 311.
(*q*) . . . . τὴν ἐπὶ κλαυδίε γενομένην καίσαρος. *Haer.* 51. *num. xii.*
(*r*) *See Vol. x. p.* 100. (*s*) *P.* 102.
(*t*) Quæritur, quomodo calicem martyrii filii Zebedæi, Jacobus videlicet et Joannes, biberint: quum scriptura narret Jacobum tantum Apostolum ab Herode capite truncatum: Joannes autem propria morte vitam finierit. Sed si legamus ecclesiasticas historias, in quibus fertur, quod et ipse propter martyrium sit missus in ferventis olei dolium, et inde ad suscipiendam coronam Christi athleta processerit, statimque relegatus in Patmon insulam sit, videbimus, martyrio animum non defuisse, et bibisse Joannem calicem confessionis. *Comm. in Matt. Tom.* 4. *P. i. p.* 92.
(*u*) *See Vol. xi. p.* 11.
(*x*) Ἐξόριστον δὲ αὐτὸν γενέσθαι ἐν πάτμῳ τῇ νήσῳ ὑπὸ δομετιανοῦ, εὐσέβιος ὁ παμφίλου ἐν τῷ χρονικῷ αὐτοῦ βιβλίῳ παραστίθεται. *Andr. in Apoc. ap. Oecum. Tom.* 2. *f.* 654. *D.*
(*y*) *Vol. xi. p.* 377.

futes the opinion of *Lightfoot*, " that (z) *John* travelling in the miniſtrie " of the goſpel, up and down, from *Aſia* weſtward, comes into the iſle " *Patmos*, in the *Icarian* ſea, an iſland about thirty miles compaſs. And " there on the Lord's day he has theſe viſions, and an angel interprets to " him all he ſaw."

2. All theſe writers, who mention the time of the Revelation, and of the baniſhment, ſay, it was in the time of *Domitian*, and that he was the Emperour, by whom St. *John* was baniſhed: except *Epiphanius*, who ſays, it was in the time of *Claudius*. As he is ſingular, it ſhould ſeem, that he cannot be of any great weight againſt ſo many others.

Nevertheleſs, as ſome learned men, particularly *Grotius*, have paid great regard to *Epiphanius* in this point; it is fit, we ſhould conſider, what they ſay.

Says *Grotius* in a tract, entitled A Comment upon divers texts of the New Teſtament, relating to Antichriſt: particularly, upon the tenth verſe of the xvii. chapter of the Revelation: " *John* (a) began to be il- " luminated with divine viſions in the iſland *Patmos*, in the time of *Clau-* " *dius*. Which was the opinion of the moſt ancient Chriſtians. See " *Epiphanius* in the Hereſie of the *Alogians*. *Claudius*, as we learn from " Acts xviii. 2. *commanded all Jews to depart from Rome*. Under the " name of Jews, Chriſtians alſo were comprehended, as has been obſerv- " ed by many learned men. And it cannot be doubted, but many Go- " vernours of the Roman provinces followed that example. So there- " fore *John* was driven from *Epheſus*."

That argument was long ago examined by (b) *David Blondel*, who ſays, 1. It is not true, that the moſt ancient writers ſaid, that St. *John* was ſent into *Patmos* by *Claudius*. It is *Epiphanius* only, who ſays ſo. He is altogether ſingular. There are no ancients, either before or after him, who have ſaid this. 2. As *Epiphanius* is ſingular, he ought not to be regarded. 3. There was no perſecution of the Chriſtians in the reign of *Claudius*. There is no proof from any ancient monuments, that Chriſtians, as ſuch, ſuffered baniſhment under that Emperour. It is allowed, that (c) *Nero* was the firſt Roman Emperour, who perſecut-

ed

(z) *Harmonie of the N. T. Vol. i. p.* 341.

(a) Cœpit autem Joannes in Patmo eſſe, et Dei viſus illuminari Claudii temporibus, quæ vetuſtiſſimorum Chriſtianorum eſt ſententia, non Domitiani, ut volunt alii. Vide Epiphanium in Hæreſi Alogorum. Claudius Judæos, ſub quorum nomine tunc et Chriſtiani cenſebantur, ut multis viris doctis obſervatum eſt, Roma pepulerat, Act. xviii. 2. Quod exemplum non dubium eſt, quin imitati ſint multi Præſides Romanorum provinciarum. Ita Epheſo expulſus Joannes. *Grot. Commentatio ad loca quædam N. T. quæ de Antichriſto agunt, aut agere putantur. Opp. Tom.* 3.

(b) *Des Sibylles. l.* 2. *ch. iii. p.* 145. . . . 148. *à Charenten.* 1649.

(c) Conſulite commentarios veſtros. Illic reperietis, primum Neronem in hanc ſectam, cum maxime Romæ orientem, Cæſariano gladio ferociſſe. Sed tali dedicatore damnationis noſtræ etiam gloriamur. *Tertull. Ap. cap. v.*

Nerone imperante. . . Qui dignus exſtitit, qui perſecutionem in Chriſtianos primus inciperet. *Sulp. Sev. Hiſt. Sacr. l.* 2. *cap.* 39.

Nam primus Romæ Chriſtianos ſupplicüis et mortibus affecit. *P. Oroſ. l.* 7. *cap.* 7.

Vid. et Euſeb. H. E. l. 2. *cap.* 25. *p.* 67.

ed the Christians. 4. The edict of *Claudius* only banished the Jews from *Rome*. It did not affect the Jews in the provinces, as appears from the New Testament itself, particularly, Acts xviii. and xix. It is manifest from the historie in the Acts, that in the reign of *Claudius*, in other parts of the Empire, out of *Rome*, the *Jews* enjoyed as full liberty, as they did before. *Paul* and *Silas*, *Aquila* and *Priscilla*, dwelled quietly at *Corinth*: where the men of their nation had their synagogue, and assembled in it according to custom, without molestation. 5. Nor could the Governours of provinces banish either Jews or Christians out of their governments, without order from the Emperour. And that they had no such order, is apparent. Neither Jews nor Christians were molested by them at *Ephesus*, as may be perceived from the historie in the nineteenth chapter of the Acts. That they were not molested by them at *Corinth*, appears from the preceeding chapter. 6. St. *John* could not be banished from *Ephesus* by *Claudius*, or the Governours under him. For he was not in that city during the reign of that Emperour, nor in the former part of the reign of *Nero*, as has been shewn. He did not come thither, till near the end of the reign of the last mentioned Emperour. Therefore he could not sooner be banished from *Ephesus*.

These observations, if I am not mistaken, are sufficient to confute the opinion of *Grotius*.

Sir *Isaac Newton* was of opinion, that (B) St. *John* was banished into *Patmos*, and that the Revelation was seen in the reign of *Nero*, before the destruction of *Jerusalem*.

"*Eusebius*, says (*d*) he, in his Chronicle, and Ecclesiastical Historie "follows *Irenæus* (who said, the Apocalypse was writ in the time of "*Domitian*): But afterwards in his Evangelical Demonstration he con- "joyns the banishment of *John* into *Patmos*, with the deaths of *Peter* "and *Paul*."

To which I answer, *first*, that (*e*) the Ecclesiastical Historie was not writ before the Evangelical Demonstration, but after it. For the Demonstration

(B) Sir *Isaac Newton*'s opinion is much the same with that of *John Hentenius* of *Mechlin*, confuted by *David Blondel* in the same work, and in the next chapter to that, in which he confuted *Grotius*. *Hentenius* and *Newton* argue much alike. It may be suspected, that *Newton* incautiously borrowed some of his weak arguments. Says *Blondel*: "Jean Hentenius en sa preface sur le Commentaire d' Arethas. . . . a le discours, qui suit: *Il me semble, que Jean . . . a esté relegué par Neron en Patmos au mesme temps que celui là a tué dans Rome . . . Pierre et Paul. Tertullien, voisin des temps des mesmes Apostres, asseure cela mesme en deux lieux. Eusebe aussi traitte la mesme chose au livre de la Demonstration Evangelique, combien qu'en ses Chroniques, et en l'Histoire Ecclesiastique il dit que cela est arrivé sous Domitien: ce que aussi Saint Hierome et plusieurs autres suivent. Mais à ces livres cy, comme escris és années precedentes, si grande authorité n'est pas attribuée, qu'a celui de la Demonstration Evangelique, veu qu'il a esté depuis, et plus correctement élabouré. Blondel des Sibylles. l. 2. ch. iv. p.* 148. 149.

(*d*) *Newton's Observations upon the Apocalypse of St. John. ch. i. p.* 236.

(*e*) *See in this work Vol. viii. p.* 47. *Vales. Annot. in Euseb. p.* 8. 9. *Fabric. Bib. Gr. l.* 5. *cap. iv. Tom.* 6. *p.* 57. . . . 59.

monſtration is referred to at the end of the ſecond chapter of the firſt book of the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorie. *Secondly*, *Euſebius* in his Demonſtration is not different from himſelf in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorie. In his Demonſtration, having ſpoken of the impriſonment of all the Apoſtles at *Jeruſalem*, and of their being beaten, and of the ſtoning of *Stephen*, the beheading of *James* the ſon of *Zebedee*, and the impriſonment of *Peter*, he adds: "*James* (*f*) the Lord's brother, was ſtoned, *Peter* was crucified at *Rome* with his head downward, and *Paul* was beheaded, and *John* baniſhed into an iſland." But he does not ſay, that all theſe things happened in the time of one and the ſame Emperour. It is plain, that it is not his deſign to mention exactly the time of the ſufferings of all theſe perſons. Nothing hinders our ſuppoſing, that the Apoſtles *Peter* and *Paul* were put to death by order of *Nero*, and *John* baniſhed by *Domitian*, many years afterwards, agreeably to what himſelf writes in his Chronicle and Hiſtorie.

It follows in Sir *Iſaac Newton*. "And (*g*) ſo do *Tertullian*, and *Pſeudo-*" *Prochorus*, as well as the firſt author, whoever he was, of that very "ancient fable, that St. *John* was put by *Nero* into a veſſel of hot "oyl."

I place below (*h*) the words of *Tertullian*, to which Sir *Iſaac* refers. And I anſwer: It is true, that *Tertullian* ſpeaks of the death of *Peter* and *Paul*, and of *John*'s being caſt into boyling oyl, and then baniſhed, all together. But he does not ſay, that all happened in the ſame reign. St. *John*'s baniſhment is the laſt thing mentioned by him. And, probably, it happened not, till after the death of *Peter* and *Paul*. It is likely, that *Tertullian* ſuppoſed it to have been done by the order of *Domitian*. For in another place he ſpeaks of the perſecution of that Emperour, as (*i*) conſiſting chiefly in baniſhments. ". . . *and Pſeudo-Prochorus*." What place of *Prochorus*, who pretended to be one of the ſeven deacons, and is called by *Baronius* (*k*) himſelf a great lyar, Sir *Iſaac Newton* refers to, I do not know. But in his hiſtorie of St. *John* he is entirely againſt him. For (*l*) he particularly relates the ſufferings, which St. *John* underwent in the ſecond perſecution of the Chriſtians, which was raiſed by *Domitian*. That Emperour ſent orders to the Proconſul at *Epheſus*,

(*f*) . . . ὁ πέτρος δὲ ἐπὶ ῥώμης κατὰ κεφαλῆς σταυροῦται παῦλος τε ἀποτέμνεται, ἰωάννης τε νήσῳ παραδίδοται. *Dem. Ev. l.* 3. *p.* 116.

(*g*) *As before*, *p.* 236.

(*h*) Iſta quam felix eccleſia, ubi Petrus paſſioni Dominicæ adæquatur: ubi Paulus Joannis exitu coronatur: ubi Apoſtolus Joannes, poſteaquam in oleum igneum demerſus, nihil paſſus eſt, in inſulam relegatur. *De Præſcr. cap.* 36. *p.* 245.

(*i*) Tentaverat et Domitianus . . . ſed quâ et homo, facile ceptum repreſſit, reſtitutis etiam quos relegaverat. *Apol. cap.* 5.

(*k*) —in multis mendaciſſimus hic auctor fuiſſe convincitur. *An.* 92. *num. i.*

(*l*) Secundam vero perſecutionem Domitianus excitârat, cujus temporibus Joannes Epheſi morabatur. Imperator autem Domitianus epiſtolam miſit Epheſum ad Proconſulem civitatis. . . Proch. de Vit. Joan. cap. 8. Ap. Bib. *Patr. Lugd. T.* 2.

Epheſus, to apprehend the Apoſtle. When the Proconſul had got St. *John* in his power, he informed *Domitian* of it. Who then commanded the Proconſul to bring him to *Rome*. When (*m*) he was come, the Emperour would not ſee him, but ordered him to be caſt into a veſſel of ſcalding oyl, and he came out unhurt. Then *Domitian* commanded the Proconſul to have St. *John* back again to *Epheſus*. Some time (*n*) after that, by order of the ſame *Domitian*, *John*, and others at *Epheſus*, were baniſhed into *Patmos*. *Domitian* (*o*) being dead, they returned to *Epheſus* with the leave of his ſucceſſor, who did not perſecute the Chriſtians. So *Pſeudo-Prochorus*.

Since the great *Newton* has been pleaſed to refer to ſuch a writer, I ſhall take notice of another, of the like ſort. I mean *Abdias*, who aſſumed the character of the firſt Biſhop of *Babylon*. What he ſays, is to this purpoſe: that (*p*) *John*, who ſurvived the other Apoſtles, lived to the time of *Domitian*, preaching the word to the people in *Aſia*. When *Domitian*'s edict for perſecuting the Chriſtians was brought to *Epheſus*, and *John* refuſed to deny Chriſt, or to give over preaching, the Proconſul ordered, that he ſhould be drowned in a veſſel of boyling oyl. But *John* preſently leaped out unhurt. The Proconſul would then have ſet him at liberty, if he had not feared to tranſgreſs the Emperour's edict. He therefore baniſhed *John* into *Patmos*, where he ſaw and wrote the Revelation. After the death of *Domitian*, his edicts having been abrogated by the Senate, they who had been baniſhed, returned to their homes. And *John* came to *Epheſus*, where he had a dwelling, and many friends.

Then follows an account of St. *John*'s viſiting the churches in the neighborhood of *Epheſus*. Where is inſerted alſo the ſtorie, formerly taken

(*m*) Audiens autem Domitianus de adventu ejus, noluit impius Cæſar videre faciem Apoſtoli. Et juſſit, ut Proconſul duceret ad Portam Latinam, et in ferventis olei dolium illum vivum dimitti. &c. *Ib. cap.* 10.

(*n*) *Ibid. cap.* 14.

(*o*) Mortuo autem Domitiano, qui nos tranſmiſerat in exilium, ſucceſſor ejus non prohibebat Chriſtianos. Et cum audiſſet de bonitate et ſanctimonia Joannis, quodque fuiſſet injuſte a prædeceſſore ſuo exilio relegatus, per literas nos revocavit ab exilio. *Ib. cap.* 45.

(*p*) Eſt igitur et hoc ipſum amoris Salvatoris in beatum Joannem indicium non vulgare, quod vitâ reliquos omnes ſuperaverit, et, ut dictum eſt, ad Domitiani Imperatoris ætatem uſque in Aſia verbum ſalutis populis adnunciarit. . . . Cui Proconſul loci cum edictum Imperatoris, ut Chriſtum negaret, et a prædicatione ceſſaret, legiſſet, Apoſtolus intrepide reſpondit. . . . Ad cujus reſponſionem motus Proconſul juſſit eum velut rebellem in dolio ferventis olei demergi. Qui ſtatim ut conjectus in æneo eſt, veluti athleta unctus, non aduſtus, de vaſe exiit. Ad quod miraculum Proconſul ſtupefactus, voluit eum libertati ſuæ reddere. Et feciſſet, niſi timuiſſet edictum Cæſaris. Mitiorem igitur pœnam cogitans, in exilium eum relegavit, in inſulam, quæ dicitur Patmos. In qua et Apocalypſin, quæ ex nomine ejus legitur, et vidit, et ſcripſit. Poſt mortem autem Domitiani, quia omnia ejus decreta Senatus infringi juſſerat, inter ceteros, qui ab eo relegati fuerant, et ad propria remeabant, etiam ſanctus Joannes Epheſum rediit, ubi et hoſpitiolum, et multos amicos habebat. *Abd. Hiſt. Apoſtol. cap. v. ap. Fabr. Cod. Apocr. N. T. p.* 533. . . 536.

taken notice of, concerning the young man, as related by *Eusebius* from *Clement* of *Alexandria:* and as happening, not after the death of *Nero*, but of *Domitian*.

Newton proceeds: "as well as the first author, whoever he was, of "that very ancient fable, that *John* was put by *Nero* into a vessel of hot "oyl, and coming out unhurt, was banished by him into *Patmos*. "Though this story be no more than a fiction, yet it was founded on a "tradition of the first Churches, that *John* was banished into *Patmos* in "the days of *Nero*."

Who was the first author of that fable, I do not know. But it does not appear, that *Tertullian*, the first writer who has mentioned it, thought it to be in the time of *Nero*. He might mean, and probably did mean, *Domitian*, the same who banished *John* into an island. As did also, the two writers just taken notice of, *Prochorus* and *Abdias*, to whom we were led by Sir *Isaac*. *Jerome*, who (*q*) in his books against *Jovinian*, mentions this storie, as from *Tertullian*, according to some copies, says, it was done at *Rome*, according to others, in the time of *Nero*. However in the same place, as well as elsewhere, *Jerome* expressly says, that *John* was banished into *Patmos* by *Domitian*. And (*r*) in the other place, where he mentions the casting St. *John* into boyling oyl, he says: "And presently afterwards he was banished into the island *Patmos*." Therefore that other trial, which St. *John* met with, was in the same reign, that is, *Domitian*'s. And indeed *Jerome* always supposes St. *John*'s banishment to have been in that reign: as he particularly relates in the ninth chapter of his book of Illustrious Men. Let me add, that if the storie of St. *John*'s being put into a vessel of scalding oyl be a fable, and a fiction, it must be hazardous to build an argument upon it.

It follows in *Newton:* "*Epiphanius* represents the Gospel of *John* as "written in the time of *Domitian*, and the Apocalypse even before that "of *Nero*." I have already said enough of *Epiphanius* in considering the opinion of *Grotius*. However, as one would think, Sir *Isaac Newton* had little reason to mention *Epiphanius*, when he does not follow him. He says, that St. *John* was banished into *Patmos* in the time of *Claudius:* Sir *Isaac*, not till near the end of the reign of *Nero*.

"*Arethas*, says (*s*) Sir *Isaac*, in the beginning of his Commentarie "quotes the opinion of *Irenæus* from *Eusebius*, but does not follow it. "For he afterwards affirms, that the Apocalypse was written before the "destruction of *Jerusalem*, and that former Commentators had expound-"ed the sixth seal of that destruction."

To

(*q*) Vidit enim in Patmos insula, in qua fuerat a Domitiano principe relegatus, Apocalypsin. . . Refert autem Tertullianus, quod Romæ, [al. a Nerone] missus in ferventis olei dolium purior et vegetior exierit, quam intravit. *Adv. Jovin. l. i. Tom.* 4. *p.* 169.

(*r*) Sed si legamus ecclesiasticas historias, in quibus fertur, quod et ipse propter martyrium sit missus in ferventis olei dolium, et inde ad suscipiendam coronam Christi athleta processerit, statimque relegatus in Patmos insulam sit. &c. *Comm. in Matt. xx.* 23. *Tom.* 4. *P. i. p.* 92.

(*s*) *As before, p.* 236.

To which I anſwer. *Arethas* does indeed ſay, that (*t*) ſome interpreters had explained things under the ſixth ſeal, as relating to the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* by *Veſpaſian*. But they were ſome only, not the moſt. Yea, he preſently afterwards ſays, that the moſt interpreted it otherwiſe. Nor does he ſay, that any of thoſe Commentators were of opinion, that the Apocalypſe was writ before the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*. *Arethas* ſeems to have been of opinion, that things, which had come to paſs long before, might be repreſented in the Revelation. Therefore immediately before that paſſage, explaining Rev. vi. 12. 13. he ſays: "What (*u*) is the opening of the ſixth ſeal? It is the groſſe "and death of the Lord, followed by his reſurrection, deſirable to all "faithful and underſtanding men. *And lo, there was a great earthquake*; "manifeſtly denoting, ſays he, the ſigns that happened during the cru-"cifixion, the ſhaking of the earth, the darkneſſe of the ſun, the turn-"ing the moon into blood. For when it is full moon, being the four-"teenth day, how was it poſſible, that the ſun ſhould be eclipſed by it's "interpoſition?"

However, I muſt not conceal what he ſays afterwards, in another chapter of his (*x*) Commentarie. He is explaining Rev. vii. 4. . . . 8. "Theſe, ſays he, who inſtructs the Evangeliſt, will not partake in the "calamities inflicted by the *Romans*. For the deſtruction cauſed by the "*Romans* had not fallen upon the Jews, when the Evangeliſt received "theſe inſtructions. Nor was he at *Jeruſalem*, but in *Ionia*, where is "*Epheſus*. For he ſtaid at *Jeruſalem* no more than fourteen years. . . . "And after the death of our Lord's mother, he left *Judea*, and went to "*Epheſus*, as (*y*) tradition ſays: where alſo, as is ſaid, he had the reve-"lation of future things." But how can we rely upon a writer of the ſixth centurie for the particulars, that *John* did not ſtay at *Jeruſalem* more than *fourteen years*: that he left *Judea* upon the death of our Lord's mother, and then went to *Epheſus*: when we can evidently perceive from the hiſtorie in the Acts, that in the fourteenth year after our Lord's aſcenſion, there were no Chriſtian converts at *Epheſus*; and that the church at *Epheſus* was not founded by St. *Paul*, till ſeveral years afterwards? What avails it, to refer to ſuch paſſages as theſe? Which when looked into, and examined, contain no certain aſſurances of any thing. And Sir *Iſaac Newton* himſelf ſays: "It (*z*) ſeems to me, that "*Peter* and *John* ſtaid with their churches in *Judea* and *Syria*: till the "*Romans* made war upon their nation, that is, till the twelfth year of "*Nero*." or A. D. 66.

We

(*t*) Ταῦτα δὲ τάυτα εἰς τὴν ὑπὸ δυεσπασιανὸν γινομένην πολιορκίαν ἐξέλαβον πάντα τὰ εἰρημένα πεπιλοήπαντες. Οἱ δὲ πλειστοι τῶν ἑρμηνευτῶν. κ. λ. *Areth. cap.* 18. *p.* 709. *A.*

(*u*) Τίς δὲ ἡ λύσις τῆς ἕκτης σφραγίδος; Ὁ σταυρὸς τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θάνατος, οἷς ἠκολούθησεν ἡ ἐκτάκια πᾶσι πιστοῖς τε καὶ αἰσθητοῖς ἀνάστασις. κ. λ. *Cap.* 18. *p.* 708. *C. D.*

(*x*) *Cap.* xix. 713. 714.

(*y*) . . . ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἔφεσον μεταστῆναι αὐτὸν λόγος. καθ' ἣν, ὡς εἴρηται. κ. λ. *Ibid. p.* 714. *in.*

(*z*) *As before, p.* 243.

We proceed with this great man's arguments, who adds: "With (*a*) "the opinion of the firſt commentators agrees the tradition of the "churches of *Syria*, preſerved to this day in the title of the *Syriac* ver- "ſion of the Apocalypſe, which title is this: *The Revelation, which was* "*made to John the Evangeliſt by God in the iſland Patmos, into which he* "*was baniſhed by Nero Cæſar.*" But how comes it to paſs, that the tradition of *the churches of Syria* is alleged here, when the Apocalypſe was not generally received by them? Moreover in the titles of the books of the New Teſtament received by them, there are manifeſt errours. Nor (*b*) can we ſay, when the *Syriac* verſion of the Apocalypſe was made. Nor (*c*) is it impoſſible, that the authors of that title might mean *Domitian* by *Nero*. It is not a greater errour, than that of ſuppoſing the epiſtle of *James* to have been writ by *James* the ſon of *Zebedee*.

Again, ſays the celebrated *Newton*: "The (*d*) ſame is confirmed by "a ſtory told by *Euſebius* out of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and other ancient "authors, concerning a youth, whom St. *John* ſome time after his re- "turn from *Patmos* committed to the care of the Biſhop of a certain ci- "ty. This is a ſtory of many years, and requires, that *John* ſhould "have returned from *Patmos* rather at the death of *Nero*, than at that of "*Domitian.*"

But, *firſt*, if this be only a feigned ſtorie, or apologue, as ſome have thought, contrived to convey moral inſtruction; circumſtances ought not to be ſtrained, nor the truth of hiſtorie be founded upon it. *Secondly*, we muſt take the ſtorie, as it is related by *Clement*, and other ancient authors. *Clement* placeth it after the death of the tyrant, by whom *John* had been baniſhed. And *Euſebe* (*e*) ſuppoſeth him to mean *Domitian*. *Thirdly*, if St. *John* lived in *Aſia* two, or three, or four years, after his return from *Patmos*, that is time enough for the events of this ſtorie.

Sir *Iſaac* adds in the ſame place: "And *John* in his old age was ſo "infirm, as to be carried to church, dying, above ninety years old: "and therefore could not be then ſuppoſed able to ride after the thief.

Nevertheleſs

(*a*) *P.* 236. 237.

(*b*) Ad Neronis imperium hoc exilium Syrus refert. Verum incerta eſt quam maxime hujus verſionis ætas, nulloque gaudet ſocio. *Lamp. Proleg. l. i. cap.* 4. §. *vii.*

Quapropter nihil in hiſce eſt, quod Syrum ab erroris culpa liberare poſſit: quemadmodum nec ſupra erat, quod Epiphanium in nomine Claudii tueretur. Illud tantummodo adnotatum volo, Syriacam Apocalypſeos verſionem haud æqualem ceterorum librorum interpretationi videri, uti nec primi codices in Europam adlati appoſitam habuerunt, quam demum Ludovicus de Dieu MDCXXVII. in lucem primum produxit. &c. *Ch. Cellarius de ſeptem eccleſiis Aſiæ, num. xvii. p.* 428.

(*c*) Sed forſan aliquis, honoris interpretis Syri ſolicitus et cupidus, poſſet in illius gratiam aſſerere, illum non Neronem, ſed Domitianum, alterum Neronem, ſeu portionem Neronis, ut vocatur Tertulliano. &c. *Le Moyne. Var. Sacr. Tom.* 2. *p.* 1019.

(*d*) *As above. p.* 237.

(*e*) *H. E. l.* 3. *cap.* 23.

Nevertheleſs in the original account, which we have of this affair, St. *John* is expreſsly called (*f*) an old man. Sir *Iſaac* therefore has no right to make him young. For that would be making a new ſtorie. If a man allows himſelf ſo to do, and argues upon it; the neceſſarie conſequence is, that he deceives himſelf, and others.

Upon the whole, I ſee not much weight in any of theſe arguments of Sir *Iſaac Newton*. And muſt adhere to the common opinion, that St. *John* was baniſhed into *Patmos*, in the reign of *Domitian*, and by virtue of his edicts for perſecuting the Chriſtians, in the later part of his reign. Says Mr. *Lampe*: "All (*g*) antiquity is agreed, that St. *John*'s baniſhment was by order of *Domitian*."

How long he was there.

VI. We ſhould now enquire, when St. *John* was releaſed, or how long his baniſhment laſted.

According to *Tertullian*, *Domitian*'s perſecution (*h*) was very ſhort; and the Emperour himſelf, before he died, recalled thoſe whom he had baniſhed. *Hegeſippus* likewiſe, that (*i*) *Domitian* by an edict put an end to the perſecution, which he had ordered.

Euſebe ſays, "that (*k*) after the death of *Domitian*, *John* returned from his baniſhment." And before, in another chapter of the ſame book, he ſaid more largely: "After (*l*) *Domitian* had reigned fifteen "years, *Nerva* ſucceded him, and the Roman Senate decreed, that "the honourable titles beſtowed upon *Domitian* ſhould be abrogated, "and moreover, that they who had been baniſhed by him might return "to their homes, and repoſſeſs their goods, of which they had been "unjuſtly deprived. This we learn from ſuch as have writ the hiſ-"torie of thoſe times. Then therefore, as our anceſtors ſay, the Apoſtle "*John* returned from his baniſhment, and again took up his abode at "*Epheſus*."

Jerome, in his book of Illuſtrious Men, ſays: "When (*m*) *Domitian* had been killed, and his edicts had been repealed, by the Senate, becauſe of their exceſſive cruelty, *John* returned to *Epheſus* in the time of the Emperour *Nerva*."

I place below a paſſage of (*n*) the martyrdom of *Timothie* in *Photius*, and another (*o*) of *Suidas*, ſaying, that after *Domitian*'s death, when *Nerva* was Emperour, St. *John* returned from his baniſhment.

This

(*f*) . . . ἐπιλαθόμενος τῆς ἡλικίας αὐτοῦ . . . τί με φεύγεις . . . τὸν γυμνὸν, τὸν γέροντα; προσελθόντα δὲ τὸν γέροντα περιέλαβεν. κ. λ. *Clem. ap. Euſeb. H. E. l.* 3. *c.* 23. *p.* 93.

(*g*) Tota antiquitas in eo abunde conſentit, quod Domitianus exilii Joannis auctor fuerit. *Lamp. Proleg. l. i. cap.* 4. §. *viii.*

(*h*) . . ceptum repreſſit, reſtitutis etiam quos relegaverat. *Apol. cap. v. vid. Supr. p.* 355. *note* (*b*).

(*i*) . . . καταπαῦσαι δὲ διὰ προστάγματος τὸν κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας διωγμόν. *Ap. Euſeb. H. E. l.* 3. *cap.* 20. *p.* 90. *B.*

(*k*) . . ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὴν νῆσον μετὰ τὴν δομετιανοῦ τελευτὴν ἐπανελθὼν φυγῆς. *Euſ. H. E. l.* 3. *cap.* 23. *in.*

(*l*) *H. E. l.* 3. *cap.* 20. *p.* 90. *B. C.*

(*m*) *See Vol. x. p.* 100.

(*n*) Νέρβα δὲ τῷ ῥωμαϊκῷ κρατοῦντος τὸ σκῆπτρον ἀναδεδεγμένου, ὁ θεόλογος ἰωάννης τῆς ὑπερορίου φυγῆς ἀφεθεὶς κατάγεται πρὸς ἔφεσον, ἧς καὶ πρότερον ὑπὸ δομετιανοῦ πεφυγάδευτο. *Ap. Phot. Cod.* 254. *p.* 1404.

This is alſo agreeable to the general accounts in (*p*) *Dion Caſſius*, and (*q*) the Author of the Deaths of Perſecutors.

Indeed, *Hegeſippus* and *Tertullian*, as before obſerved, intimate, that the perſecution of *Domitian* ended before his death. But it is very remarkable, that *Euſebius*, (*r*) having quoted both of them, gives a different account, as we ſaw juſt now. And, as learned men have obſerved, it is a great prejudice to their authority in this point, that *Euſebius* does not follow them, but preſently afterwards differs from them.

It ſeems probable therefore, that St. *John* and other exils, did not return from their baniſhment, untill after the death of *Domitian*. Which (*s*) is the opinion of *Baſnage*, and likewiſe of (*t*) *Cellarius*.

Domitian (*u*) is computed to have died Sept. 18. A. D. 96. after having reigned fifteen years, and ſome days. *Nerva* (*x*) died the 27. day of Jan. 98. after having reigned one year, four months, and nine days. Therefore *Trajan* began his reign Jan. 27. A. D. 98.

If the perſecution of *Domitian* began in the fourteenth year of his reign, and St. *John* was ſent to *Patmos* that year, and reſtored in the beginning of the reign of *Nerva*, his (*y*) exile could not laſt more than two years, perhaps not much above a year.

If St. *John*'s life reached to the third year of the reign of *Trajan*, which is the opinion of *Cave* (*z*) and many others, he lived three years after his return from *Patmos*: if it reached to the fourth year of *Trajan*, as (*a*) *Baſnage* thought, he muſt have lived four years after his return.

Or, in other words: if St. *John* returned about the end of the year 96. or

(*o*) *Vid. Suid. voce* Νέρβας.

(*p*) Καὶ ὁ νεύσας τὰς τε κατιούσας ἐπ' ἀσεβείᾳ ἀφῆκε, καὶ τὰς φεύγοντας κατήγαγε. *Dio. l.* 62. *in. p.* 769.

(*q*) *De M. P. cap.* 3. (*r*) *H. E. l.* 3. *cap.* 20.

(*s*) Utrum Domitianus decretum revocarit, difficilis quæſtio eſt. Sic enim antiquorum nonnullis viſum. Hegeſippus . . . Hegeſippo aſſentitur et Tertullianus . . . Contra vero nobilis hiſtoricus Dio, qui rerum Romanarum Hegeſippo peritior erat, et Tertulliano, diſertiſſime teſtatur, Nervæ indulgentia revocatos fuiſſe Chriſtianos: *Nerva autem eos qui damnati erant impietatis abſolvit, exuleſque reſtituit.* Neque alia mens Lactantio de Mort. Perſ. cap. 3. *Baſnag. ann.* 96. *num. iv.*

(*t*) *Cellar. de ſeptem eccleſiis Aſiæ. cap. xvii. . . xx.*

(*u*) *Baſnag. ann.* 96. *n. xiii.* (*x*) *Baſn.* A. D. 98. *i. Pagi ann.* 98. *ii.*

(*y*) In alterum tantum annum ad ſummum duravit, quando Nerva ſuccedens Domitiano exules revocavit, et cum eis Joannem, uti ex vetuſtiorum fide refert Euſebius. l. 3. H. E. cap. 20. . . Quæ quidem eo majorem fidem merentur, quia ipſe Dio, ſeu ex eo Xiphilinus, revocationem exulum Chriſtianorum Nervæ tribuit. *Lampe Prol. l.* 1. *cap.* 4. §. *ix. Vid. et Cellar. ubi ſupra cap. xvii.*

(*z*) Interfecto Domitiano Epheſum rediit ann. Chr. 97. in qua, ut et in regionibus circumvicinis, reliquum vitæ tranſegit, et . . . anno Chr. 100. Trajani 3. juxta Euſebium et Hieronymum, anno uno aut altero centenario major. . . in Domino placide obdormivit. *Cav. H. L. T. i. p.* 16.

(*a*) Ceterum cum ex antiqua traditione hauſtum videatur, Joannem ſenio confectum, 68. poſt paſſionem anno mortuum eſſe, quæ in 33. ætæ noſtræ incidit, probabilis eſt conjectura, Joannem anno labente finem hujus lucis inſeniſſe. *Baſn. A.* 101. *n. ii.*

or the beginning of 97. and did not die, till the year 101. he lived four years in *Asia*, after his return from *Patmos*. If he died in the year 100. he lived three years after his return.

Testimonies to his Gospel.

VII. Having now said of St. *John* all that is needful by way of history, we come to his writings, of which there are five generally ascribed to him: a Gospel, three Epistles, and the Revelation: two of which, the Gospel, and the first Epistle, are universally received as genuine.

Now I speak of the Gospel only. And here in the first place I shall recite the accounts of the ancients, but chiefly such, as concern the time when it was writ. Omitting many other testimonies, as not necessary to be mentioned now, though very valuable in themselves. After which we will observe the judgements of learned moderns concerning the same point: I mean, the time, when it was writ.

Irenæus having spoken of the Gospels of *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke*, adds: "Afterwards (*b*) *John* the disciple of the Lord, who also leaned "upon his breast, he likewise published a Gospel, whilst he dwelled at "*Ephesus* in *Asia*."

In another place he says: "*John* (*c*) the disciple of the Lord declar- "ing this faith, and by the publication of the Gospel designing to root "out the errour, which had been sown among men by *Cerinthus*, and long "before by those who are called *Nicolaitans*. . . . thus began in the "doctrine, which is according to the gospel: *In the beginning was the* "*Word*."

In another place of the same ancient writer are these expressions: "As "(*d*) *John* the disciple of the Lord assures us, saying: *But these are writ-* "*ten, that ye might believe, that Jesus is the Christ, the son of God, and* "*that believing ye might have life through his name.* [ch. xx. 30.] Fore- "seeing these blasphemous notions, that divide the Lord, so far as it is "in their power."

In the preceding passage *Irenæus* speaks, as if St. *John*'s Gospel was writ after the rise of *Cerinthus*, and other heresies. But here he seems to say, that it was writ before them, and foreseeing them. In like manner afterwards, in the same chapter, he says of *Paul*: "as (*e*) "he

(*b*) *See Vol. i. p.* 354.

(*c*) Hanc fidem annuntians Joannes Domini discipulus, volens per Evangelii annuntiationem auferre eum, qui a Cerintho inseminatus erat hominibus errorem, et multo prius ab his qui dicuntur Nicolaitæ, qui sunt vulsio ejus, quæ falso cognominatur scientia . . . . Sic inchoavit in ea quæ est secundum evangelium doctrina. *In principio erat Verbum. &c. Adv. Hær. l.* 3. *cap. xii. p.* 188. *Bened.*

(*d*) . . . quemadmodum Joannes Domini discipulus confirmat, dicens: *Hæc autem scripta sunt, ut credatis, quoniam Jesus est Filius Dei, et ut credentes vitam æternam habeatis in nomine ejus*: providens has blasphemas regulas, quæ dividant Dominum, quantum ex ipsis attinet, ex altera et altera substantia dicentes eum factum. *Adv. Hær. l.* 3. *cap.* 16. *n.* 5. *p.* 206.

(*e*) . . . . quemadmodum ipse ait: *Simul autem Christus mortuus est, immo et resurrexit*. . . Et iterum: *Scientes quoniam Christus resurgens a mortuis, jam non moritur*. Prævidens enim et ipse per Spiritum subdivisiones malorum magistrorum, et omnem ipsorum occasionem dissensionis volens abscindere, ait quæ prædicta sunt. *Ibid. n.* 9. *p.* 207.

" he says: *It is Christ that died, yea rather that is risen, who is at the* " *right hand of God.* Rom. viii. 34. And again, *Knowing that Christ* " *being raised from the dead, dies no more.* vi. 9. For he also fore- " seeing by the Spirit the divisions of evil teachers, and being desirous to " cut off from them all occasion of dissension, says what has been just " quoted."

Clement, of *Alexandria*, speaking of the order of the Gospels, according to what he had received from Presbyters of more ancient times, says: " Last (*f*) of all *John* observing, that in the other Gospels those things " were related, which concern the humanity of Christ, and being per- " suaded by his friends, and also moved by the spirit of God, he wrote a " spiritual Gospel." Here it is supposed, not only, that St. *John* wrote the last of the four, but likewise, that he had seen the Gospels of the other three Evangelists.

Origen (*g*) speaks of all the four Gospels in our present order, that is, *Matthew*'s first, and *John*'s last.

A long passage of *Eusebe* concerning St. *John*'s Gospel may be seen vol. viii. p. 90... 96. It cannot be omitted here. But it shall be abridged. " And that it has been justly placed by the ancients the fourth " in order, and after the other three, may be made evident. ....For *Mat-* " *thew* delivered his Gospel to the *Hebrews*. . . . And when *Mark* and " *Luke* also had published the Gospels according to them, it is said, that " *John* who all this while had preached by word of mouth, was at " length induced to write for this reason. The three first written Gos- " pels being now delivered to all men, and to *John* himself, it is said, " that he approved them, and confirmed the truth of their narration by " his own testimonie, saying: There was only wanting a written account " of the things done by Christ, in the former part, and near the be- " ginning of his preaching . . . And, certainly, that observation is " true. . . . "

Epiphanius (*h*) speaks of St. *John*'s Gospel, as the last of the four. He also says, that St. *John* wrote it, after he had long declined so doing through humility, when he was ninety years of age, and when he had lived in *Asia* many years, after his return thither from *Patmos*, in the time of the Emperor *Claudius*. He moreover says in several places, that this Gospel was occasioned by the errours of the *Ebionites*, the *Cerinthians*, and other heretics.

According to (*i*) the *Syrian* churches, St. *John* wrote his Gospel at *Ephesus*.

My readers are again referred to the noble passage (*k*) of *Theodore*, Bishop of *Mopsuestia*, concerning the four Gospels, and to the remarks upon it.

Jerome, in his book of Illustrious Men, says: " *John* (*l*) the Apostle " wrote a Gospel at the desire of the Bishop of *Asia*, against *Cerinthus*, " and other heretics, and especially the doctrine of the *Ebionites*, then " springing

(*f*) *See Vol. ii. p.* 475.
(*g*) *See Vol. iii. p.* 235. 236.
(*h*) *See Vol. viii. p.* 306. 307.
(*i*) *See Vol. ix. p.* 217.
(*k*) *Vol. ix. p.* 403 . . . . 407.
(*l*) *Vol. x.* 98.

" ſpringing up, who ſay, that Chriſt did not exiſt before his birth of " *Marie*. For which reaſon he was obliged to declare his Divine nati- " vity. Another reaſon of his writing is alſo mentioned. Which is, " that after having read the volumes of *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke*, he " expreſſed his approbation of their hiſtorie, as true: but obſerved, that " they had recorded an account of but one year of our Lord's miniſtrie, " even the laſt, after the impriſonment of *John*, in which alſo he ſuffered. " Omitting therefore [very much] that year, the hiſtorie of which had " been writ by the other three, he related the acts of the preceding " time, before *John* was ſhut up in priſon. As may appear to thoſe, " who read the four Evangeliſts. Which may be of uſe, to account for " the ſeeming difference between *John* and the reſt."

According to (*m*) *Auguſtin*, St. *John* is the laſt of the four Evangeliſts.

Chryſoſtom (*n*) aſſigning the reaſons of St. *John*'s writing his Goſpel, ſuppoſeth, that he did not write till after the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*.

Paulinus ſays: " it (*o*) had been handed down by tradition, that *John* " ſurvived all the other Apoſtles, and wrote the laſt of the four Evan- " geliſts, and ſo as to confirm their moſt certain hiſtorie." And he obſerves, " that (*p*) in the beginning of St. *John*'s Goſpel all heretics are confuted, particularly, *Arius*, *Sabellius*, *Marcion*, and the *Manicheans*."

Coſmas of *Alexandria*, ſays, " that (*q*) when *John* dwelled at *Epheſus*, " there were delivered to him by the faithfull the writings of the other " three Evangeliſts. Receiving them he ſaid, that what they had writ " was well writ: but ſome things were omitted by them which were " needfull to be related. And being defired by the faithfull, he alſo pub- " liſhed his writing, as a kind of ſupplement to the reſt, containing ſuch " things as theſe: the wedding at *Cana*, the hiſtorie of *Nicodemus*, the " woman of *Samaria*, the nobleman, [or Courtier, John iv. 46. . . 54.] " the man blind from his birth, *Lazarus*, the indignation of *Judas*, at " the woman that anointed the Lord with ointment, the *Greeks* that " came to Jeſus, his waſhing the diſciples feet, and ſuitable inſtructions " upon ſeveral occaſions, and the promiſe of the Comforter, and concern- " ing the Deity of Chriſt, expreſsly, and clearly, at the beginning, and " premiſing that, as the foundation of his work. All which things had " been omitted by the reſt."

Iſidore of *Seville*, ſays, that (*r*) *John* wrote the laſt in *Aſia*.

Theophylact computed, that (*s*) St. *John* wrote about two and thirty years after Chriſt's aſcenſion.

Euthymius, that (*t*) it was not writ, untill many years after the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*.

Nicephorus Calliſti ſays, that (*u*) *John* wrote laſt of all, about ſix and thirty years after the Lord's aſcenſion to heaven.

VIII. Having

(*m*) *Vol. x. p.* 228. (*n*) *Vol. x. p.* 315. 320. 321.
(*o*) *Vol. xi. p.* 43. (*p*) *P.* 44.
(*q*) *Vol. xi. p.* 268. 269. (*r*) *Vol. xi. p.* 367.
(*s*) *P.* 424. (*t*) *P.* 438. (*u*) *P.* 442.

VIII. Having ſeen theſe teſtimonies of the ancients to St. *John*'s Goſpel, and the time of it, I would now obſerve the judgements of learned moderns. *Judgements of Moderns about the Time of it.*

According to (*x*) *Mill*'s computation St. *John* wrote his Goſpel at *Epheſus*, in the year of Chriſt 97. about one year before his death.

Fabricius (*y*) ſpeaks to the like purpoſe.

Le Clerc (*z*) likewiſe placeth the writing of this Goſpel in the year 97.

Mr. *Jones* argues, that (*a*) it was writ about the year 98. and not before 97.

The late Mr. *Wetſtein* thought, that (*b*) this Goſpel might be writ about the year 32. after our Lord's aſcenſion: and diſlikes the ſuppoſition, that it was writ by St. *John* in decrepit old age.

Baſnage (*c*) was inclined to think that this Goſpel was writ before the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*. His reaſons will be alleged, and conſidered by and by.

Mr. *Lampe* was of opinion, that (*d*) this Goſpel was writ in the later part of the reign of *Nero*, before the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*.

IX. I ſhall now propoſe an argument concerning the date of this Goſpel. *That it was writ before the Deſtruction of Jeruſalem.*

There are two conſiderations, principally, which lead me to think, that St. *John*'s Goſpel was writ before the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, or about the time of that event. Theſe I ſhall firſt mention, and then take notice of divers others, obſervable in learned moderns.

1. It is likely, that St. *John* wrote in a ſhort time after the other Evangeliſts. Their Goſpels were ſoon brought to him. And if he thought fit to confirm them, or to write any thing by way of ſupplement, he would do it in a ſhort time. The firſt three Goſpels, very probably, were writ and publiſhed before the end of the year 64. or in 65. at the fartheſt. If they were brought to St. *John* in 65. or 66. he would not defer more, or not much more, than a year, or two, to publiſh his hiſtorie of Jeſus, and make the account compleat.

I do

(*x*) Et quidem Epheſum ab exilio reverſus Joannes uno ante mortem anno ſcripſit Evangelium. *Mill. Prol. num.* 181.

(*y*) Evangelium Græce edidit Epheſi, omnium poſtremus, jam nonagenario major, cum e Patmo reverſus eſſet poſt Domitiani necem, quæ anno 96. contigit. *Bib. Gr. l.* 4. *cap. v. T.* 3. *p.* 139.

(*z*) *Hiſt. E. An.* 97. *num. i.*

(*a*) *New and full Method. Vol.* 3. *p.* 139.

(*b*) Hinc etiam conſequitur, Evangelium Joannis non ab eo decrepito, et fere centenario, et poſt mortem Clementis, ſed diu antea fuiſſe editum, adeoque inſcriptionem Codicum Græcorum, qui illud Evangelium anno triceſimo ſecundo poſt aſcenſionem Chriſti, ſcriptum fuiſſe teſtantur, ad verum propius accedere: præcipue cum ratio nulla ſit, cur Joannes ſcriptionem in tam longum tempus differre debuerit. *Weſt. Proleg. ad duas Clement. Ep. ſub fin.*

(*c*) *Ann.* 97. *num. xii.*

(*d*) Putem ergo non contemnandas eſſe rationes, quæ ante excidium Hieroſolymitanum Evangelium noſtrum ſub extremis forte Neronis temporibus conſcriptum eſſe perſuadent. *Proleg. l.* 2. *cap.* 2. *num. ix.*

I do not presume to say exactly the year, in which this Gospel was writ. But I think, it might be writ, and published, in the year 68.

This argument offered itself to Mr. *Whiston*'s thoughts, and is thus expressed by him: "That (*e*) occasion of *John*'s writing his Gospel, "mentioned by the ancients, viz. the bringing the other three Gospels "to him, and his observing their deficience, as to the acts of Christ be- "fore the Baptist's imprisonment, does much better agree with this "time, just after the publication of those Gospels, than with that above "thirty years later, to which it's writing is now ordinarily ascribed."

And is it not a strange supposition, that all the other three Gospels should have been writ by the year 60. or thereabout, and St. *John*'s not till the year 97. or 98. that is, more than thirty years after the others? When likewise he must have been of a very great age, and scarcely fit for such a work as this.

2. The second consideration is the suitableness of St. *John*'s Gospel to the circumstances of things before the overthrow of the Jews, or about that time.

Mr. *Lampe* has observed, that (*f*) the great design of St. *John* in writing his Gospel seems to have been, to shew, how inexcusable the Jews were in not receiving Jesus as the Christ, and to vindicate the Providence of God in the calamities already befallen, or now coming upon them. If that appear to be the design of St. *John* in writing his Gospel, it will very much strengthen the supposition, that it was writ, before the destruction of *Jerusalem* was compleated.

St. *John* says ch. xx. 31. *These things are written, that ye might believe, that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing ye might have life through his name.* That is, "This historie has been writ, that they "who believe, may be confirmed in their faith, and that all others, who "yet believe not, may believe in Jesus, as the Christ, the Son of God, "and obtain that life, which he promiseth to those, who believe in him, "and obey him."

That is the design of all the Evangelists. And their histories are a sufficient ground and reason of this belief. But St. *John*'s Gospel contains an ample confirmation of all that they have said, with valuable additions, and more plain and frequent assurances, that Jesus is not only a Prophet, and messenger of God, but the Christ, the Son of God, or that great Prophet, that should come into the world: whereby all are rendered inexcusable in rejecting him, and especially the Jews, among whom he preached, and wrought many miracles, and whom he often called

(*e*) *Essay on the Apostolical Constitutions, p.* 38. 39.

(*f*) Totam porro œconomiam hujus Evangelii ita esse digestam, ut ad convincendos ac ἀναπολογήτους reddendos Judæos spectaret, capite sequenti ostendemus. *Prolegom. in Joan. l. 2. cap. 3. §. ii.*

Imminens etiam Judææ pernicies occasionem maxime opportunam conscribendo libro dabat, in quo Joannis animus erat hujus ipsius judicii imminentis æquitatem defendere, et tentare, an Judæi ex hoc Reipublicæ naufragio magno agmine in Asiam enatantes, ad recipiendum unicum mundi Salvatorem hoc medio permoveri possint. *Ibid. l. 2. cap. 2. §. xv. Vid. et l. 2. cap. 3. num. iii. not. (b).*

called to receive him, as the Chriſt. This (*g*) runs through St. *John*'s Goſpel from the beginning to the end, or near the end, of the twelfth chapter.

Even in the introduction he ſays. ch. i. 7. *John came for a witneſſe, to bear witneſſe of the light, that all men through him might believe.* 8. *He was not that light. But was ſent to bear witneſſe of that light.* 9. *That was the true light, which lighteth every man, that cometh into the world.* "That is, he was deſigned to be an univerſal bleſſing: And he has done "all that was fit to be done, to enlighten all men in the knowledge of "God, and true religion." Ver. 14. *And we beheld his glorie*, we his diſciples, and all who impartially attended, *beheld his glorie, the glorie, as of the only begotten of the Father:* that is, the glorie peculiar to the promiſed Meſſiah. Again, at ver. 18. he ſtiles him *the only begotten ſon.* Here St. *John* may be ſuppoſed to declare his preſent faith, or to make a profeſſion of the faith, which he had at the time of his writing. Having ſo done, he proceeds in the hiſtorie. Ver. 19. 20. *And this is the record of John, when the Jews ſent Prieſts and Levites from Jeruſalem, to aſk him, Who art thou?* He anſwered, that he was not the Chriſt, but his harbinger, or fore-runner, the perſon ſpoken of by *Iſaiah.* And he declares the tranſcendent greatneſſe of him, who was about to appear, and was already among them. ver. 21. . . 28. Then at ver. 29. *The next day John ſeeth Jeſus coming unto him, and ſaith: Behold the lamb of God, that taketh away the ſin of the world.* Undoubtedly, by that character meaning the Meſſiah, and underſtood by all, ſo to mean. See alſo ver. 30. 31. 32. 33. Then at ver. 34. *And I ſaw, and bare record, that this is the Son of God:* or the Chriſt. And ver. 35. 36. *Again, the next day after John ſtood, and two of his diſciples. And looking upon Jeſus, as he walked, he ſaith: Behold the lamb of God.* He tells every body, that Jeſus is the Chriſt, though not always in the ſame terms. And, to finiſh our account of *John* the Baptiſt. In ch. iii. 25. . . 36. is the laſt teſtimonie, bore by him to Jeſus. And it is very ſtrong, and full. He declares, he was not himſelf the Chriſt, *but was ſent before him. To him*, ſays he, *God giveth not the Spirit by meaſure. The Father loveth the Son, and hath put all things into his hands. . . He that believeth on the Son, hath everlaſting life. And he that believeth not the Son, ſhall not ſee life. But the wrath of God abideth on him.*

Having

(*g*) Priora duodecim capita evidentiſſime ea commemorant, quæ ſeverum et tremendum illud Dei in Judæos judicium defendunt. Talia enim facta et dicta continuo ordine proponunt, quæ non in obſcuro angulo, ſed coram tota gente Judaica edita ſunt, nullamque exceptionem patiuntur. . . Atque hæc eſt ratio, cur Joannes ſecundum feſta Judæorum hiſtoriam evangelicam digerat. Inde enim innoteſcit, Ieſum ea diligenter frequentaſſe, atque in iis publice coram toto populo Judaico ſe ſatis ſuperque manifeſtaſſe. Illud enim Evangeliſtæ noſtro plane privum eſt, ut ea potiſſimum narret, quæ a Domino noſtro Hieroſolymis, quin in ipſo templo geſta atque dicta ſunt: paucis tantum interjectis, quæ eum etiam Judæam, Samariam, Galilæam, radiis gloriæ ſuæ cœleſtis abunde illuſtraſſe, atque ita nullam partem regionis Judæorum vacuam reliquiſſe, probant. *Lampe. Ibid. l. 2. cap. 4. num. xxxiii. xxxiv.*

Having gone through the Baptiſt's teſtimonie, as here recorded, we look back to ch. i. 4. . . .42. where *Andrew* finds his brother *Simon*, and ſays to him: *We have found the Meſſiah.* Then ver. 45. . . . 51. *Philip findeth Nathanael, and ſaith to him: We have found him, of whom Moſes in the Law, and the Prophets did write, Jeſus of Nazareth.* *Nathanael* likewiſe is convinced, and ſays: *Rabbi, Thou art the Son of God. Thou art the King of Iſrael.* So writes St. *John*, ſhewing, that the pious, and well diſpoſed among the Jews, readily received Jeſus as the Chriſt. And thereby ſhewing likewiſe the great unreaſonableneſſe, and extreme perverſeneſſe of thoſe who did not believe in him after all the proofs, which he ſet before them in the courſe of his moſt powerful miniſtrie. As the Evangeliſt moſt juſtly ſays, near the concluſion of this part of his Goſpel. ch. xii. 37. *But though he had done ſo many miracles among them, yet they believed not on him.* And ſee what follows there.

Ch. ii. 11. After the account of the miracle at *Cana. This beginning of miracles did Jeſus in Cana of Galilee, and manifeſted forth his glorie:* that is, the glorie of the Meſſiah. *And his diſciples believed on him:* or were confirmed in their belief, that he was the Chriſt.

Soon after this Jeſus went up to *Jeruſalem*, at a Paſſover, and cleanſed the temple, ſaying: *Make not my Father's houſe an houſe of merchandiſe.* ch. ii. 13. . . 17. By the work itſelf, and by his words, manifeſting himſelf to be the Meſſiah. I omit other things in the remaining part of that chapter, which an attentive reader will take notice of.

Then, ch. iii. 1. . . 21. is the hiſtorie of *Nicodemus*, who, whilſt Jeſus was this time at *Jeruſalem*, made him a private viſit. He immediatly profeſſeth faith in him, as a Prophet. But our Lord tells him plainly, that he was the Meſſiah, and demands a ſuitable regard from him. He likewiſe ſets before *Nicodemus* the nature of his deſign, for preventing, or for removing all worldly expectations from him. He likewiſe intimates the call of the Gentils, and the judgements coming upon the Jewiſh People, if they ſhould perſiſt in unbelief. *For*, ſays he, *as Moſes lift up the ſerpent in the wilderneſſe, ſo muſt the Son of man be lifted up: that whoſoever believeth in him might not periſh, but have everlaſting life. . . . For God ſent not his Son*, the Meſſiah, *into the world, to condemn the world: but that through him the world*, Gentils as well as Jews, *might be ſaved.* And what there follows.

Jeſus going through *Samaria* from *Jeruſalem*, in his way to *Galilee*, meets with a woman of that countrey. ch. iv. 19 *The woman ſaith unto him: Sir, I perceive, that thou art a Prophet...* And ver. 25. 26. *The woman ſaith unto him: I know, that the Meſſiah cometh*, or is ſoon to appear... *Jeſus ſaith unto her: I that ſpeak unto thee am he. . . .* The woman left him, and went into the city, *and ſaith unto the men: Come, ſee a man that hath told me all things that ever I did. Is not this the Chriſt?* Afterwards, ver. 42. *Many of that place ſaid unto the woman: Now we believe, not becauſe of thy ſaying. For we have ſeen him ourſelves, and know, that this is indeed the Chriſt, the Saviour of the world.* Here is another inſtance of our Lord's freely declaring himſelf to be the Chriſt, and of his accepting a profeſſion of faith in himſelf, as ſuch. And the ready faith of theſe *Samaritans* aggravates the continued unbelief of the Jews, on whom more culture had been beſtowed.

Ch. v. 1. *After this there was a feast of the Jews. And Jesus went up to Jerusalem.* By many this is thought to be the passover. By others it is reckoned some other feast between the last mentioned and the next Passover of our Lord's ministrie. However that may be, at this season our Lord healed the lame man at the pool of *Bethesda*, on the Sabbath-day, and bid him carry his bed, and go home. *Therefore did the Jews persecute Jesus, and sought to slay him, because he had done these things on the Sabbath-day. But Jesus answered them: My Father worketh hitherto. And I work.* ver 16. 17. The Jews charge him with blasphemie. Our Lord vindicates himself, and claims the character of the Messiah in high terms. And assures them, *that all judgement had been committed unto the Son*, meaning himself, the Messiah: *that all men might honor the Son, even as they honor the Father.* ver. 21. . . 23. And, for proof, he refers to their scriptures, the testimonie of *John*, and the works, which he had wrought among them, in the Father's name. ver. 24. . . . 47.

Ch. vi. 1. . . 3. We perceive, our Lord to be in *Galilee*, whither he had gone from *Judea*. Then at ver. 4. *And the Passover, a feast of the Jews, was nigh.* After which follows the miracle of the five loaves and two fishes, for feeding five thousand. *Then, those men, when they had seen the miracle, which Jesus did, said: This is of a truth that Prophet, which should come into the world:* or the expected Messiah. Their notion of the kingdom, belonging to that character, being worldly and carnal, and they looking for worldly advantages, *would have come, and taken him by force, to make him a King.* So that our Lord found it needful to *depart into a mountain himself alone.* The disciples in the mean time took shipping, and he came to them walking upon the sea. When they had received him, *immediately the ship was at the land, whither they were going.* ver. 14. . . . 21. The people having been disappointed, came to him as soon as they could at *Capernaum*. Where our Lord takes an opportunity to reprove their carnal temper, and instructs them in the design of the Messiah, and the nature of his kingdom. And still taking upon himself that character, and requiring faith in him as such, he says: *I am the bread of life. . . And this is the will of him that sent me, that every one which seeth the Son, and believeth on him, may have everlasting life. . . . I am the living bread, which came down from heaven. If any man eat this bread, he shall live for ever. And the bread that I will give him is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world. . . Many therefore of his disciples went back, and walked no more with him.* But *Peter*, in the name of the Twelve, and possibly, in the name also of some others, followers of Jesus, said: *To whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life. And we believe and are sure, that thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God,* ver. 22. . . 69.

Ch. vii. 1. 2. *After these things Jesus walked in Galilee. For he would not walk in Judea, because the Jews sought to kill him. Now the Jews feast of Tabernacles was at hand. . . .* 14. *Now about the midst of the feast, Jesus went up into the temple, and taught.* Ver. 25. 26. *Then said some of them of Jerusalem. . . Do the rulers know indeed, that this is the very Christ?* Ver. 31. *And many of the people believed on him, and said: When Christ cometh, will he do more miracles than these, which this man has done?* Ver. 37. 38. *In*

In the laſt day, the great day of the feaſt, Jeſus ſtood, and cried: If any man thirſt, let him come to me, and drink. . . He ſpeaks of himſelf in the character of the Meſſiah, and calls on all men to come to him, as ſuch, and receive the great bleſſings, which he is able to beſtow. And at ver. 40. 41. *Many of the people therefore, when they heard this ſaying, ſaid: This is the Prophet. Others ſaid: This is the Chriſt.*

Ch. viii. 12. . . . 23. Our Lord is ſtill at *Jeruſalem*. And at ver. 12. *Then ſpake Jeſus unto them, ſaying: I am the light of the world:* claiming the character of the Meſſiah, and declaring alſo the advantages of believing in him, and the ſad conſequence of not receiving him. Ver. 21. *Then ſaid Jeſus again unto them. I go my way, and ye ſhall ſeek me, and ſhall die in your ſins.* Ver. 24. *I ſaid therefore unto you, that ye ſhall die in your ſins. For, if ye believe not, that I am he,* the Meſſiah, *ye ſhall die in your ſins:* that is, ye will bring upon yourſelves heavie judgements and calamities. Ver. 47. *He that is of God, heareth God's words. Ye therefore hear them not, becauſe ye are not of God.* . . Ver. 56. *your father Abraham rejoyced to ſee my day.* . . . Does not our Lord in all this propoſe himſelf to them, as the Meſſiah, require their faith in him, as ſuch, and plainly intimate the calamities, that would befall them, if they ſhould continue to reject him?

Nor is there any inconſiſtence in what is here obſerved, and the accounts of the other Evangeliſts. After *Peter* had made a profeſſion of his faith, it is ſaid Matt. xvi. 20. *Then charged he his diſciples, that they ſhould tell no man, that he was the Chriſt.* And compare Mark viii. 30. and Luke ix. 21. Nevertheleſs, he was not unwilling to be thought of in that character. When *Simon Peter* had ſaid by way of anſwer to the queſtion that had been put to the diſciples, *thou art the Chriſt, the Son of the living God:* our Lord was greatly pleaſed, and pronounced him bleſſed upon that account. And he was deſirous, that all ſhould receive him, as the Meſſiah. It was the deſign of his own, and his forerunner's preaching, as recorded in all the Evangeliſts, the firſt three, as well as St. *John*. They called upon all men *to repent, for the kingdom of heaven*, or of God, by the Meſſiah, *is at hand*. So Mark i. 14. 15. And himſelf ſays: Matt. xii. 28. *If I caſt out demons by the Spirit of God, then is the kingdom of God come unto you.* And Luke xvii. 21. *Behold, the kingdom of God is among you*, or in the midſt of you, not within you, as we render it. But he tells them, that the kingdom of the Meſſiah was already begun to be ſet up among them. When our Lord was baptized, *there came a voice from heaven, ſaying: This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleaſed.* Or, this is the Meſſiah. As recorded by all the firſt three Evangeliſts. Matt. iii. 17. Mark i. 11. Luke iii. 22. And in them our Lord accepts applications to him, and confeſſions of faith in him, in the character of *the Son of David*, and *the Son of God*, both which are the ſame as the Meſſiah. Of the former there are many inſtances. Of the later I mention one. Matt. xiv. 33. *Then they that were in the ſhip, came, and worſhipped him ſaying; Thou art the Son of God.* And when he entred into *Jeruſalem*, he accepted the acclamations of the multitude, which cried: *Hoſanna to the Son of David: Bleſſed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord: Bleſſed is the King that cometh in the name of the Lord.* Matth. xxi. 1. . . 16. Mark xi. 1. . . 11. Luke xix. 28. . . 40.

He

He ſometimes laments the ſmall ſucceſſe of his preaching, and that ſo few received him. But acquieſceth in the event. As in Luke vii. 31. . . . 35. Matth. xi. 16. . . 26. Luke x. 21. . . . 24. And he even expreſſeth a ſurprize, that the Phariſees, and others, did not diſcern the ſigns of the time. Matt. xvi. 1. . . 4. Mark viii. 11. . . . 13. Luke xii. 54. . . 57. And every one may eaſily perceive the reaſon, why he did not allow the diſciples, or ſome others, to ſay publicly, that he was the Meſſiah. For conſidering that the Jewiſh People in general, and the diſciples, themſelves, expected a worldly kingdom and worldly advantages from the Meſſiah; there needed ſome diſcretion, leſt men ſhould have been led to make tumults and diſturbances, which might have been offenſive to the magiſtrate. But when our Lord ſpoke of himſelf, as the Meſſiah, he always inculcated the true deſign of his coming, and gave aſſurances of ſpiritual and heavenly bleſſings, and ſuch only.

Our Lord ſtill continues at *Jeruſalem*. Ch. ix. 1. . . 41. is the hiſtorie of the man blind from his birth, whom our Lord healed, anointing his eyes with clay, moiſtened with his ſpittle. *And it was the Sabbath-day, when Jeſus made the clay, and opened his eyes.* The man being brought before the Phariſees, and examined by them, ſaid, that he who had opened his eyes was a Prophet. *And they caſt him out. Jeſus heard, that they had caſt him out. And when he had found him, he ſaid unto him: Doeſt thou believe on the Son of God? He anſwered, and ſaid: Who is he, Lord, that I might believe on him? Jeſus ſaid unto him: Thou haſt both ſeen him, and it is he that talketh with thee. And he ſaid: Lord, I believe, and he worſhipped him.* All this needs no comment. Afterwards at ver. 39. . . 41. are intimations given to the Phariſees of the ſad conſequences of rejecting him. And indeed in this hiſtorie the bad temper of the Jewiſh Rulers is very manifeſt.

Ch. x. Our Lord ſpeaks of himſelf as *the true ſhepherd*, or the Meſſiah. Ver. 11. *I am the good ſhepherd. The good ſhepherd giveth his life for the ſheep.* Ver. 16. *And other ſheep I have, which are not of this fold.* Ver. 22. . . 24. *And it was at Jeruſalem the feaſt of the Dedication. And it was winter. And Jeſus walked in the temple in Solomon's porch. Then came the Jews round about him, and ſaid unto him: How long doeſt thou make us to doubt? If thou be the Chriſt, tell us plainly. Jeſus anſwered them: I told you, and ye believed not. The works that I do in my Father's name bear witneſſe of me.* A very proper anſwer, certainly. And what follows to ver. 38. deſerves to be conſulted.

Ch. x. 39. . . . 42. *Therefore they ſought again to take him, but he eſcaped out of their hand. And went away beyond Jordan, unto the place, where John at firſt baptized. And there abode. And many reſorted unto him, and ſaid: John did no miracles. But all things, that John ſpake of this man, were true. And many believed on him there.*

I ſuppoſe this retreat of our Lord to a place *beyond Jordan*, to be the ſame that is mentioned Matth. xix. 1. and Mark x. 1. upon which ſome remarks were made (*h*) many years ago. What paſſed during that interval in that countrey, is recorded Matt. xix. 1. . . . to xx. 1. . . 16. and Mark x. 1. . . 31. Nor was St. *Luke* unacquainted with this retreat.

(*h*) *See the Vindication of our Saviour's three Miracles of raiſing the dead. Ch. i. p.* 18. . . 22. *firſt ed. p.* 32. . . . 37. *2d edit.*

treat. For he has inſerted in his Goſpel at ch. xviii. 15. . . . 30. ſome of the ſame diſcourſes, which are in the other two Evangeliſts, whilſt our Lord was there. I ſay, I ſuppoſe, that St. *John* and the other Evangeliſts ſpeak of one and the ſame receſſe. But St. *John* ſeems to mention more particularly the occaſion of it, in the verſes juſt recited.

In this place, and interval, our Lord lived ſomewhat more privatly, than he had done before. He received all who came to him, either for inſtruction, or to be healed by him. But he did not go about the cities and villages of *Judea*, preaching publicly, as he had done for ſome while before.

I always ſuppoſed, that our Lord's living thus, in that place, at no great diſtance from *Jeruſalem*, had in it a kind deſign. He intended thereby to afford to the Jewiſh People, eſpecially, their Prieſts and Rulers at *Jeruſalem*, an opportunity to conſider, and calmly reflect upon all the wonderful things that had happened among them in the ſpace of a few years, the preaching and baptiſm of *John*, and all the things ſaid and done by himſelf in the courſe of his miniſtrie, particularly, the miracles which he had wrought among them, the claims, which he had made of being the promiſed Meſſiah, whom all ought to receive, and the intimations that had been given of impending ruin and miſerie.

Here our Lord waited, willing to reſt the proof of his miſſion upon the teſtimonies, that had been given to it. And if the Rulers of the Jewiſh People had now come, and ſolemnly owned him in the character he bore, and with which God had clothed him, how joyfully would they have been received! But they were not ſo diſpoſed. *Great multitudes* of the people came to him there, and *he healed them*. The *Phariſees alſo came unto him*. But it was *tempting him*. Matth. xix. 1. 2. 3. Mark x. 1. 2.

But beſide what is recorded by the other Evangeliſts, St. *John* aſſures us, that in this interval our Lord came to *Bethanie*, about fifteen furlongs, or two miles, from *Jeruſalem*, and there raiſed *Lazarus* to life. ch. xi. 1. . . . 44. *Then many of the Jews which came to Marie, and had ſeen the things which Jeſus did, believed on him:* that is, that he was the Chriſt. *But ſome of them went their way to the Phariſees, and told them, what things Jeſus had done.* ver. 45. 46. *Then gathered they a Council. . . . Then from that day forth, they took counſel together, for to put him to death.* ver. 47. . . 53. This ſhews, that they were inflexible, and not to be gained by any conſiderations.

It follows in ver. 54. *Jeſus therefore walked no more openly among the Jews: but went thence into a country near the wilderneſſe, into a city called Ephraim. And there continued with his diſciples.* Which (*) I ſuppoſe, was not far from the place, from which our Lord came laſt. And from this city, called *Ephraim*, our Lord came to *Bethanie* again, by the way of *Jericho*, a ſhort time before the next Paſſover, as related by the other Evangeliſts. We proceed.

Says St. *John* ch. xi. 55. . . 57. *And the Jews Paſſover was now at hand.*

(*) *Vid. Reland. Paleſt. l. i. cap.* 56. *Tom. i. p.* 377. *et Lenfant ſur S. Jean. ch. xi. ver.* 54.

hand... Now both the Chief-Priests and the Pharisees had given a commandment, that if any knew where he was, he should shew it, that they might take him. That is a proof of a determined purpose to accomplish their evil designs against Jesus.

The whole following xii. chapter of this Gospel deserves attentive regard. I must transcribe a part, though it adds to the length of these extracts. *Then Jesus, six days before the Passover, came to Bethanie, where Lazarus was, who had been dead, whom he raised from the dead.* xii. 1. *Much people of the Jews therefore knew, that he was there. And they came not for Jesus sake only, but that they might see Lazarus also, whom he had raised from the dead. But the Chief-Priests consulted, that they might put Lazarus also to death: because that by reason of him many of the Jews went away, and believed on Jesus.* ver. 9...11. And here is an account of some *Greeks*, or Gentils, who were *desirous to see Jesus.* ver. 20.... 22. Whose readiness, accompanied with humility, may be reasonably understood to cast a reflection upon the pride and obstinacie of those, who were unmoved by the most powerful arguments, and the most gracious invitations. The remainder of that chapter, from ver. 35. to 50. is a most proper conclusion of this part of the Gospel, in which are these things very observable. *Then Jesus said unto them: Yet a little while the light is with you. Walk while ye have the light, least darkness come upon you... While ye have the light, believe in the light, that ye may be the children of light.... But though he had done so many miracles before them, yet they believed not on him: that the saying of Esaias might be fulfilled.... Jesus cried, and said: He that believeth on me, believeth not on me, but on him that sent me. I am come a light into the world, that whosoever believeth on me, should not abide in darkness... I have not spoken of myself. But the Father which sent me, he gave me a commandment, what I should speak. And I know that his commandment, is life everlasting. Whatsoever I speak therefore, even as the Father said unto me, so I speak.*

Then in the xiii. xiv. xv. xvi. and xvii. chapters our Lord instructs and comforts, prays with and for his disciples: shewing (*i*) tokens of the tenderest affection, and the most faithful concern for those, who had paid a due regard to the evidences of his mission, and adhered to him under difficulties and discouragements. So begins the next, that is, the thirteenth chapter: *Now before the feast of the Passover, when Jesus knew, that his hour was come, that he should depart out of the world unto the Father: having loved his own, which were in the world, he loved them unto the end.*

And indeed it was very natural for the Evangelist, who had largely shewn the unreasonableness, and the aggravated guilt of the Jews, who did not believe in Jesus, but rejected him, to give also a particular account of our Lord's kind acceptance of those who believed in him, and persevered in their faith.

So that the design of shewing, how inexcusable the Jewish People were,

(*i*) Sicut vero hactenus severitatem Domini in Judæos defendit Evangelista, ita in sequentibus a capite xiii. ad finem usque fidelitatem Christi illibatam, quam discipulis suis addixit, ex ultimis verbis adscrit. Hæc intentio haud obscure addiscitur ex nova, quæ alteri hujus Evangelii parti præfigitur, præfatiuncula, cap. xiii. 1.... *Lamp. Prol. l. 2. c. 4. num. xxxvi.*

were, in rejecting Jesus, and of vindicating Divine Providence in the calamities brought upon them, is what produced the whole order and economie of this Gospel.

The two following chapters, the xviii. and xix. contain the account of our Lord's prosecution, condemnation, death, and interment. In the two last chapters the xx. and the xxi. are the accounts of our Lord's resurrection, and the evidences of it, with many tokens of kind regard for his disciples who had followed him in the time of his abode on this earth, and were now to be his witnesses in the world, and to preach, under many difficulties, the same doctrine, which he had taught.

There is another thing which may induce us to think, that one great design of St. *John* in writing his Gospel was to shew the unreasonableness, and the great guilt of the Jews, in rejecting Jesus: that in his Gospel are inserted more instances of their attempts upon our Lord's life, than in the other Gospels. Some such things there are in them. Accounts of the Pharisees consulting, how they might destroy Jesus, may be seen in Matt. xii. 14. Mark iii. 6. Luke vi. 11. beside their last attempt: when they were permitted to accomplish their evil design. But there are more such instances in St. *John*'s, than in any of the other Gospels. As John vii. 1. *After these things Jesus walked in Galilee. For he would not walk in Judea, because the Jews sought to kill him.* However, he came up to *Jerusalem* at the next feast of Tabernacles. ver. 2. And their designs were renewed. Ch. vii. 25. *Then said some of them at Jerusalem: Is not this he, whom they seek to kill?*.... Ver. 31. 32. *And many of the people believed on him, and said: When the Christ cometh, will he do more miracles, than these, which this man has done? The Pharisees heard, that they murmured such things concerning him. And the Pharisees and Chief-Priest sent officers to take him.* But the officers, overcome by the excellence of his discourses, could not persuade themselves to apprehend him. For which they were reproached by the Council in a most outrageous manner. But *Nicodemus* strove to allay their resentment. ver. 45.....52. And ch. viii. 20. *These words spake Jesus, in the treasurie, as he taught in the temple. And no man laid hands on him, because his time was not yet come.* . . Ver. 37. *I know, that ye are Abraham's seed. But ye seek to kill me, a man which has told you the truth, which I have heard of God. This did not Abraham.* Ver. 59. *Then took they up stones to cast at him.* . . . And ch. x. 39. 40. *Therefore they sought again to take him: but he escaped out of their hand. And went away beyond Jordan.* And when our Lord proposed to go to *Bethanie*, upon occasion of the sickness and death of *Lazarus*, the disciples go unwillingly, and would have dissuaded him from that journey, being apprehensive of the imminent danger therein both to him and themselves. ch. xi. 7.....16. See likewise ver. 45... 57. All these are things quite omitted by the other Evangelists. As is also what is said. ch. xii. 10. 11. And in their last persecution of Jesus before *Pilate* there are some very aggravating particulars mentioned by St. *John*, which the other Evangelists have not taken notice of. See ch. xviii. 29.... 32. xix. 1... 15.

Our blessed Lord, preparing his disciples for afflictions, reconciling their minds to them, and encouraging them to endure them patiently, says, ch. xv. 21.... 24. *All these things will they do unto you for my*

ame's sake, because they know not him that sent me. If I had not come, and spoken unto them, they had not had sin. But now they have no excuse for their sin. He that hateth me, hateth my Father also. If I had not done among them the works, which no other man did, they had not had sin. But now have they both seen, and hated both me and my Father. That is a strong but just and true representation of the heinousness of the guilt of the Jewish people. For which reason I could not forbear to allege it here, though it should be thought out of place.

And now having, as I suppose, shewn this design of the Evangelist, let me mention an observation, or two, by way of corollarie.

First. We see the reason of St. *John*'s recording the miracle of raising *Lazarus*, omitted by the other Evangelists. There was no necessity, that they should mention it. For without it they have recorded sufficient evidences of our Lord's mission and character. Nor was it possible, without an improper prolixity, to record all our Saviour's discourses and miracles, as St. *John* himself has observed. Moreover the first three Evangelists have chiefly insisted upon the most public part of our Lord's ministrie. For which reason this miracle did not come so directly in their way. But St. *John* could not omit it. His design necessarily led him to relate this great miracle, done so near *Jerusalem*, and with all it's circumstances. For it manifestly shews the perverse and incorrigible temper of the Jewish Priests and Rulers.

Secondly. None ought any more to make a question, whether our Lord twice cleansed the temple, or once only. It was cleansed by him at the time of his last Passover, as related by the first three Evangelists. But it was very proper for St. *John* to record that done at the first Passover of our Lord's ministrie: it affording an alarming evidence of his being the expected Messiah, which should have been taken notice of by the Jewish Rulers at *Jerusalem*. It was an early and open claim of the character of the Messiah. And their neglecting that, and so many other claims and evidences of the same great truth afterwards, manifests the obstinacie of their unbelief. Which was fitly shewn by this Evangelist.

I now proceed to some other arguments.

3. One argument, that St. *John*'s Gospel was writ before the destruction of *Jerusalem*, is taken from ch. v. 2. *Now there is at Jerusalem, by the sheep-market*, or Sheep-Gate, *a pool, which is called in the Hebrew tongue Bethesda, having five porches.*

On this passage insist both (*k*) *Basnage* and (*l*) *Lampe*. St. *John* does not

(*k*) Porro quod tam sero scriptum Joannis Evangelium tradamus, id ex sententia potius veterum, quam ex rei veritate fecimus. Ex ipso quippe Evangelio nascitur argumentum ad existimandum, lucem prius aspexisse, quam Hierosolyma everteretur. *Est*, inquit, *Hierosolymis ad portam ovium piscina.* Stetisse ergo videtur urbs sancta, Joanne ea verba scribente. Secus, non præsens, *est*, ipsi, sed præteritum adhibuisset. *Basn. An.* 97. *n.* xii.

(*l*) Habetur igitur hic non tantum mentio *portæ ovium*, tanquam tunc adhuc stantis, cum scriberet Evangelista, sed etiam ædificii ex quinque porticibus constantis, quales structuræ post diutam a Romanis Hierosolymam illic frustra fuerunt quæsitæ. Licet enim piscinam superesse velint itineraria, portæ tamen et muri solo æquata erant. Inde igitur colligimus, stetisse urbem sanctam, Joanne

not say, as they observe, *There was*, but *there is*. And though the pool might remain, it could not be said after the ruin of the city, that the *five porches* still subsisted.

Mr. *Whiston* argues in this manner. "St. *John* (*m*) speaking of the "*Pool of Bethesda* in the present tense better agrees to the time here "assigned, A. D. 63. before the destruction of *Jerusalem*, when that "Pool and Porch were certainly in being, than to the time afterwards, "when probably both were destroyed."

Dr. *Whitby* likewise was somewhat affected by this text, and says: "If *there is* be the true reading, as the consent of almost all the *Greek* "copies argues, it seems to intimate, that *Jerusalem* and this Pool "were standing, when St. *John* wrote his Gospel: and therefore, "that it was written, as *Theophylact*, and others say, before the destruc- "tion of *Jerusalem*, and not, as the more ancient Fathers thought, long "after."

But Mr *Jones*, beside other things, says, "that (*n*) in all probability "the Pool was not filled up, but was still in the same state, after the "destruction of *Jerusalem*, as before." To which, however, it might be answered, that supposing the Pool not to have been filled up, it would not be reasonable to think, that the *porches* and the *gate* still subsisted after the destruction of the city. But then Mr. *Jones* adds: "Supposing the Pool was destroyed, and St. *John* to have known it, "there is no impropriety in using the verb *is*: nothing being more "common among writers, than to use verbs in the present tense, to de- "note the preterperfect."

Having represented this argument, as it has appeared to divers learned men, I leave every one to judge of it.

4. In ch. xxi. 18. 19. Christ foretells, that *Peter* would die by martyrdom. Then it is added; *This spake he, signifying, by what death he should glorify God.* Some may hence argue, that (*o*) *Peter* was not yet dead, when this was writ: or that St. *John* did not then know of it. But others may be of opinion, that (*p*) though *Peter* had suffered martyrdom a good while before, and St. *John* knew it very well; yet he was not obliged to take notice of it, but might write as he does.

Indeed, I am of opinion, that St. *John* could not take notice of *Peter*'s death. It was not a thing within his province. As an Evangelist, he wrote the historie of our Saviour, not of his Apostles.

5. A

Joanne ea verba scribente. Secus non præsens *est*, sed præteritum adhibuisset. *Lamp. Prol. l. 2. cap. 2. num. xi.*

(*m*) *Essay on the Constitutions. ch. i. p.* 38.

(*n*) *New and Full Method. vol.* 3. *p.* 141.

(*o*) Post Petri martyrium editum esse Joannis Evangelium consensus est Patrum omnium. Fit tamen in ea re scrupulus. Petro Christus mortem diserte portendit. cap. xxi. 18... Quæ si scripta sunt, jam misso ad mortem Petro, injici de ea re mentio debebat, ut et completi oraculi cognitio caperetur, et martyri Christi laus sua concederetur. *Basnag. Exercit. p.* 384.

(*p*) Locus ex Joh. xxi. 18. non magni in hac caussa momenti est. Nullam enim video necessitatem, cur mortem Petri commemoret, si vel actu notitiam ejus habuisset. quia sic per se satis veritas prædictionis Iesu innotuisset. &c. *Lamp. ib. l. 2. c. 2. § xiii.*

5. A like argument may be taken from the following verſes. 20. 21. 2. *Peter ſeeing John, ſaith to Jeſus: Lord, and what ſhall this man do? Jeſus ſaith unto him: If I will, that he tarry till I come, what is that to hee? Follow thou me. Then went this ſaying abroad, that this diſciple ould not die. Yet Jeſus ſaid not unto him, he ſhall not die; but if I will hat he tarry, till I come, what is that to thee?* If by Chriſt's *coming* be ere intended the overthrow of *Jeruſalem*, as many think, it may be ppoſed reaſonable by ſome to expect, that St. *John* ſhould have taken me notice of it here, if he wrote after that event. Nevertheleſs, I umbly apprehend, that this is not an argument of much weight. I o not think, that as an Evangeliſt he was obliged to give an account f the fulfilment of Chriſt's prediction, though he had been a witneſſe f it.

6. *This is the diſciple, that teſtifieth theſe things, and wrote theſe things. nd we know, that his teſtimonie is true.* By theſe laſt words Mr. *Lampe* (q) ſuppoſeth, to be meant ſome Jews, then living in *Aſia*, who were ye witneſſes of our Lord, and his miniſtrie: which might well be, if t. *John*'s Goſpel was writ before the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem:* but ould not be reckoned likely, if it was writ not before the year of the ulgar epoch 97. or 98. They who confirm the teſtimonie of another, ught to have the ſame certain knowledge of the thing teſtified, as he ho ſpeaks, or writes. But after the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, it is not eaſonable to think, there were many to bear witneſſe to things done rty or fifty years before. Theſe Jews, eye-witneſſes of our Lord, Mr. *Lampe* ſuppoſeth to have been believers of that nation, who accompaied *John* into *Aſia* when he left *Judea*.

I have thought it proper, not to omit this argument of that learned riter. But it depends upon his interpretation of this verſe. Which not certain. For ſome have ſuppoſed, that (r) it is the church of *E-heſus*, which here ſpeaks. And others think it be (s) St. *John* himſelf. he change of number and perſon, of *we* for *I*, is no valid objection. o 1 John i. 1. . . . 5. *That which we have heard, which we have ſeen with ur eyes*. . . 3. *ep.* 12. *Yea, and we alſo bear record. And ye know, that our ecord is true.* And St. *Paul* 1 Theſſ. ii. 18. *Wherefore we would have me unto you, even I Paul, once and again. But Satan hindered us.* Chry-ſtom (t) and *Theophylact* (u) underſtood St. *John* to ſpeak here of himſelf,

(q) *Ibid. l.* 2. *cap.* 2. *num.* ix.

(r) *Et ſcimus.*] Loquitur eccleſia Epheſina. *Scimus*, aiunt, *fide dignum*, vitæ ſanctitate, et miraculis ab eo editis. *Grot. in loc.*

(s) " The Evangeliſt had ſaid before ch. xix. 35. *He knoweth, that he ſays ue.* Here in this place he changeth the perſon, ſaying: *We know, that his ſtimonie is true.*" *Lightfoot upon John xxi.* 24. *vol.* 2. *p.* 627. *See likewiſe Whitby, Lenfant, and Doddridge upon the place.*

(t) Καὶ ὅτι ἀληθῆ ἐστιν ἃ λέγει. . . Καὶ πᾶσι δὲ παρῆν, καὶ ὠδὶ ἐαυτὸν ἀπολιμπάνετο, καὶ τὴν μητέρα ἀνιχεύιζιθη. *Chryſ. hom.* 88. *al.* 87. *T.* 8. 588. *C. D. E.*

(u) Καὶ ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγει. τετέχει. πληροφορηθεὶς ἔγραψα, ἃ ἔγραψα, τε πᾶσι παρὼν, καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις, καὶ τοῖς λόγοις, καὶ τοῖς παίδεσι, καὶ τοῖς μετὰ τὴν ἄφασιν. Ἀγαπητὸς γὰρ ἦμην, καὶ οὐκ ἀπελιμπανόμην, ὥστε παρησιάζομαι, καὶ ἐμαυτῷ λέγω, ὅτι ἀληθέυω. *Theophyl. in Jo. Tom. i. p.* 847.

ſelf, as an eye-witneſſe, who had been preſent at almoſt every thing, related by him in his hiſtorie.

7. It is ſaid: "The three epiſtles of St. *John* do ever ſuppoſe, the "Goſpel of St. *John* to have been written long before, and to be well "known by thoſe to whom he wrote. And they are written with a "conſtant view and regard to the contents of the ſame Goſpel." That is an argument (*x*) of Mr. *Whiſton*, which, with what he adds by way of confirmation, is referred to the reader's conſideration.

8. Some have argued for an early date of this Goſpel, or at leaſt, that it was writ before the Revelation which was ſeen in *Patmos*, becauſe (*y*) it is ſaid at the begining of that book, ch. i. 1. 2. . . . *Who bare record of the word of God, and of the teſtimonie of Jeſus Chriſt, and of all things, which he ſaw.* They ſuppoſe, that therein St. *John* refers to his Goſpel, and what he had writ in it. But to me the moſt reaſonable account of thoſe words appears to be that, which (*z*) was given formerly: That they are moſt properly underſtood of that very book, the Revelation, and the things contained in it. The writer there ſays, very pertinently, in his introduction, that in that book he had diſcharged the office, aſſigned him: having therein faithfully recorded the word of God, received from Jeſus Chriſt, and all the viſions, which he had ſeen.

9. Once more, it is argued from inſcriptions, at the end of this Goſpel, in divers manuſcripts, that it was writ before the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem:* it being there ſaid, that this Goſpel was writ in the time of *Nero*, at thirty years, or about two and thirty years after our Saviour's aſcenſion. Upon theſe inſiſted (*a*) Mr. *Wetſtein* in a paſſage quoted from him ſome while ago. Upon them likewiſe inſiſts (*b*) Mr. *Lampe*.

For my own part, I lay not any ſtreſſe at all upon theſe inſcriptions, at the end of *Greek*, or *Arabic*, or other manuſcripts of the New Teſtament, writ in the ninth, or tenth centurie, or later. They (*c*) are of no

(*x*) *See his Commentary upon St. John's three Catholic Epiſtles. p.* 8. *&c.*

(*y*) Ipſum porro audiamus Evangeliſtam idem non obſcure, uti nobis videtur, ſubindicantem, quando Apoc. i. 2. ſe ita circumſcribit: ὃς ἐμαρτύρησε τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ. . . Et verſu 9. . . Plurimi optimi interpretes in eo conſentiunt, quod in his verbis ad Evangelium reſpiciatur, licet in modo demonſtrandi differant &c. *Lamp. Prol. l.* 2. *cap.* 2. §. *viii.*

(*z*) *See Vol. iv. p.* 703.

(*a*) *See before, p.* 387.

(*b*) Accedit multarum gloſſarum et verſionum in id conſenſus, quod ſub Nerone Evangelium ſit exaratum. Licet enim authoritates hæ ſequioris ævi ſint, ob earum tamen frequentiam et harmoniam valde eſt credibile, quod in antiquiori traditione fundatæ ſint. . . Id tamen obſervavi diſcrimen, ut quædam numero rotundo XXX poſt Chriſti adſcenſionem, aliæ XXXII nominent. *Lampe ibid. l.* 2. *cap.* 2. *num. xii. Vid. et num. xiv.*

(*c*) Neque ordo, qui nunc receptus eſt epiſtolarum, ſequitur ordinem temporis, neque antiqua ſunt illa, quæ ſub finem ſunt addita, ad ſignificandum, unde et per quos miſſæ ſunt. . . et illæ in fine annotatiunculæ ferè ſunt, ex conjectura, aut tenui fama. *Grot. Comm. in loca quædam. N. T. ſub in. Tom.* 3. *p.* 457.

no authority. For there is no proof, that this account was derived from the teſtimonie, or tradition of ancient authors. The early date of the Goſpels was popular. Some having without reaſon determined the time of writing the other Goſpels at eight, or ten, or fifteen years after our Lord's aſcenſion, pitched upon the year 30. or 32. for the time of St. *John*'s Goſpel. But it was done upon no other ground and foundation, but mere fanſie and conjecture.

X. It is upon the two firſt mentioned arguments, that I chiefly relye. However, there are objections, which deſerve to be conſidered. *Objections.*

1. Obj. *Chryſoſtom* was of opinion, that St. *John* did not write, till after the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*. For in a homilie upon Matth. xxiv. he ſays: "*John* (*d*) writes not of any of theſe things, leſt it ſhould be "thought, that he took an advantage from the event. For he was "living a good while after the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*. But the other "Evangeliſts, who died before the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and ſaw "none of thoſe things, record theſe predictions."

To which I anſwer, that St. *John*'s omitting our Saviour's predictions concerning the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, which are recorded by the other Evangeliſts, is no proof, that he did not write, untill after they were fulfilled. For if he wrote at the time ſuppoſed by us, when that event was near; it is very likely, that he would omit theſe predictions: eſpecially, having obſerved, that they were ſufficiently recorded already. And we plainly ſee, that it is not St. *John*'s method, to repeat what had been recorded before. However, he has inſerted in his Goſpel divers expreſſions, containing warnings and intimations of the miſeries coming upon the Jewiſh People, if they did not receive the Lord Jeſus as the Meſſiah. *John* the Baptiſt may be ſuppoſed to intend this in words, recorded John iii. 36. Our Lord intimates it in his diſcourſe with *Nicodemus*. iii. 18. 19. and upon divers other occaſions, already taken notice of by us, in this Goſpel. ch. viii. 12. 21. 24. ix. 39. 41. xii. 35. 36.

2. Obj. Mr. *Whiſton* in (*e*) his Short View of the Harmonie of the Evangeliſts, ſays, "that St. *John* uſeth the *Roman* or *Julian* begining of the day in his Goſpel, the ſame that we uſe at preſent, and reckons the hours from midnight and noon. He refers to *John* i. 39. xix. 14. and xx. 19. Which he reckons an argument, that St. *John* wrote his Goſpel long after the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and the period of the Jewiſh polity, at *Epheſus*, a place remote from *Judea*, and under the Roman government."

To which I anſwer, 1. It does not appear to me, that St. *John* computes the hours of the day after the Roman, but after the Jewiſh manner. 2. Suppoſing St. *John* to have uſed the Roman method of computation, it does not follow, that he wrote after the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, and the period of the Jewiſh polity. We allow, that St. *John*'s Goſpel was writ at *Epheſus*, at a diſtance from *Judea*. And, if he thought fit, he might uſe the Roman way of reckoning, eſpecially, when the period

(*d*) *See Vol. x. p.* 321.
(*e*) *P.* 115, 116.

period of the Jewish commonwealth was near, though not quite accomplished.

Thus I have endeavoured to solve this objection. What was Mr. *Whiston*'s own solution, I do not know. But I suppose, that he afterwards overcame this difficulty. For in his later writings he maintains a very different sentiment concerning the date of St. *John*'s Gospel, pleading, that it was writ about the year of Christ 63. a good while before the destruction of *Jerusalem*. So he argues in his Essay upon the Apostolical Constitutions, published in 1711. and in his Commentarie upon St. *John*'s Epistles, published in 1719. His Harmonie of the four Evangelists was printed at *Cambridge* in the year 1702.

3. Obj. It is farther objected, that many ancient writers speak of a late date of St. *John*'s Gospel, and that he wrote with a design to confute divers heretics: who cannot be supposed to have appeared, till after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the overthrow of the Jewish People.

To which I answer, that this may have been owing to a mistaken apprehension. Many heretics, they saw, might be confuted by St. *John*'s Gospel. Therefore they concluded, that he did not write, till after they had appeared in the world: whilst the truth might be no more than this, that such and such heretics might be confuted out of his Gospel: though they had not appeared in the world, till long after. *Paulinus* says, "that (*f*) in the begining of St. *John*'s Gospel all here-"tics are confuted, particularly, *Arius*, *Sabellius*, *Photinus*, *Marchion*, "and the *Manicheans*." And in Mr. *Wetstein*'s preface to St. *John*'s Gospel, writ not long ago, in our time, are these expressions. Having before quoted *Irenaeus*, he adds: "Which (*g*) if they be compared "with those things, which *Carpocrates*, *Menander*, *Cerdo*, *Saturninus*, "*Basilides*, *Valentin*, and *Marchion*, have said of angels, and æons: "among whom were Charis *Grace*, Alethea *Truth*, Monogenes *Only* "*begotten*, Logos *Word*, Zoe *Life*: it must be manifest, that *John* so "opposed his doctrine to them, as to use the forms of expression, re-"ceived by them." Surely, this is very incautious, and inaccurate. Must it not be so, to say, that St. *John* opposed those heretics, most of which are heretics of the second centurie? If St. *John*'s gospel be genuine, it must have been writ before the end of the first centurie. Yea, Mr. *Wetstein* says, it was writ at about two and thirty years after Christ's ascension. How then could St. *John* oppose them, or write against them, but in the way of prophecie, or prevention? But to say, *he opposed his doctrine to them*, or wrote against them, does not seem very proper. And if the ancient writers speak not more accurately, than this learned modern; an argument taken from them, upon this head, cannot be of much weight.

It

(*f*) *See Vol. xi. p.* 44.

(*g*) Quæ si comparentur cum iis, quæ Carpocrates, Menander, Cerdo, Saturninus, Basilides, Valentinus, et Marcion de angelis et æonibus, inter quos erant Charis, Alethea, Monogenes, Logos, Zoe, item de Christo, non vere, sed δοκήσει passo, tradiderunt: satis manifestum erit, Joannem doctrinam suam illis ita opponere, ut loquendi formulis apud illos receptis utatur. *Wetst. Test. Gr. Tom. i. p.* 832.

It is the teſtimonie of *Irenaeus*, which ought principally to be regarded by us, upon account of his antiquity, and his having been acquainted with *Polycarp* in the early part of his life. He ſays, as before tranſcribed, "that by the publication of his Goſpel *John* deſigned to root 'out the errour that had been ſown among men by *Cerinthus*." But it is obſervable, that in another place, alſo tranſcribed above, he ſays: '*John* foreſeeing thoſe blaſphemous notions, that divide the Lord, ſo 'far as it is in their power," wrote his Goſpel. For this paſſage I am indebted to Mr. *Whiſton*, who argues, that St. *John*'s Goſpel was writ about the year 63. and before this Apoſtle's three epiſtles. "Nor, 'ſays (*b*) he, ſhall I need to ſupport this obſervation from any other 'argument, than that from *Irenaeus*, who ſuppoſeth this Goſpel, and 'St. *Paul*'s epiſtle to the *Romans*, ancienter, and theſe epiſtles later, 'than the riſe of the hereſie of *Cerinthus*." Referring to the paſſage of *Irenaeus*, before taken notice of by us.

If then we put together the ſeveral paſſages of *Irenaeus*, he does not contradict the ſuppoſition of an early date of St. *John*'s Goſpel: or, that it was writ before the riſe of thoſe hereſies, which may be confuted by it.

It may be judged preſumptuous to oppoſe the prevailing opinion of learned men, who have ſuppoſed, that ſome heretics were particularly ſtruck at in the begining of this Goſpel. Nevertheleſs Mr. *Lampe*, (*i*) whom I have often quoted, has preſumed to oppoſe this opinion, and has largely argued, that St. *John* did not write againſt *Cerinthus*, or other heretics in his Goſpel. And though another learned German (*k*) has ſince writ againſt Mr. *Lampe*, I cannot ſay, that he has confuted him.

I ſhall therefore take the liberty of mentioning ſome thoughts relating to this matter, which offer themſelves to my mind.

Firſt: To me it ſeems below an Evangeliſt, to write againſt heretics in the hiſtorie of his Lord and Maſter. Nor do any of the Evangeliſts enter into a particular account of things after our Lord's aſcenſion. St. *John* proceeds no farther than his reſurrection, and the evidences of it, without particularly mentioning his aſcenſion. Nor has St. *Matthew* proceeded any farther. However, undoubtedly, it is implied in what they write, that our Lord was raiſed up to an endleſs life, and to univerſal

(*b*) *Commentarie upon St. John's epiſtles. p.* 8.

(*i*) Nos ut ſalva, quam viris magnis. . . . debemus, exiſtimatione, libere nimi ſenſa proferamus, an Evangelio ſuo Joannes controverſiam tractare, hæreticoſque in Eccleſia ſui ævi ullos refutare voluerit, dubitamus admodum. Neque enim id titulus generalis *Evangelii* libro præfixus admittit, neque id commode per librum ad methodum hiſtoriæ compoſitum fieri potuit, neque ejus rei vel vola vel veſtigium ullum apparet: quod tamen et ſcriptoribus enchticis in more conſtanti poſitum eſt, et e re admodum erat, ut eo certius illa ferirent, et eo evidentius argumentorum pateſceret robur. *Lampe Prolegom. in Joann. l. 2. cap* 3. *num. xiii. Vid. ib. num. xiv. xv. xvi. et ſeq.*

(*k*) *G. L. Oederus de ſcopo Evangelii S. Jo. Ap. certiſſime Hæreſi Cerinthi et Ebionis oppoſiti. Adverſus V. C. Fr. Ad. Lampe. Lipſiæ* 1733.

verſal power in heaven and on earth. St. Mark ch. xvi. 19. and St. Luke xxiv. 50. 51. relate our Saviour's aſcenſion to heaven.

This has oftentimes appeared to me exceeding remarkable, that none of the Evangeliſts ſhould in their Goſpels give an account of the preaching of the Apoſtles after our Lord's aſcenſion, and the deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt upon them. Take the earlieſt date of the Goſpels, that can be thought of, or aſſigned by any: all muſt allow, that before any of them were writ, many miracles had been performed by the Apoſtles, and many converts muſt have been made from among Jews, if not alſo from among Gentils: and many promiſes of our Lord muſt have been accompliſhed. And we can perceive from their Goſpels, that they had a knowledge of ſuch things. Nevertheleſs there is no particular account of them in any of the Goſpels. St. *Mark* is the only Evangeliſt, that has ſaid any thing in his Goſpel of the miniſtrie of the Apoſtles. And he enters not into any detail. His whole account is in a few words only, the laſt verſe of his Goſpel.

Conſidering this method of all the Evangeliſts in their hiſtories of our Lord and Saviour, it appears to me probable, that though St. *John* had not writ his Goſpel before the year 96. or 97. as ſome have ſuppoſed; he would not have taken notice of heretics, or vouchſafed to argue with them. St. *John* did not write the hiſtorie of the Apoſtles, as is evident. How then could he take notice of heretics?

Secondly. Another thing of no ſmall moment is this. I ſee nothing of this kind in the reſt of St. *John*'s Goſpel. Why (*l*) then ſhould we imagine, that there is any ſuch thing in the introduction? If St. *John*'s Goſpel is not writ againſt heretics, why ſhould the begining of it be ſo? What St. *John* ſays in the introduction, appears to me agreeable to the main deſign of his Goſpel, as it has been before largely repreſented. He therein ſhews, that Jeſus came, and acted by the authority of God, the Creator of the world, the God, and ſupreme Lawgiver of the Jewiſh People. The (*m*) eternal word, reaſon, wiſdom, power of God, which is God himſelf, by which the world had been made, by which he dwelled among the Jews in the tabernacle, and the temple,

dwelled,

(*l*) Ex quibus clare, ut putamus, patet, in prologo compendium contineri rerum, quas Evangeliſta toto Evangelio demonſtrare volebat, nempe Ieſum non tantum eſſe Filium Dei et redemtorem mundi. Ver. 1. . . 4. Sed etiam qua talem ita plene in mundo demonſtratum eſſe, ut ab una parte Judæi plane rediti fuerint ἀναπολογητοὶ. ver. 4. . . 11. ab altera autem fideles ſufficiens fidei firmamentum acceperint. ver. 12. . . 18. *Lamp. Prol. l. 2. cap. 4. num. xxv.*

(*m*) Quæris veram hujus nominis interpretationem, de qua variæ exſtant eruditorum virorum ſententiæ? Non vindico mihi ejus rei arbitrium: tantum, quod hic ſentio, modeſte, ſalva diſſentientium exiſtimatione et amicitia, profero. Vertendum eſſe hoc nomen *Ratio*, vel *Sapientia Dei*: etſi receptam phraſim *Sermonis Dei*, in verſione retinendam cenſuerim. . . Conſtat cuique, prologum Evangelii legenti, alludere Joannem in toto illo prologo . . ad caput octavum Proverbiorum Salomonis, . . . ut proinde talem eligere oporteat interpretationem, quæ affinis ſit voci *Sapientiæ*. *Vitring. in Apoc. cap. xix. ver.* 13. *p.* 1109.

(*n*) dwelled, and reſided in Jeſus, in the fulleſt manner: ſo (*o*) that we his diſciples, and others who believed in him, ſaw, and clearly diſcerned him to be the promiſed Meſſiah, the great Prophet, that ſhould come into the world.

The Apoſtles in their addreſſes to the Jewiſh People never fail to give aſſurances, that Jeſus Chriſt had acted by the authority of the one true God, the God of their anceſtors. So Acts ii. 22. *Ye men of Iſrael, hear theſe words: Jeſus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you by miracles . . . which God did by him in the midſt of you.* And iii. 13. *The God of Abraham, of Iſaac, and Jacob, The God of our fathers, has glorified his Son, Jeſus.* . . See alſo ver. 22. . . 26. ch. v. 30. *The God of our fathers has raiſed up Jeſus.* . . The epiſtle to the *Hebrews* begins in this manner: *God, who at ſundry times, and in divers manners, ſpake in time paſt unto the fathers by the Prophets, has in theſe laſt days ſpoken unto us by his Son.*

Indeed, this is neceſſarie for the ſatisfaction of all men, both Jews and Gentils. For there is no other God, but one, even the God of the Patriarchs and Prophets. Nor can any true revelation come from any, but him.

In all the Goſpels our Lord aſcribes all his miracles, and all his authority, to the one God, *his father, who is in heaven.* Matt. xii. 28. *If I caſt out demons by the Spirit of God, then is the kingdom of God come unto you.* Luke xi. 20. *If I by the finger of God caſt out demons, no doubt the kingdom of God is come unto you.* Matt. xi. 27. *All things are delivered unto me by my Father.* . . . Comp. Luke x. 22. Matt. xii. 13. *Every plant, which my heavenly Father has not planted, ſhall be rooted up.* Matt. xvi. 27. *For the Son of man ſhall come in the glorie of his Father.* . . . Comp. Mark viii. 38. And the like in many other places.

But in none of the Goſpels does our Lord ſo frequently, and expreſsly, aſcribe all his authority to God the Father, as in St. *John*'s Goſpel: thereby plainly ſhewing the guilt of thoſe, who did not receive him. John v. 19. *The Son can do nothing of himſelf, but what he ſeeth the Father do.* . . Ver. 30. *I ſeek not my own will, but the will of the Father, who hath ſent me.* Ver. 36. 37. *But I have greater witneſſe, than that of John. For the works, which the Father hath given me to finiſh, the ſame works that I do, bear witneſſe of me, that the Father hath ſent me.* . . *I am come in my Father's name. And ye receive me not.* . . . And at ver. 45. . . 47. our Lord appeals to *Moſes* and his writings, which were allowed to be of divine original, as bearing teſtimonie to him. Then ch. vi. 27. . . . *him hath God the Father ſealed.* vii. 16. *I am not alone. But I, and the*

(*n*) Ut celebratiſſimo loco legitur: Καὶ ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο. Quod recte redditur: *Et Verbum*, ſive ſermo, *homo factus eſt*, ſive humanam naturam induit. *Et* ἐξ ἔργων νόμῳ ὁ δικαιωθήσεται πᾶσα σὰρξ: i. e. *homo quiſquam.* Rom. iii. 20. ut Pſ. cxliv. 22. al. cxlv. 21. καὶ εὐλογείτω πᾶσα σὰρξ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ. *Pearſon. Prolegom. ad verſion. lxx. Cantab. p.* 13.

(*o*) "We ſaw his glorie, as what became the only begotten Son of God. He did not glitter in any worldly pomp and grandeur, according to what the Jewiſh nation fondly dreamed their Meſſiah would do: but he was decked with the glorie of holineſſe, grace, truth, and the power of miracles." *Lightfoot's Exercitations upon St. John, vol. 2. p.* 521.

the Father that ſent me. x. 36. *Say ye of him, whom the Father hath ſanctified, and ſent into the world: Thou blaſphemeſt: becauſe I ſaid, I am the Son of God?* And, to add no more. ch. xi. 41. 42. When he wrought that great miracle of raiſing *Lazarus* from the dead, *Jeſus lift up his eyes, and ſaid: Father, I thank thee, that thou haſt heard me. And I knew, that thou heareſt me always. But becauſe of the people which ſtand by, I ſaid it, that they may believe, that thou haſt ſent me.*

Agreeable to all this is the introduction, where, beſide other, are theſe expreſſions: *He came to his own. And his own received him not. . . The Word was made fleſh, and dwelled among us. . . And we ſaw his glorie, the glorie, as of the only begotten of the Father. . . The law was given by Moſes. But grace and truth came by Jeſus Chriſt. No man hath ſeen God at any time. The only begotten Son, who is in the boſom of the Father, he has declared him.* So ends the introduction. And it was what St. *John* has largely and fully ſhewn in his Goſpel.

But it will be aſked: Whence came it to paſs, that St. *John* made uſe of that term, *the Word?*

I anſwer: I am of opinion, that it was not out of regard to *Philo*, or any Platonic writers. But I ſuppoſe, this (*p*) way of ſpeaking to have been very common with the Jewiſh People, and, perhaps, more eſpecially with thoſe of them, who were moſt zealous for the law, and moſt exempt from foreign, and philoſophical ſpeculations. Who by *the Word*, or *the Word of God*, underſtood, not a ſpirit, ſeparate from God, and inferior to him, but God himſelf, as St. *John* (*q*) does.

Numb.

(*p*) Plerique obſervant, ſimilem locutionem frequenter occurrere in Paraphraſibus Chaldaicis, quæ veterum Hebræorum catecheſin, et antiquas loquendi formulas, exhibent. Quoties de Deo nobiſcum converſante ſermo eſt, toties vero Targumiſtæ, pro Deo, vel Jehova, ſubſtituerunt *verbum Jehovæ*. Pro exemplo hæc paucula ex innumeris ſunto. Gen. xxi. 20. *Deus fuit cum illo.* Onkelos. *Verbum Domini fuit illi auxilio.* Ib. comm. 22. *Deus eſt tecum.* Onkelos. Verbum Domini enim *tibi ſubſidio.* Deut. xx. 1. *Ne timeto ab eis. Nam Deus tuus tecum eſt.* Onkelos. . . *eo quod* Jehova *Deus tuus, Verbum ejus auxilio tibi eſt, quod eduxit te ex terra Ægypti.* Num. xi. 22. *Eo quod reprobaſti Jehovam.* Onkelos. *Eo quod faſtidiſtis Verbum Domini, cujus Shechinah Divina Majeſtas habitat in vobis.* Exod. xvi. 8. *Non contra nos murmurationes veſtræ, ſed contra Jehovam.* Onkelos. . . *ſed contra Verbum Jevæ.* Infinita ſunt ſimilia. Unde colligitur, receptum eo tempore Hebræis fuiſſe, ut Deum, quatenus cum populo ſuo agit, Verbum vocaverint: cui ea attribuerunt, quæ Dei ſunt. *Whitſ. Miſcell. Sacr. Tom.* 2. *p.* 88. 89. *Exercit. iii. περὶ τῦ λόγυ, §.* ii.

(*q*) Omnia igitur talia conſcribere volens diſcipulus Domini, et regulam veritatis conſtituere in Eccleſia quia eſt unus Deus Omnipotens, qui per verbum ſuum omnia fecit, et viſibilia, et inviſibilia: ſignificans quoque, quoniam per Verbum, per quod Deus perfecit conditionem, in hoc et ſalutem his qui in conditione ſunt, præſtitit hominibus: ſic inchoavit in ea, quæ eſt ſecundum Evangelium, doctrina: *In principio erat Verbum. Iren. l.* 3. *cap. xi. in Maſſuet.*

Et Cerinthus autem quidam in Aſia, non a primo Deo factum eſſe mundum docuit, ſed a Virtute quadam valde ſeparata, et diſtante ab ea Principalitate, quæ eſt ſuper omnia. *Id. l.* 1. *cap. xxv, al.* 26. *in.*

Deus

Numb. xxiii. 8. *How shall I curse, whom God hath not cursed? or, how shall I defy, whom the Lord has not defied?* Upon which verse *Patrick* says: "In the Jerusalem Targum this verse is thus paraphrased: *How* "*shall I curse the house of Israel, when the Word of the Lord has blessed* "*them? Or, how shall I diminish the familie of Israel, when the Word of* "*the Lord has multiplied them?*"

It is well known, that in the Chaldee Paraphrases, it is very common, to put *Mimra Jehovah, the Word of the Lord*, for *Jehovah*, or *God*. When those Paraphrases were made, is not certain: whether before, or after the time of our Saviour. But their great antiquity is generally allowed. And it is very probable, that this way of speaking was common, and much used before. "It is likely, says a learned friend, that "*Mimra Jehovah* was used before the Paraphrases were committed to "writing, because it would be an unreasonable thing to use a phrase, "which the common people did not understand. For it is supposed, "that the Paraphrases were chiefly made for them."

Let me add, that the use of this phrase, *the Word of God*, or *the Word of the Lord*, as equivalent to *God* himself, seems to be founded in the original language of the Old Testament. In behalf of which I would allege the following texts. Gen. i. 1. *In the begining God created the heavens and the earth.* Ver. 3. *God said: Let there be light. And there was light.* Comp. Ps. xxxiii. 6. *By the word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all the host of them by the breath of his mouth.* And Ps. cv. 19. *Untill the time that his Word came: the Word of the Lord tried him.*

When St. *John* says ch. i. 1. 2. 3. *In the begining was the Word, and the Word was with God. And the Word was God. The same was in the begining with God. All things were made by him. And without him was not any thing made that was made.* He seems to allude to (*r*) what *Solomon* says of Wisdom in the book of Proverbs, particularly, the eighth chapter. And how Wisdom ought to be understood, as spoken of by *Solomon*, was shewn formerly, if I may be allowed to say so, in (*s*) a discourse upon Prov. viii. 17. Moreover the begining of St. *John*'s Gospel should be compared with the begining of his first Epistle, particularly, ch. i. ver. 1. 2.

According to the account now given, what St. *John* says at the begining, is a very proper introduction of his Gospel; where he largely shews the guilt of those, who rejected the manifestation (*t*) of the Wisdom, the Word, the Will of God, in the person of Jesus.

Upon the whole, I see no reason to think, that, in the introduction to his Gospel, St. *John* opposed any Christian heresies, or had any regard to them.

Consequently,

Deus autem totus existens mens, et totus existens logos, quod cogitat, hoc et loquitur: et quod loquitur, id et cogitat. Cogitatio enim ejus logos, et logos mens, et omnia concludens mens, ipse et Pater. *Id. l. 2. cap. xxviii. n. 5. p. 157.*

(*r*) *See the passage of Vitringa quoted just now, at note* (*m*) *p.* 164.

(*s*) *See Sermons upon various subjects, p.* 113, *&c.*

(*t*) *See ch. xliii. vol. 4. p.* 602. . . 604.

Consequently, the foregoing argument, that St. *John*'s Gospel was writ before the destruction of *Jerusalem*, or about the time of that event, remains intire.

Observations upon this Gospel.

XI. I shall now mention some observations upon this Gospel.

1. There is no need to shew here, particularly, from the Gospel itself, as we did of the former Evangelists, that St. *John* did not write his Gospel, till after converts had been made from among Gentils: because it is allowed by all, that St. *John* did not write, till after the other Evangelists, about the time of the destruction of *Jerusalem*, or afterwards: before which time the Apostles must have left *Judea*, to go abroad, and preach to Gentils. Nevertheless one signal passage may be here taken notice of, which is not far from the begining of this Gospel. Ch. i. 11. 12. 13. *He came to his own, and his own received him not: but as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on his name. Which were born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God.* That is, "he came "to the Jews, and first appeared, and taught among them, and they "generally rejected him. But upon all who believed in him, whether "Jews or Gentils, of whatever countrey, or nation, or people, they "were, he bestowed the privilege of being the people of God, and all "the blessings appertaining to them."

2. *Eusebe* says: "The (*t*) other three Evangelists have recorded the "actions of our Saviour for one year only, after the imprisonment of "*John* the Baptist." *Jerome* speaks to the like purpose in his book of Illustrious Men, just now (*u*) transcribed. But it should have been said "one year, and somewhat more:" meaning the time and actions of our Lord's most publick ministrie. For it seems to me, that the ancients supposed our Lord's ministrie to have lasted, in the whole, somewhat more than two years. As was shewn Vol. iii. p. 136. . . 138. *Eusebe* indeed computed (*x*) our Lord's ministrie to have consisted of three years and a half: and supposed St. *John*'s Gospel to have in it four Passovers. He seems to have been the first Christian, who advanced that opinion. And he is now generally followed by harmonizers of the Gospels, and by ecclesiastical historians. Sir *Isaac Newton* (*y*) however computes five Passovers in our Saviour's ministrie: as does likewise Dr. *Edward Wells* in his Historical Geographie of the New Testament. And others may be of the same opinion, or make more. But none of these opinions appear to me to have any foundation in the Gospels. The opinion of *Eusebe*, and those who follow him, is much more probable, than theirs, who yet farther enlarge the number of the Passovers of our Saviour's ministrie. The first Passover in St. *John* is that mentioned by him ch. ii. 13. At ch. v. 1. it is said: *After this there was a feast of the Jews. And Jesus went up to Jerusalem.* They who follow *Eusebe*, and make four Passovers in our Lord's ministrie, reckon this feast to be a Passover. But they who compute his ministrie to have lasted only two years, and somewhat more, suppose this to be some other feast, possibly, the feast of Tabernacles, next succeding the Passover, mentioned

(*t*) *See vol. viii. p.* 93.
(*x*) *See vol. viii. p.* 138.
(*u*) *See before, p.* 145.
(*y*) *Observations upon Daniel. p.* 156. 157.

mentioned ch. ii. 13. At ch. vi. 4. *And the Paſſover, a feaſt of the Jews, was nigh.* This, according to different computations, is either the ſecond or the third Paſſover in our Lord's miniſtrie. The third, or, according to others, the fourth, is that mentioned by all the Evangeliſts, at which our Lord ſuffered. It is mentioned by St. *John* ch. xi. 55. and xii. 1.

3. St. *John* has omitted the greateſt part of thoſe things, which are recorded by the other Evangeliſts. Which much confirms the teſtimonie of ancient writers, that the firſt three Goſpels were written, and publiſhed among the faithful, before St. *John* wrote: that they were brought to him, and that he affirmed the truth of their relations, but ſaid, that ſome diſcourſes and miracles of our Saviour were omitted by them, which might be uſefully recorded.

Indeed, there is little or nothing in his Goſpel, which is not new and additional, except the account of our Saviour's perſecution, death, and reſurrection, where all four coincide in many particulars: though even here alſo St. *John* has divers things peculiar to himſelf. In St. *John*'s Goſpel is no account of our Saviour's nativity, nor of his baptiſm by *John*: though, undoubtedly, it is there ſuppoſed, and referred to. He takes no notice of our Saviour's temptation in the wilderneſſe, nor of the call, or names of the twelve Apoſtles, nor of their miſſion, in our Saviour's life time, nor of our Lord's parables, or other diſcourſes of his, recorded by them, nor of our Saviour's journeys, of which they give an account, nor any of thoſe predictions, relating to the deſolations of *Jeruſalem*, which are in *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke*. Nor has he any miracles recorded by them, excepting only, that one of the multiplication of ſmall proviſion for feeding five thouſand, with the extraordinarie circumſtances of the return to *Capernaum* from the countrey, where that miracle had been wrought. ch. vi. 4. . . . . 21. And it is likely, that this miracle was recorded by him, for the ſake of the diſcourſes, to which it gave occaſion, and which follow there. ver. 22. . . . 71.

However, it ſhould be obſerved, that he has one thing recorded by all the Evangeliſts, *Peter*'s ſtriking a ſervant of the High-Prieſt, and cutting off his ear. ch. xviii. 10. *Then Simon Peter having a ſword, drew it, and ſmote the High-Prieſt's ſervant, and cut off his right ear. The ſervant's name was Malchus.* Which, as St. *Luke* informs us, Jeſus touched, and healed. ch. xxii. 51. *Peter*'s action is mentioned by all the three Evangeliſts. Matt. xxvi. 51. Mark xiii. 47. Luke xxii. 51. But St. *John* alone mentions *Peter* by name, and the name of the ſervant. I thought proper to take notice of this, though St. John does not particularly mention the miracle of healing.

St. *John* likewiſe, ch. ii. 14. . . 22. gives an account of our Lord's cleanſing the temple at his firſt Paſſover, when he went to *Jeruſalem*. All the other Evangeliſts have a like account of our Lord's cleanſing the temple at his laſt Paſſover. Matt. xxi. 12. 13. Mark xi. 15. 16. Luke xix. 45. 46. But I ſuppoſe them to be quite different actions, and that our bleſſed Lord twice cleanſed the temple, as already ſhewn.

4. Though the firſt three Evangeliſts have not particularly recorded our Saviour's ſeveral journeys to *Jeruſalem*, as St. *John* has done, but have

have only given a particular account of his preaching there at his laſt Paſſover, they were not unacquainted with them.

This may be concluded from divers things in their hiſtories. To thoſe, who came to apprehend him, our Lord ſaid: *I ſat daily with you teaching in the temple, and ye laid no hold on me.* Matt. xxvi. 55. And compare Mark xiv. 49. Luke xxii. 53. And among the accuſations brought againſt him by the Jewiſh Rulers before *Pilate*, they ſay: *He ſtirreth up the people, teaching throughout all Judea, begining from Galilee to this place.* Luke xxiii. 5. *Peter* preaching at *Jeruſalem*, ſoon after our Lord's aſcenſion, ſays: *Jeſus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you by miracles, and wonders, and ſigns: which God did by him in the midſt of you, as yourſelves alſo know.* Acts ii. 32. And at the houſe of *Cornelius*, in *Ceſarea: That word, you know, which was publiſhed throughout all Judea, and began from Galilee.* Acts x. 37. . . *And we are witneſſes of all things, which he did, both in the land of the Jews, and at Jeruſalem.* ver. 39. And it appears from their hiſtories, that our Lord's fame had early reached *Jeruſalem*. Many attended him in *Galilee*, from thence, and from other parts. Says St. *Matthew: And there followed him great multitudes of people from Galilee, and from Decapolis, and from Judea, and from beyond Jordan.* iv. 25. Comp. Mark iii. 7. 8. Again: *And the Scribes, which came from Jeruſalem, ſaid: He has Belzebub.* . . . Mark iii. 22. . . 30. Compare Matt. ix. 34. Luke xi. 14 . . . 26. *Then came to Jeſus Scribes, and Phariſees, which were of Jeruſalem.* Matt. xv. 1. Compare Mark vii. 1. And ſays St. *Luke*, ch. v. 17. *And it came to paſs on a certain day, as he was teaching, that there were Phariſees, and Doctors of the Law ſitting by, which were come out of every town of Galilee, and Judea, and Jeruſalem. And the power of the Lord was preſent to heal them.* And in every one of the evangeliſts we may meet with Scribes and Phariſees, oppoſing our Lord, watching his words and actions, cavilling with him, and reflecting upon him, and his diſciples.

Moreover in St. *Luke*, ch. ix. 51. . . 56. is an account of a remarkable incident, when our Lord was going from *Galilee* through *Samaria*, to *Jeruſalem*, at one of their feaſts: ſuppoſed by (z) ſome to be the feaſt of Tabernacles, by others (a) the feaſt of Dedication, preceding his laſt Paſſover. See likewiſe Luke xiii. 22. and xvii. 11.

However, after all, I do not think it was needful, that our Lord ſhould go often to *Jeruſalem*, or that all his journeys thither, and diſcourſes there, ſhould be recorded. It was indeed highly expedient, that his miniſtrie ſhould be public. So it might be, without going often to *Jeruſalem*. *John* the Baptiſt was a man of great reputation, though he never went up to *Jeruſalem* during the time of *his ſhewing himſelf unto Iſrael*, that we know of. And it is manifeſt from the firſt three Evangeliſts, as well as from St. *John*, that our Lord's miniſtrie was very public, and well known in all parts of *Judea*, and the regions round about, and to men of all ranks therein. In them we find our Lord to have been notified before-hand by *John* the Baptiſt. He ſent out once his twelve Apoſtles, and then ſeventy other

Luke i. 80.

(z) *Vid. Clerc. Harmon. p.* 234. 235.

(a) *See Dr. Doddridge's Family Expoſitor. Sect.* 127. *Vol.* 2. *p.* 183.

other disciples, *two by two, to go before him, and prepare men for him, in every city and place, where he should come.* In them we find him teaching in synagogues, in cities, and villages, and desert places, crouded by throngs, attended by multitudes of people, and miraculously feeding at one time five thousand, at another four thousand men, beside women and children.

It was fit, that our Lord's ministrie should be very public. It is manifest from all the four Evangelists, that it was so. Which cannot but be the ground of great satisfaction to us.

5. The genuinnesse of the xxi. or last chapter of St. *John*'s Gospel ought not to be contested.

Grotius indeed was of opinion, that (*b*) St. *John* concluded his Gospel with the words which are at the end of the xx. chapter: and that what is in the xxi. chapter was added after St. *John*'s death by the church of *Ephesus*.

Against that opinion the general, or (*c*) even universal consent of manuscripts and versions is a great objection. For it is very probable, that this Gospel was published before St. *John*'s death. And if there had been an edition without this chapter, it is very likely, that it would have been wanting in some copies. To which may be added, that we do not find, that any of the ancient Christian writers ever made a question, whether this chapter was composed by St. *John*, or by another. Finally, (*d*) the stile is St. *John*'s. In chapter xix. 35. *And he that saw it bare record. And his record is true. And he knoweth, that he says true.* Here xxi. 24. *This is the disciple, which testifieth of these things, and wrote these things. And we know, that his testimonie is true.* Compare likewise ver. 7. and 20. The last words of the chapter, at ver. 25. are these: *And there are also many other things, which Jesus did: the which if they should be*

(*b*) Omnino arbitror, quæ hic sequuntur conclusionem esse totius operis, et ibi finisse Johannem librum, quem edidit. At sicut caput ultimum Pentateuchi, et caput ultimum Josuæ post Mosis et Josuæ mortem additum est a Synedrio Hebræorum: ita et caput quod sequitur post mortem Johannis additum ab Ecclesia Ephesina, hoc maxime fine, ut offenderetur impletum quod de longævitate ac non violenta morte Johannis Dominus prædixerat. &c. *Grot. ad Joh. xx.* 30.

(*c*) Ceterum in tanto codicum et versionum consensu, eoque prorsus universali, cogitari non debebat, caput hoc ab Ecclesia demum Ephesina accessisse. Quis enim negare tuto potest, Evangelium Johannis ante ipsius obitum, adeoque ante additum hoc, quod creditur, supplementum accessisse? Et quis crediderit, vel sic omnes codices in exhibendo isto capite tam constanter consentire potuisse? *Wolf. in Joh. cap. xxi. in.*

(*d*) Rejicimus hic sententiam eorum, qui ab alia manu, quam ipsius Johannis Evangelistæ hoc caput esse adjectum putant. Nam ita clare stilum redolet Apostoli, ut si aliquis alius id adjecisset, non sine impostura istud facere potuisset. Neque enim se Joannem vocat, sed more suo discipulum, quem Iesus amabat. ver. 7. 20. Tum hæc addit: *Hic est discipulus ille, qui de his testatur, et hæc scripsit.* ver. 24. Quæ defendi non possunt a mendacio, si quisquam alius præter Apostolum hoc caput adjecisset. Adde, quod diligentissimi circa tales circumstantias Patres, Eusebius, Hieronymus, atque alii, non ita plene silentio id involvissent. &c. *Fr. Lamp. in Jo. Evang. cap. xxi. Tom.* 3. *p.* 720. 721. *Vid. et Lelii. Prolog. num.* 249. 250.

be written every one, I suppose, that even the world itself could not contain the books that should be written. Which clause evidently is from the same person, who wrote ver. 30. and 31. of ch. xx. Here the Evangelist seems to check himself, and to determine, not to proceed any farther. For if he should attempt to commit to writing every thing which Jesus had said and done, he should never come to an end.

Says Dr. *Whitby* upon ch. xx. 31. "Some think, that St. *John* here "ended his Gospel, and that the following chapter was written by some "other hands. But these words give no ground for that imagination: "since other Apostles, after they seem to have concluded their epistles, "add some new matter: as may be seen in the conclusions of the "epistles to the *Romans*, and to the *Hebrews*." See Rom. ch. xv. and xvi. Heb. xiii. 21. . . . 25. I would likewise refer to Mr. *Lenfant*'s note upon ch. xxi. 24. Who also asserts the genuinness of this last chapter.

CHAP. X.

The Question considered, whether any one of the first three Evangelists had seen the Gospels of the others, before he wrote.

HERE I shall in the first place mention the different sentiments of learned moderns concerning this point. And then I intend to consider the merits of the question.

Calvin (*a*) in the preface to his Harmonie of the Gospels of *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke*, declares it to be his opinion, that St. *Mark* was so far from having abridged St. *Matthew*'s Gospel, that he thinks he had never seen it. Which he also supposes to have been St. *Luke*'s case.

This likewise must have been the opinion of *Basnage*. For he supposeth (*b*) St. *Luke*'s to have been the first written of all the Gospels. Consequently this Evangelist could not borrow either from St. *Matthew*, or St. *Mark*.

Mr. *Whiston* in (*c*) his Harmonie of the four Evangelists called St. *Mark the epitomizer of St. Matthew*. Mr. *Jones*, in his Vindication of St. *Matthew*'s Gospel, well, and largely argued against that opinion.

Mr. *Dodwell* declared his opinion upon this subject after this manner: "That (*d*) none of the first three Evangelists had seen the others Gos-
" pels.

(*a*) Mihi certe magis probabile est, et ex re ipsa conjicere licet, numquam librum Matthæi fuisse ab eo inspectum, cum ipse suum scriberet: tantum abest, ut in compendium ex professo redigere voluerit. Idem et de Luca judicium facio. *Calvin. argum. in Evangel. &c.*

(*b*) *Basn. Ann.* 60. *num. xxxi.* (*c*) *P.* 102.

(*d*) Sic latuerant in illis terrarum angulis, in quibus scripta fuerant, Evangelia, ut ne quidem resciverint recentiores Evangelistæ, quid scripsissent de iisdem rebus antiquiores. Aliter foret ne tot essent ἐναντιοφανῆ quæ fere a prima usque canonis constitutione eruditorum hominum ingenia exercuerint. Certe S. Lucas si genealogiam illam Domini in Matthæo vidisset, non aliam ipse, nihilque fere habentem commune, produxisset, ne quidem minima consilii tam diversi edita ratione. S. Matthæus, qui solus e nostris Luca

erat

" pels. Otherwise there could not have been in them so many seeming " contradictions, which have exercised the thoughts of inquisitive men " almost ever since the forming of the canon of the New Testament. " Certainly, if St. *Luke* had seen the genealogie of our Lord, which is " in St. *Matthew*, he would not have published another so very differ- " ent, without assigning any reason for it. . . St. *Matthew* is the only " one of our Evangelists, who wrote before St. *Luke*. . . St. *John* did " not write till long after St. *Luke*. Nor did *Mark* write till after St. " *Luke*, if he wrote his Gospel in the same year that he finished the Acts " of the Apostles. Which seems to me very probable. For the Acts " are the second book of the same work. As is evident from what " himself says Acts i. 1. St. *Luke*'s Gospel therefore was writ in the " second year of the Apostle *Paul*'s imprisonment at *Rome*. For " so far the historie of the Acts reaches. But St. *Mark* seems not " to have writ untill after the death of St. *Peter*, or not long before " it." This then is the order of the four Evangelists, according to Mr. *Dodwell: Matthew* the first, *Luke* the second, *Mark* the third, and *John* the fourth.

How Mr. *Le Clerc* argued on the same side, was seen (*e*) formerly.

On the other hand, *Grotius* says, it (*f*) is manifest from comparing their Gospels, that *Mark* made use of *Matthew*.

Mill has spoken largely to this point in his Prolegomena. He says, " it (*g*) was not the design of St. *Mark*, to make an abridgement of " St. *Matthew*'s Gospel, as some have supposed. For he does not al- " ways follow St. *Matthew*'s order, as an abridger would have done. " And he is oftentimes more prolix in his histories of the same thing " than St. *Matthew*, and has inserted many additional things, and some " of great moment for illustrating the evangelical Historie. . . Nay (*h*) " so far was *Mark* from intending to abbreviate St. *Matthew*'s Gospel, " that

erat antiquior, ipse erat αὐτόπτης. . . S. Joannes Luca longo erat intervallo in scriptione junior. Junior etiam S. Marcus, si quidem S. Lucas eo scripserit anno Evangelium, quo Acta terminavit Apostolorum. Quod ego sane puto verisimillimum. Sunt enim Acta δεύτερος ejusdem operis λόγος, cujus πρῶτος λόγον ipse suum agnoscit Evangelium. Act. i. 1. . . . Ita quo anno scriptum est a S. Luca Evangelium secundus fluxerit Apostolo Paulo annus captivitatis Romanæ. Eo enim usque Actorum historia perducta est. S. autem Marcus, seu post obitum Petri, seu non multo antea, scripsisse videtur. *Dodw. Diss. Iren. i. num. xxxix.*

(*e*) *See Vol. x. p.* 231. . . 235.

(*f*) Usum esse Marcum Matthæi Evangelio apertum facit collatio. *Grot. ad Marc. cap. i. ver.* 1.

(*g*) Ipsam Evangelii structuram quod attinet, neutiquam Marco institutum fuit, quod nonnullis videtur, Evangelium Matthæi in epitomen redigere. Præterquam enim quod servatum a Matthæo ordinem non ubique sequatur, quod sane epitomatoris foret, in ejusdem rei narratione Matthæo haud raro prolixior est, ac plurima passim inserta habet, eaque subinde magni ad elucidandam historiam momenti. *Proleg. num.* 103.

(*h*) Imo certe adeo nihil Marco erat in animo de abbreviando Matthæi Evangelio, ut haud desint magni nominis auctores, qui existimant, a Marco ne quidem visum fuisse Evangelium Matthæi. . . Ceterum contrarium evincit, Evangelium imprimis Matthæi et Marci quod attinet, istorum phraseos, ipsiusque contextus similitudo. *Ibid. n.* 107.

" that there have been men of great fame, as *Calvin*, and our *Dodwell*, " who were of opinion, that St. *Mark* and *Luke* had never seen *Mat-* " *thew*'s Gospel. However, *Grotius* was of a different opinion. And " indeed the great resemblance of the stile and composition of these two " Evangelists manifests the truth of it."

Of St. *Luke Mill* says: " Nothing (*i*) is more evident, than that he " made use of the Gospels of *Matthew* and *Mark*. For he has borrow- " ed from them many phrases and expressions, and even whole para- " graphs word for word."

But there is not sufficient foundation for such strong assertions, in the account which *Mill* himself gives of the time of writing the first three Gospels. For, according to him, St. *Matthew*'s Gospel was published in (*k*) the year 61. St. *Mark*'s (*l*) in 63. St. *Luke*'s (*m*) in 64. Which is but one year later. Nor has *Mill* made it out, that St. *Mark*'s was published so soon as the year 63. For he owns, that it was not writ, till after *Peter*'s and *Paul*'s departure from *Rome*. Which could not be, till after the year 63. How then could St. *Luke* make so much use of St. *Mark*'s Gospel, as is pretended?

I allege but one author more, relating to this point. Mr. *Wetstein* says, that (*n*) *Mark* made use of *Matthew*. And of St. *Luke* he says, " that (*o*) he transcribed many things from *Matthew*, and yet more from *Mark*."

But may I not say, that before Mr. *Wetstein* asserted such things, he should have given at least some tolerable account of the times, when the Evangelists wrote, and that St. *Mark* was prior in time to *Luke*? Which I do not perceive him to have done. St. *Matthew*'s Gospel, indeed, he supposes to have been writ (*p*) in the eighth year after our Lord's ascension. But of St. *Luke* he observes, that (*q*) ecclesiastical writers say, he published his Gospel at about fifteen, or as others about two and twenty years after our Saviour's ascension. His account of St. *Mark* is, " that (*r*) he was with *Peter* at *Babylon*. Thence he came " to *Rome*, and was with St. *Paul* during his captivity there. Col. iv. " 10. Philem. 23. Then he went to *Colosse*. Afterwards at the desire of " the

(*i*) Certe evulgatum fuisse illud post editionem Evangeliorum Matthæi et Marci, ex collatione trium horum inter se luce clarius apparet. Nihil scilicet evidentius, quam D. Lucam Evangeliorum Matthæi et Marci ipsius ῥήσεις, phrases et locutiones, imo vero totas pericopas, in suum nonnunquam αὐτολεξεὶ traduxisse. *Ib. num.* 116.

(*k*) *Proleg. num.* 61. (*l*) *Ibid. num.* 101.

(*m*) *Ibid. num.* 112.

(*n*) *De Marco ap. T. Gr. T. i. p.* 552.

(*o*) Lucam multa ex Matthæo, ex Marco plura descripsisse, ex collatione patet. *De Luca ibid. p.* 643.

(*p*) *Ibid. p.* 223. (*q*) *Ibid. p.* 643.

(*r*) Postea videtur Petro adhæsisse, et cum eo Babylone fuisse. 1. Pet. v. 13. Inde Romam venit, Paulumque captivum invisit. Col. iv. 10. Philem. 23. Inde ad Colossenses abiit, a quibus rogatu Pauli Romam rediit. 2. Tim. iv. 11. ubi Evangelium conscripsisse, et Matthæum quidem in compendium redegisse, nonnulla vero, quæ a Petro audiverat, adjecisse dicitur. *Ibid. p.* 551.

the Apostle he came to him thence to *Rome*. 2 *Tim.* iv. 11. Where he is said to have writ his Gospel, abridging St. *Matthew*, and adding some things, which he had heard from *Peter*." A very fine character of our Evangelist, truly! But according to this account of St. *Mark*'s travels, and of the place where his Gospel was writ, it could not be published before the year 64. or 65. How then could St. *Luke* make use of it, if he wrote so soon as *fifteen*, or *two and twenty years* after Christ's ascension?

I proceed now to speak more distinctly to the merits of the question.

1. It does not appear, that any of the learned ancient Christian writers had a suspicion, that any of the first three Evangelists had seen the others histories, before they wrote.

They say indeed, "that when the three first written Gospels had been delivered to all men, they were also brought to St. *John*, and that he confirmed the truth of their narration: but said, there were some things omitted by them, which might be profitably related:" or, "that he wrote last, supplying some things, which had been omitted by the former Evangelists." After this manner speak (*s*) *Eusebius* of *Cesarea*, (*t*) *Epiphanius*, (*u*) *Theodore* of *Mopsuestia*, and (*x*) *Jerome*. Not now to mention any others. *Augustin* indeed about the end of the fourth century, or the begining of the fifth, supposeth (*y*) the first three Evangelists not to have been totally ignorant of each others labours, and considers *Mark*'s Gospel as an abridgement of St. *Matthew*'s. But, as (*z*) formerly observed, so far as I know, he is the first, in which that opinion is found. Nor does it appear, that he was followed by succeding writers.

2. It is not suitable to the character of any of the Evangelists, that they should abridge, or transcribe another historian.

St. *Matthew* was an Apostle, and eye-witnesse. Consequently, he was able to write of his own knowledge. Or, if there were any parts of our Lord's ministrie, at which he was not present, he might obtain information from his fellow-apostles, or other eye-witnesses. And as for other things, which happened before the Apostles were called to follow him, concerning his nativity, infance, and youth: as *Augustin* (*a*) says, these the Apostles might know from Christ himself, or from his parents, or his friends and acquaintance, who were to be depended upon.

St. *Mark*, if he was not one of Christ's seventy disciples, was an early Jewish believer, acquainted with all the Apostles, *Peter* in particular, and with many other eye-witnesses. Consequently, well qualified to write a Gospel. *Mill* (*b*) himself has been so good, as to acknowledge this.

St. *Luke*,

(*s*) *See Vol. viii. p.* 92.
(*t*) *P.* 307.
(*u*) *Vol. ix. p.* 404.
(*x*) *Vol. x. p.* 98. 99.
(*y*) *Vol. x. p.* 229.
(*z*) *P.* 236.
(*a*) *See Vol. x. p.* 227.
(*b*) Marcus ille, quisquis fuerit, ad Evangelium conscribendum abunde instructus accedebat. Si enim filius fuit Mariæ, civis istius Hierosolymitanæ. . . ei sane jam a tempore conversionis tam frequens intercesserat, ac plane familiare

St. *Luke*, if he was not one of Chriſt's ſeventy diſciples, nor an eye-witneſſe, was a diſciple, and companion of the Apoſtles, eſpecially, of *Paul*, as is univerſally allowed. And he muſt therefore have been well qualified to write a Goſpel. Moreover, as (*c*) has been ſhewn, it is manifeſt from his introduction, that he knew not of any authentic hiſtorie of Jeſus Chriſt, that had been yet written. And he expreſsly ſays of himſelf, *that he had perfect underſtanding of all things from the very firſt*, and he profeſſeth *to write of them to Theophilus in order*. After all this to ſay, that he tranſcribed many things from one hiſtorian, and yet more from another, ſo far as I am able to judge, is no leſs than a contradiction of the Evangeliſt himſelf.

3. The nature and deſign of the firſt three Goſpels manifeſtly ſhew, that the Evangeliſts had not ſeen any authentic written hiſtorie of Jeſus Chriſt.

This is one of the obſervations of *Le Clerc* relating to this point: "We (*d*) can ſcarcely doubt, whether St. *John* had ſeen the other three "Goſpels. For as he is ſaid to have lived to a great age, ſo it appears "from his Goſpel itſelf, that he took care not to repeat things related "by them, except a few only, and thoſe neceſſarie things. But I do "not ſee how it can be reckoned certain, that *Mark* knew of *Matthew*'s "having writ a Goſpel before him: or that *Luke* knew, that they two "had writ Goſpels before him. If *Mark* had ſeen the work of *Mat-*"*thew*, it is likely, that he would have remained ſatisfied with it, as "being the work of an Apoſtle of Chriſt, that is, an eye-witneſſe, "which he was not." And what there follows.

I muſt enlarge upon this obſervation. I forbear to inſiſt now on the genealogies, which are in St. *Matthew* and St. *Luke* only. But I ſay, that the writings of all and each one of theſe three Evangeliſts contain an entire Goſpel, or a compleat hiſtorie of the miniſtrie of Jeſus Chriſt: or, to borrow St. *Luke*'s expreſſions, Acts i. 1. 2. a hiſtorie of *all that Jeſus both did and taught, untill the day, in the which he was taken up to heaven*. For in all and every one of them is the hiſtorie of our Lord's forerunner, his baptiſm, preaching, and death, and of our Lord's being baptized by him: when by a voice from heaven he was proclaimed to be the Meſſiah. Then follows our Lord's temptation in the wilderneſſe. After which is an account of our Lord's preaching, and his begining to gather diſciples, the choice of the twelve Apoſtles, and their names: and our Lord's going over the land of *Iſrael*, preaching the doctrine of the kingdom, attended by his twelve Apoſtles, in ſynagogues, and in cities and villages, working all kinds of healing and ſaving miracles, upon all ſorts of perſons, in all places, in the preſence of multitudes, and

familiare cum ipſis Apoſtolis commercium, ut vix aliqua ætatis ſuæ pars ipſorum confortio vacarit: ita ut quotidie ab illis petere licuerit de dictis ac factis Domini παραδόσεις, quas conferret in commentarium. Sane, quiſquis fuerit hic Marcus, apud Veteres plane convenit, fuiſſe eum D. Petri comitem et interpretem: ipſumque comitatum fuiſſe Romam uſque. . . . adeo ut ex Apoſtoli κηρύσσομενοις acceperit neceſſe ſit pleniſſimam et exactiſſimam hiſtoriæ totius evangelicæ cognitionem. *Mill Proleg. n.* 102.

(*c*) *See before, p.* 31. 32.

(*d*) *See Vol. x. p.* 233. 234.

and before Scribes, and Pharisees, as well as others. A particular mission of his Apostles, in the land of *Israel*. Our Lord's transfiguration on the mount, when there appeared *Moses* and *Elias* talking with him, and there came a voice from heaven, saying: *This is my beloved Son. Hear him.* His going up to *Jerusalem*, and making a public entrance into the city, then cleansing the temple, where he often taught the people, and preached the gospel, and openly asserted his authority and character: keeping the passover with his disciples, and instituting a memorial of himself: his last sufferings, and death, with the behaviour of *Judas*, the traitor, *Peter*, and the rest of the disciples: his burial, resurrection, with the evidences of it, and the general commission to his Apostles, to preach the Gospel in all the world, and to all sorts of persons therein.

Here are all the integrals of a Gospel. And they are properly filled up. And all these things are in all and every one of the first three Evangelists. Which shews, that they did not know of each other's writings. For it cannot be thought, that they should be disposed to say the same things over and over, or to repeat what had been well said already. St. *John*, who had seen the other three Gospels, has little in common with them. Almost every thing in his Gospel is new and additional. So it would have been with every other writer in the like circumstance.

And if St. *Matthew*'s Gospel had been writ at about eight, or fifteen, or twenty years after our Lord's ascension, and had become generally known among the faithful: (as it certainly would, soon after it was writ) it is not improbable, that we should have had but two Gospels, his and St. *John*'s. Or if there had been several, they would all, except the first, have been in the manner of supplements, like St. *John*'s, not entire Gospels, like those of the first three Evangelists.

This consideration appears to me of great moment, for shewing that our first three Evangelists are all independent witnesses. Indeed it seems to me to be quite satisfactorie, and decisive.

4. There are in these three Gospels, as was observed just now by Mr. *Dodwell*, many seeming contradictions: which have exercised the skill of thoughtfull men to reconcile them. This is another argument, that these Evangelists did not write by concert, or after having seen each other's Gospels.

5. In some histories, which are in all these three Evangelists, there are small varieties and differences, which plainly shew the same thing. I shall allege two or three instances only.

1.) In Matth. viii. 28. . . . 34. Mark v. 1. . . 20. Luke viii. 26. . . . 40. is the account of the cure of the demoniac, or demoniacs, in the country of the *Gadarens*. It is plainly the same historie, as appears from many agreeing circumstances. Nevertheless there are several differences. St. *Matthew* speaks of two men. St. *Mark* and St. *Luke* of one only. In *Mark* alone it is said, that the man *was always night and day in the mountains, crying, and cutting himself with stones.* And he alone mentions the number of the swine that were drowned. He likewise says, that the man *besought* our Lord *much, that he would not send them away out of the country.* St. *Luke* says: *the demons besought him, that he would*

would not command them to go out into the deep, or abyſſe. Surely theſe Evangeliſts did not abridge, or tranſcribe each other's writings.

2.) In Matt. xvii. 1. . . . 13. Mark ix. 1. . . . 13. Luke ix. 28. . . . 36. are the accounts of our Lord's transfiguration on the mount. Where St. *Matthew* ſays: *his face did ſhine as the ſun, and his raiment was white as the light.* St. *Mark: And his raiment became ſhining, exceeding white as ſnow, ſo as no fuller on earth can whiten them.* St. *Luke: And as he prayed, the faſhion of his countenance was altered, and his raiment was white and glittering.* It is plain, I think, that none had ſeen what the other had writ. In the deſcription of the ſplendour of our Lord's perſon, and garments, each one follows his own phanſie. In St. *Matthew* and St. *Mark* are compariſons. But they are different. In St. *Luke* there is no compariſon at all.

3.) The third inſtance ſhall be what follows next in all the three Evangeliſts, after our Lord was come down from the mount. Matt. xvii. 14. . . 21. Mark ix. 14. . . 29. Luke ix. 37. . . 42. In this hiſtorie of the healing the young man, who had the epilepſie, where St. *Mark* is more particular and prolix, than the other Evangeliſts, there are many differences. I take notice of a very few only. In St. *Matthew* the father of the child ſays: *Lord, have mercie on my Son. For he is lunatic, and ſore vexed.* And the healing him is thus related. *And Jeſus rebuked the demon. And he departed out of him. And the child was cured from that very hour.* In St. *Mark* the father of the child ſays to our Lord: *Maſter, I have brought unto thee my ſon, who has a dumb ſpirit.* And when our Lord healed him, *he rebuked the foul ſpirit, ſaying unto him: Thou dumb and deaf ſpirit, I charge thee, come out of him, and enter no more into him.* And what follows. In St. *Luke* the father ſays: *Maſter, I beſeech thee, look upon my ſon. For he is my only child.*

Certainly, he who obſerves theſe things, muſt be ſenſible, that theſe hiſtorians did not borrow from each other. There are many other like inſtances. To mention them all would be endleſs.

I ſhall add a conſideration or two more, which muſt be allowed to be of ſome weight in this queſtion.

6. There are ſome things in St. *Matthew*'s Goſpel, very remarkable, of which no notice is taken either by St. *Mark*, or St. *Luke*.

I intend, particularly, the viſit of the Magians, with the cauſes of it, and it's circumſtances, and then the conſequences of it, our Saviour's flight into *Egypt*, and the ſlaughter of the infants at *Bethlehem*, and near it. Matt. ii. The dream of *Pilate*'s wife. ch. xxvii. 19. the affair of the Roman guard at the ſepulchre. xxvii. 11. . . 15. *an earthquake, rending of rocks*, and *the reſurrection of many ſaints, who came out of their graves, and went into the holy city, and appeared unto many.* ch. xxvii. 51. . . 53.

Theſe are as extraordinarie things, as any in the Goſpels. And if St. *Mark*, or St. *Luke*, had writ with a view of abridging, or confirming St. *Matthew*'s hiſtorie, ſome, or all of theſe things, would have been taken notice of by them. It is alſo very obſervable, that St. *Luke* has no account of the miracle of feeding *four thouſand with ſeven loaves and a few little fiſhes*, which is in Matt. xv. 32. . . . 39. Mark viii. 1. . . . . 9.

And

And what has been juſt now ſaid of St. *Matthew*, particularly, may be alſo applied to St. *Luke*, ſuppoſing his to have been the firſt written Goſpel. For in him alſo are many remarkable things, not to be found in the other Goſpels. And if St. *Matthew*, or St. *Mark* had writ with a view of abridging or confirming St. *Luke*'s hiſtorie, thoſe things would not have been paſſed over by them without any notice.

7. All the firſt three Evangeliſts have many things peculiar to themſelves. Which ſhews, that they did not borrow from each other, and that they were all well acquainted with the things, of which they undertook to write a hiſtorie.

Many ſuch things are in *Matthew*, as is well known to all. I therefore need not enlarge on them. And a few of them were juſt now taken notice of.

St. *Mark* likewiſe has many things peculiar to himſelf, not mentioned by any other Evangeliſt. A catalogue of them was made by us (*e*) formerly, though far from being compleat.

The ſame is true of St. *Luke*. As much was obſerved by *Irenæus*, who ſays, "there are many, and thoſe neceſſarie parts of the Goſpel, which we know from *Luke* only." His brief enumeration of thoſe things was tranſcribed by us into this Work (*f*) long ago. Let me alſo rehearſe them here ſomewhat differently. His general introduction, the birth of *John* the Baptiſt, and many extraordinarie things, attending it. The *Roman* cenſus made in *Judea*, by *Cyrenius*, or before that made by *Cyrenius*, which brought *Joſeph* and *Marie* from *Nazareth* to *Bethlehem*, the mean circumſtances of our Lord's nativity, the notification of it to ſhepherds by an angel, his circumciſion, *Marie*'s purification at the temple, the prophecies of *Simeon*, and *Anna* there, our Lord's going up to *Jeruſalem* at the age of twelve years. Ch. ii. The names of the Emperour and other Princes, in whoſe time *John* the Baptiſt and our Lord began to preach, and our Lord's age at that time, a genealogie different from *Matthew*. Ch. iii. In St. *Luke* are alſo divers miracles, not recorded elſewhere. A numerous draught of fiſhes. ch. v. 4. . . 9. The cures of *Marie Magdalen*, *Joanna*, wife of *Chuza*, *Herod*'s ſteward, and *Suſanna*. ch. viii. 2. 3. giving ſpeech to a dumb man. ch. xi. 14. a woman healed in a ſynagogue of an infirmity, under which ſhe had labored eighteen years. ch. xiii. 10. . . 17. a man cured of the dropſie on a ſabbath day, in the houſe of a Phariſee. ch. xiv. 1. . . 4. Ten lepers cured at once. ch. xvii. 12. . . 19. the ear of *Malchus* healed. ch. xxii. 50. . . 5. the ſon of a widow of *Naim* raiſed to life, in the ſight of multitudes, when he was carried out to burial. ch. vii. 11. . . 17. a miracle of reſurrection, related by no other Evangeliſt. In him alone is the miſſion of the ſeventy diſciples. ch. x. 1. . . . 20. Divers beautiful parables ſpoken by our Lord, which are not to be found elſewhere: the parable of the good Samaritan. ch. x. 25. . . 37. the parable of the loſt piece of ſilver, and the prodigal ſon. ch. xv. 8. . . 32. of the unjuſt ſteward. xvi. 1. . . 12. the rich man and *Lazarus*. 19. . . 31. the importunate widow. xviii. 1. . . 8. the Phariſee and Publican, that went up to the temple to pray. ver. 9. . . . 14. To St. *Luke* alſo are peculiar our

(*e*) *See before p.* 74. (*f*) *Vol. ii. p.* 357. . . 360.

our Lord's entertainment at the house of a Pharisee, where came in the woman that was a sinner. ch. vii. 36. . . 50. his entertainment at the house of *Martha*. x. 38. . . 42. the historie of *Zaccheus*. xix. 1. . . 10. our Lord's agonie in the garden. xxii. 43. 44. the penitent thief on the crosse. xxiii. 39. . . 43. and a particular account of the two disciples going to *Emmaus*. xxiv. 13. . . 35.

All these, and many other things, which I omit, are peculiar to St. *Luke*. And did he transcribe many things from St. *Matthew*, and yet more from St. *Mark?*

Mill's argument, taken from the similitude of stile and composition, to prove, that these Evangelists had seen each other's writings, appears to be insufficient. And himself allows, that (*g*) two authors writing upon the same subject in the Greek language may easily agree very much in expression.

I have insisted the more upon this point, because I think, that to say, the Evangelists abridged, and transcribed each other, without giving any hint of their so doing, is a great disparagement to them. And it likewise diminisheth the value and importance of their testimonie. Said Mr. *Le Clerc*, before quoted, "They (*h*) seem to think more justly, "who say, that the first three Evangelists were unacquainted with each "other's design. In that way greater weight accrues to their testimonie. "When witnesses agree, who have first laid their heads together, they "are suspected. But witnesses, who testify the same thing separately, "without knowing what others have said, are justly credited."

This is not a new opinion, lately thought of. Nor has it been taken up by me, out of opposition to any. I have all my days read, and admired the first three Evangelists, as independent, and harmonious witnesses. And I know not how to forbear ranking the other opinion among those bold, as well as groundless assertions, in which critics too often indulge themselves, without considering the consequences.

(*g*) Verum quidem est, eum esse linguæ hujus, quæ Evangelistis in usu erat, Hellenisticæ genium eam indolem, ut in unum ferme eundemque dicendi characterem, quoties de una eademque materia agitur, sese efformet: ita ut diversi in hoc genere scriptores, unum idemque aliquod argumentum particulare tractantes, stilo ac sermonis tenore haud absimili usuri essent. &c. *Prol. num.* 108.

(*h*) *See Vol. x. p.* 235.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

St. PAUL.

I. *His Hiſtorie before his Converſion, and his general Character.* II. *The Time of his Converſion.* III. *Obſervations upon his Converſion, and the Circumſtances of Things at that Time in Judea.* IV. *His Age at the Time of his Converſion.* V. *When he was made an Apoſtle.* VI. *The Hiſtorie of his Travels, and Preaching: particularly, from the Time of his Converſion and Apoſtleſhip to his coming from Damaſcus to Jeruſalem, the firſt Time, after his Converſion.* VII. *From his coming firſt to Jeruſalem to his being brought to Antioch by Barnabas.* VIII. *to his coming up to Jeruſalem with the Contributions of the Chriſtians at Antioch.* IX. *to his coming to the Council at Jeruſalem about the Year* 49. X. *to his coming to Jeruſalem with Contributions of divers Gentil Churches, in the Year* 58. *when he was apprehended, and impriſoned.* XI. *to the End of his Impriſonment at Rome.* XII. *to the Time of his Death.*

His Hiſtorie before his Converſion.

I. SAUL, called alſo *Paul*, by which name he was generally called, after his preaching in Gentil countreys, and, particularly, (*a*) among Greeks and Romans, a deſcendant of the Patriarch *Abraham*, one of God's ancient choſen people of *Iſrael*, of the tribe of *Benjamin*, was (*b*) a native of *Tarſus*, then the chief city of *Cilicia*. He was alſo by birth a (*c*) Citizen of *Rome*. How he became entitled to that privilege, has been diſtinctly ſhewn (*d*) in another place. His father (*e*) was a Phariſee, and himſelf was of the ſame ſect. He had a ſiſter, whoſe ſon was a Chriſtian, and a diſcreet perſon, who (*f*) was of great ſervice to

(*a*) Acts xiii. 9. *Then Saul, who alſo is called Paul.*] Σαῦλος δὲ ὁ καὶ Παῦλος. Id eſt, qui ex quo cum Romanis converſari cœpit, hoc nomine, a ſuo non abludente, cœpit a Romanis appellari. Sic qui Jeſus Judæis, Græcis Jaſon: Hillel, Pollio: . . . apud Romanos Silas, Silvanus, ut notavit Hieronymus. *Grot. in Act. xiii.* 9.

Hoc primum loco cœpit Apoſtolus a Lucâ Paulus dici, quem ubique antea Saulum vocavit. Nec deinceps alio, quam Pauli nomine uſquam vocabit. . . . Alii igitur Apoſtolum jam inde ab initio binominem fuiſſe putant, ut ex altero nomine Judæus, ex altero Romanus civis eſſe intelligeretur. Alii cum religione nomen eum mutaſſe putant, cum ex Phariſæo fieret Chriſtianus. . . . . Sunt demum qui a Sergio Paulo Proconſule ad Chriſtum converſo hoc cognomen adeptum eſſe putent. . . Ac facile mihi quidem perſuadeo, primum a Proconſulis Romani familiâ ita vocari cœpiſſe. *Bez. Annot. in Act. xiii.* 9.

See likewiſe Dr. Doddridge's Family-Expoſitor. Vol. 3. *p.* 198. *note* (*k*), *or upon Acts xiii.* 9.

(*b*) *Acts. xxi.* 39. *xxii.* 3.

(*c*) *Acts. xvi.* 37. 38. *xxii.* 25.—29. *xxiii.* 27.

(*d*) *See the Credibility, &c. P. i. B. i. ch. x. §. vii.*

(*e*) *Acts. xxiii.* 6. *xxvi.* 5. *Philip. iii.* 5.

(*f*) *Acts. xxiii.* 16—22.

to his uncle *Paul*, when a priſoner at *Jeruſalem*. His conduct cannot be thought of without admiration and gratitude. Some other of his relations are mentioned by him in his epiſtle to the *Romans*, who alſo were believers in Jeſus, and ſeveral of them had been ſo before himſelf. Which may be reckoned a proof of the virtue and piety of this familie. Their names are *Andronicus*, and *Junia*, whom he calls *his kinſmen.* συγγενεῖς μου. Rom. xvi. 7. By (*g*) which he muſt mean ſomething more, than their being his countreymen. He ſpeaks in the like manner of *Herodion*, ver. 11. and alſo of *Lucius*, *Jaſon*, and *Soſipater*, ver. 21. It may be reckoned very probable, that (a) he was educated in Greek literature in his early life at *Tarſus*. It is certain, that (*h*) he was for a while under the inſtructions of *Gamaliel*, at *Jeruſalem*, a celebrated Jewiſh Rabbi, and that (*i*) he made great proficience in the ſtudie of the law, and the traditions, much eſteemed by that people. He ſeems to have been (*k*) a perſon of great natural abilities, of a quick apprehenſion, ſtrong paſſions, and firm reſolution, and thereby qualified for ſignal ſervice, as a teacher of ſuch principles, as he ſhould embrace, whatever they were. He appears likewiſe to have been always unblamable in his life, and ſtrictly faithful to the dictates of his conſcience, according to the knowledge which he had. Of this all muſt be perſuaded, who obſerve (*l*) his appeals to the Jews, upon this head, when they were greatly offended with him: and from (*m*) the undiſſembled ſatiſfaction, which he expreſſeth upon a ſerious recollection of his former and later conduct. For ſome while, after the firſt appearance of Chriſtianity in the world, he was a bitter enemie, and furious oppoſer of all who made profeſſion of it. Nevertheleſs he perſiſted not long in that courſe: but was in a very extraordinarie manner converted to that faith himſelf: and ever after he was a ſteadie friend, and zealous advocate for

(*g*) *Cognatos ſuos*, id eſt ejuſdem ſecum generis vocat, ut multi exponunt, quia Judæi erant, quemadmodum ſupra ix. 3. de Judæis in univerſum dixit, *qui ſunt cognati mei ſecundum carnem:* et ſic eum loqui, ut Judæorum qui Romæ erant gratiam ſibi conciliet. Verum quia multi Romæ erant Judæi Chriſtiani, et proinde hac generali ratione Paulo cognati: idcirco putant alii, cognatos hic dici magis proprie, ut qui fuerint Paulo contribules, id eſt, de tribu Benjamin: aut forte etiam propriore ſanguinis vinculo conjuncti. *Eſt. in Rom. xvi.* 7.

(a) This may be argued from the place of his nativity, *Tarſus*, which was celebrated for polite literature, and from St. *Paul*'s quotations of ſeveral Greek Poets. Acts xviii. 28. 1 Cor. xv. 33. Tit. i. 12. Dr. *Bently* begins his third ſermon at *Boyle*'s Lecture, which is the ſecond upon Acts xvii. 27. 28. in this manner: "I have ſaid enough in my laſt, to ſhew the fitneſſe and "pertinence of the Apoſtle's diſcourſe . . . and that he did not talk at ran- "dom, but was thoroughly acquainted with the ſeveral humours and opini- "ons of his auditors. And, as *Moſes was learned in all the wiſdom of the Egyp-* "*tians*, ſo it is manifeſt from this chapter alone, if nothing elſe had been "now extant, that St. *Paul* was a great maſter in all the learning of the "*Greeks.*"

(*h*) *Acts. xxii.* 3. (*i*) *Acts. xxiii.* 3. *xxvi.* 5. *Gal. i.* 14.

(*k*) . . . ſecta Phariſæum, excellenti magnoque ingenio præditum, literarum Judaicarum inprimis peritum, nec Græcarum expertem. *J. L. Moſheim. de Reb. Chriſtian. ante Conſtantin. Sec. i. n. xv. p.* 80.

(*l*) *Acts. xxiii.* 1. *xxvi.* 4. 5.

(*m*) *Philip. iii.* 6. 1 *Tim. i.* 13. 2 *Tim. i.* 3.

for it, and very ſucceſsful in defending, and propagating it, diligently improving the gifts and qualifications, extraordinarily vouchſafed him for that purpoſe. Theſe things are recorded in thoſe writings, which are in the higheſt eſteem, and reckoned ſacred among Chriſtians, and indeed are well known to all the world.

The Time of his Converſion.

II. I am deſirous to do my beſt to ſettle the time of St. *Paul*'s converſion. If we can do that with ſome good degree of probability, we ſhall attain to a near knowledge of the time of St. *Stephen*'s martyrdom: concerning both which events there have been very different opinions in former and later ages. *Valeſius*, in his Annotations upon *Euſebe*'s Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorie, mentions divers opinions of ancient writers (*n*) about the time of St. *Stephen*'s death. As the paſſage may be acceptable to ſome, I have placed it below.

Among moderns, *Cave* thought, that (*o*) *Stephen* was ſtoned, and *Paul* converted in the very year of our Lord's aſcenſion, the year 33. or the beginning of the year following. *Pearſon* ſuppoſeth, that (*p*) *Stephen* was ſtoned in 34. and *Paul* converted in 35. near the end of the year. Having been three years in *Arabia*, and at *Damaſcus*, he came to *Jeruſalem*, near the end of 38. in which year, or the begining of the following, he went to *Tarſus*: where, and in *Syria*, he was four years, that is, 39. 40. 41. 42. Which appears to me a long ſpace of time. In 43. he came to *Antioch*. And having ſpent a year there, he came to *Jeruſalem*, in 44. So *Pearſon*.

Frederic Spanheim, who alſo has beſtowed great pains in examining this point, placeth (*q*) the converſion of *Paul* in the year 40. the laſt of *Caius Caligula*: and was inclined to defer it to the firſt of *Claudius*, the year 41. Him (*r*) *Witſius* follows. And *J. A. Fabricius* (*s*) declares his aſſent to the ſame opinion.

Lenfant

(*n*) Quo anno Stephanus martyrii coronam adeptus ſit, non convenit inter omnes. Alii eodem anno, quo paſſus eſt Chriſtus, lapidatum illum volunt. Ita diſerte ſcribitur in Excerptis Chronologicis, quæ cum Euſebii Chronico edidit Scaliger. pag. 68. Et hæc videtur fuiſſe Euſebii ſententia, ut ex hoc loco apparet. . . . Alii vero triennio poſt Chriſti mortem martyrium Stephani retulerunt. . . . . Ita ſcribit in Chronico Georgius Syncellus. Multi etiam ulterius proceſſerunt, et Stephanum anno ab ordinatione ſua ſeptimo paſſum eſſe ſcripſerunt. Inter quos eſt Evodius apud Nicephorum, et Hippolytus Thebanus, et auctor Chronici Alexandrini, qui anno Claudii primo martyrium Stephani adſignat. *Valeſ. Annot. in Euſeb. l. 2. cap. i.*

(*o*) . . ad fidem Chriſti converſus, diſcipulus ſit et Apoſtolus A. C. 33. exeunte, vel ſaltem ineunte proximo. *Hiſt. Lit. T. i. in S. Paulo.*

(*p*) *Annal. Paulin. p.* 1. . . 4.

(*q*) . . in anno converſionis Pauli, quam non anteriorem eſſe Caii ultimo, audacter pronunciamus. *De Converſion. Paulin. Epocha. num. xix. Opp. T. 2. p.* 321.

(*r*) *De Vita Pauli. Sect. ii. n.* 22. *ap. Miletem. Leyd. p.* 34.

(*s*) Tantum noto in præſenti, me ſequi eorum rationes, qui Paulum converſum eſſe exiſtimant anno quarto ſive ultimo Caii. ann. 40. et capite truncatum A. C. 68. Neronis xiv. *Fabr. Bib. Gr. T.* 3. *p.* 151. (*f*).

Lenfant and *Beauſobre*, in their general preface to St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles, place his converſion in the year 36. and his firſt coming to *Jeruſalem* after it, in 39. Which opinion I believe to be nearer the truth, than any of the foregoing.

There is an event mentioned in the Acts, about which we may receive light from external hiſtorie. I mean *the reſt of the churches throughout all Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria.* Acts ix. 31.

In the former Part of this work (*t*) it was ſhewn to be very probable, that this *reſt of the churches* of Chriſt was owing to the ſtate of things in *Judea*, when *Petronius*, Preſident of *Syria*, publiſhed the orders, which he had received from *Caius*, to erect his ſtatue in the temple of *Jeruſalem*, in the year of Chriſt 39. or 40. Which account was afterwards followed by Dr. *Benſon* in his (*u*) Hiſtorie of the firſt planting the Chriſtian Religion. Dr. *Doddridge* (*x*) likewiſe declared his approbation of it.

When I formerly argued, that this reſt of the churches was occaſioned by the above mentioned order of the Emperour *Caius*; I did not know that any one had aſſigned that, as the occaſion of it. But ſince, I have perceived, that (*y*) *S. Baſnage* had thought of it, and ſpoke to it very well. I was lead to my obſervations by reading *Philo*, and *Joſephus*: from whom I formed the argument, and overlooked the juſt mentioned eccleſiaſtical hiſtorian.

I ſuppoſed, that (*z*) *Petronius* publiſhed his order in the year 39. or 40. *Baſnage* (*a*) and *Tillemont* (*b*) ſay, in the year 40. By whom I am not unwilling to be determined.

It is allowed, that *Petronius* was ſent Governour into *Syria* by *Caius* in the third year of his reign, A. D. 39. And it is ſuppoſed by ſome, that (*c*) *Petronius* came into the province about autumn in the year 39. And *Joſephus* ſays, "that (*d*) *Caius*, greatly incenſed againſt the Jews "for

(*t*) *See Credib. P. i. B. i. ch.* 2. § *xii. eſpecially near the end of that ſection.*

(*u*) *See of that work B. i. ch.* 9. *ſect. iii. at the end.*

(*x*) *Family-Expoſitor. Vol.* 3. *p.* 147.

(*y*) Mira hæc, et præter omnium expectationem exorta rerum viciſſitudo fuit. Cui non minimum contulit infelix Judæorum ſtatus, quibus a Caligulâ vexatis, timentibuſque templi violationem Petronio mandatum, Chriſti diſcipulorum perſecutioni vacare non licuit. Cum enim conſtituendæ eccleſiarum paci ſæpenumero Dei ſapientia occaſionibus utatur atque humanis auxiliis; probabilis utique affertur conjectura, eo ſopitum fuiſſe Judæorum furorem, quia propriis preſſi miſeriis ab inferenda Eccleſiæ calamitate prohibebantur. . . Nec inopinatæ tranquillitatis aptior ulla ratio reddi poteſt. *Ann.* 40. *num. xvi.*

(*z*) *See the place referred to at note (t).*

(*a*) *Ubi ſupra. num. v.*

(*b*) *Ruine des Juifs. art. xviii. xix. Hiſt. des Emp. Tom. i.*

(*c*) Sed ex Joſephi hiſtoria conſtat, illum in provinciam anno tertio Caii adveniſſe, circa autumnum. *Noriſ. Cenot. Piſan. Diſſ.* 2. *p.* 371. *Conf. Uſſer. Ann.* 39.

(*d*) Γαίος δὲ ἐν δεινῷ φέρων, εἰς τόσον δε ὑπὸ ἰουδάιων περιῶφθαι μόνων, πρεσβευτὴν ἐπὶ συρίας ἐκπέμπει πετρώνιον. . . . κελεύων χειρὶ πολλῇ εἰσβάλλοντι εἰς τὴν ἰουδάιαν, εἰ μὲν ἕκοντες δέχονται, ἰσᾶν αὐτῶν ἀνδριάντα ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῷ θεῷ· εἰ δ' ἀγνωμωσύνῃ χρῶντο, πολέμῳ κρατήσαντα τῶτο ποιεῖν. *Antiq. l.* 18. *cap. ix. n.* 2. *al. cap. xi.*

" for not paying him the ſame reſpect that others did, ſent *Petronius* " Governour into *Syria*, commanding him to ſet up his ſtatue in the " temple; and if the Jews oppoſed it, to march into the countrey with " a numerous armie, and effect it by force."

Whenever *Petronius* publiſhed that order, whether in the year 39. or 40. I think it was the occaſion of the tranquillity of the churches of Chriſt, ſpoken of by St. *Luke*. And I perſuade myſelf, that moſt people will readily be of the ſame opinion.

We will now take a paragraph or two in the Acts. ch. ix. 26. . . . 31. *And when Saul was come to Jeruſalem, he aſſayed to join himſelf to the diſciples. . . . And he was with them, coming in, and going out, at Jeruſalem. And he ſpoke boldly in the name of the Lord Jeſus, and diſputed againſt the Grecians. But they went about to ſlay him. Which when the brethren knew, they brought him down to Ceſarea, and ſent him forth to Tarſus. Then had the churches reſt throughout all Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria, and were edified.*

This *reſt*, we may ſuppoſe, was not compleat, or made extenſive and univerſal, till the year 40. perhaps, not till near the middle of it. But when did *Paul* come to *Jeruſalem?* Before this *reſt?* or, not till after it was commenced? *Baſnage* (*e*) thinks, that *Paul* came to *Jeruſalem* in the year 40. Let us however make a few remarks.

The *peace*, of which we are ſpeaking, ſeems not to have commenced, nor the perſecution to have ceaſed, when Paul arrived at *Jeruſalem* from *Damaſcus*. For when *he ſpake boldly in the name of the Lord Jeſus*, and diſputed with the *Grecians*, *they went about to ſlay him:* as we have ſeen in the paragraph, juſt tranſcribed. And the brethren found it needful to conduct him with care to *Ceſarea*, and ſend him thence to *Tarſus*. Moreover, *Peter* was at *Jeruſalem*, when *Paul* arrived there, and *he abode with him fifteen days*. Gal. i. 18. But when the peace of the churches was eſtabliſhed, *Peter* left *Jeruſalem*, and viſited the ſaints in the ſeveral parts of *Judea:* as we learn from the hiſtorie, immediately following. Acts ix. 31. . . . 43. Once more, it appears from the above cited paragraph, and the courſe of St. *Luke*'s narration, that this reſt of the churches in *Judea* did not begin, untill after *Paul* had been ſent thence. And if it had commenced ſooner, in all probability, he would have been induced to ſtay longer there among the Jews, for whoſe converſion he was ardently concerned. St. *Luke*'s words are, as above: *Which when the brethren knew, they brought him down to Ceſarea, and ſent him forth to Tarſus. Then had the churches reſt throughout all Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria, and were edified.*

I apprehend it to be probable, then, that *Paul* came to *Jeruſalem*, at this ſeaſon, near the end of the year 39. or in the begining of the year 40. We now proceed.

St. *Paul* ſays Gal. i. 15. . . . 18. that *when it pleaſed God by his grace to reveal his Son in him, . . . he went into Arabia, and returned again unto Damaſcus. Then after three years I went up to Jeruſalem, to ſee Peter.* For the time of *Paul*'s converſion therefore, we muſt look back *three years*. And if thoſe *three years* are to be underſtood compleat, and he came to *Jeruſalem* in the year 40. he was converted not long after the begining

(*e*) *Ann.* 40. *num.* xv.

begining of the year 37. where it is placed by (*f*) *Basnage*. If he came to *Jerusalem* before the end of the year 39. he might be converted near the end of the year 36.

Let me add. *Paul* says: *after* (*g*) *three years I went up to Jerusalem.* Which may be well understood to mean somewhat more than three years. And then, though *Paul* should be supposed, not to have returned to *Jerusalem*, till the begining of the year 40. he may have been converted before the end of the year 36.

Shall we now look somewhat farther back, and inquire, how long this might be after the death of *Stephen? Lewis Cappell* (*h*) and *Fr. Spanheim* (*i*) supposed, that two years passed between the death of *Stephen* and *Paul*'s conversion. And for certain there was some good space of time between *Stephen*'s martyrdom, and *Paul*'s journey to *Damascus*. This appears from St. *Luke*'s historie, who says Acts vii. 58. *And they cast Stephen out of the city, and stoned him. And the witnesses laid down their clothes at the young man's feet, whose name was Saul.* . . . It follows in ch. viii. 1. . . 4. *And Saul was consenting unto his death. At that time there was a great persecution against the church, which was at Jerusalem. And they were all scattered abroad throughout the regions of Judea and Samaria, except the apostles.* . . . *As for Saul, he made havock of the church, entering into every house, and haling men and women, committed them to prison.* After which at ver. 5. . . 40. is an account of the preaching of those who were *scattered abroad*, particularly, of *Philip*'s going to the city *Samaria*, and preaching there with great success, and of the Apostles, who were at *Jerusalem*, hearing of this, and sending to *Samaria Peter* and *John*: and then, how *Philip* taught and baptized the Chamberlain of *Candace*, Queen of *Ethiopia*. After which *Philip* preached in all the cities from *Azotus*, till he came to *Cesarea* by the sea side. Still *Saul* was a persecutor. For it follows ch. ix. 1. 2. *And Saul, yet breathing out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord, went unto the High-Priest. And desired of him letters to Damascus, to the synagogues: that if he found any of this way, whether they were men or women, he might bring them bound to Jerusalem.* To all which might be added, that *Paul*'s ill treatment of the disciples at *Jerusalem* was well known at *Damascus*, before he arrived there, as appears from Acts ix. 13.

Nevertheless I do not think, that there is sufficient reason to protract this space so long as two years; but would hope it might be reduced within the compasse of a year, and perhaps to little more than half a year. So thought *Basnage*. Who (*k*) therefore placeth the martyrdom of *Stephen* and the baptism of *Paul* in one and the same year.

I am the more inclined to think, that *Paul*'s course of opposition against

(*f*) *Ann.* 37. *n.* 48. (*g*) . . . μετα ἔτη τρία.

(*h*) Porro interim . . . Saulus, qui Stephani morti consenserat, cum per biennium Ecclesiam Dei Jerosolymis vastasset. . . . *Lud. Capp. Hist. Apost. p.* 7.

(*i*) Ex dictis constare arbitramur . . . rursum anni minimum unius decursum, si non verius biennii (quale et Lud. Cappellus post Danæum nostrum, aliosque, statuit) a cæde hujus ad Sauli profectionem Damascenam supponendum esse. *Spanh. Diss. de Conversi. Paulin. Epoch. n.* xx.

(*k*) *A. D.* 37. *num.* 48.

gainſt the believers did not exceed the ſpace of a year, at the utmoſt: becauſe it ſeems to have been confined to the city of *Jeruſalem*, until he undertook to go to *Damaſcus*, and did not reach into the cities of *Judea* and *Samaria*. This will lead us to place the martyrdom of *Stephen* in the year 36. and not far from the begining of it, or elſe near the end of the year 35.

Indeed that is a very likely ſeaſon, and much confirmed by the ſtate of things in *Judea* about this time, as diſtinctly repreſented by us long ago in the firſt part of this work, when we treated of affairs and perſons, occaſionally mentioned in the books of the New Teſtament. It was then ſhewn, that (*l*) *Pontius Pilate* was removed from his government in *Judea*, before the Paſſover of the year 36. probably, five or ſix months before that Paſſover, in September or October, A. D. 35. about a year and a half before the death of *Tiberius*. It was alſo ſhewn, that (*m*) after the removal of *Pilate*, no Governour, or Procurator, with the right of the ſword, or the power of life and death, was ſent into *Judea*, neither in the remaining part of the reign of *Tiberius*, nor in the reign of *Caius*. Which (*n*) afforded the Jews an opportunity to be licentious, and to do many things, which otherwiſe they could not have done, and to be extremely troubleſome to the diſciples of Jeſus.

Thus then *Paul* was converted in 37. or poſſibly, before the end of the year 36. And *Stephen* was ſtoned in the begining of the ſame year, or, at the ſooneſt, near the end of the year 35.

III. Having diſtinctly conſidered theſe things, and produced ſuch probable evidence, as offers, I beg leave to mention ſeveral obſervations. *Obſervations upon his Converſion.*

1. The perſecution, which began at the death of *Stephen*, continued four years.

The diſciples of Jeſus, as appears from the firſt chapters of the book of the Acts, were much haraſſed by the Jewiſh Council from the begining. But now, after *Stephen* was ſtoned, a more open and violent perſecution came on, which * laſted a good while. I am not able to aſſign a more likely time for the commencement of it, than the begining of the year 36. or the later part of the year 35. about which time *Pilate* was removed, after his government had been for ſome good while very feeble among the Jews. The ſame perſecution reached into the year of our Lord 40. the fourth and laſt year of the reign of *Caius*: when *Petronius* publiſhed the orders, which he had received, to ſet up the Emperour's ſtatue in the temple at *Jeruſalem*. Which threw the Jewiſh People,

(*l*) *See Part i. B. 2. c. 3. §. iii. p. 848. the third edition.*

(*m*) *See P. i. B. i. ch. 2. §. xii. p. 177. . . 185. the third edition.*

(*n*) *See there p. 199. the third edition.*

* Here I tranſcribe a paſſage from *Lightfoot*'s Commentarie upon the Acts, ch. ix. 27. of his Works vol. i. p. 815. "And thus, ſays he, that perſecution, that began about *Stephen*, had laſted till this very ſame time of *Paul*'s coming to *Jeruſalem*, for, ſo it is apparent, both by the fear and ſuſpiciouſneſs of the diſciples at *Jeruſalem*, as alſo by the clauſure of the text ver. 31. *Then had the churches reſt.* The length of this perſecution, by the computation of the times, as they have been caſt up before, ſeemeth to have been about three years and a half."

People, throughout all that countrey, into a general conſternation, and fully employed them about their own affairs.

It ſeems to me therefore, from this calculation, that the perſecution laſted, at leaſt, four years. To which might be added, that it muſt have begun about a year before *Paul*'s converſion, after which he was three years in *Arabia*. And when he returned to *Jeruſalem*, the perſecution was not at an end. Nor did the peace of the churches come on till after he had been ſent away from *Judea* to *Tarſus*.

2. Notwithſtanding the violence, and the length of this perſecution, the Church of Chriſt was not diminiſhed, but encreaſed, during that period.

This may be argued from the deſcription of the peace, which ſucceeded it. Acts ix. 31. 32. *Then had the churches reſt, throughout all Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria, and were edified. . . . And it came to paſs, as Peter paſſed through all quarters, he came to the Saints, which dwelt at Lydda.* Now therefore there were *churches* in *Judea*, and *Galilee*, and *Samaria*. And I make no queſtion, but moſt, or all of them, were planted during thoſe troubleſome times. For before that period we read not of any churches out of *Jeruſalem*. And St. *Paul*, ſpeaking of ſome things, after his converſion, and his return to *Jeruſalem*, ſays Gal. i. 22. *he was unknown by face to the churches of Judea, which were in Chriſt.*

This encreaſe of converts in thoſe countreys might be owing to ſeveral things: the patience and fortitude of the diſciples: their diſcretion in avoiding needleſs offenſe, and in declining dangers: their zeal and intrepidity in aſſerting the reſurrection of Jeſus, and other articles of the doctrine of the goſpel: the miraculous powers, with which they were endowed, and their exerting them on all fit occaſions.

It might be alſo, in part, owing to the circumſtances of things. For a while, as it ſeems, this perſecution was confined to *Jeruſalem*, and did not extend to other parts of *Judea*. So ſays St. *Luke* Acts viii. 1. *At that time there was a great perſecution againſt the church, which was at Jeruſalem.* *Paul*'s injuries were confined there, till he went to *Damaſcus*. He ſpeaks not of any thing done by him againſt the diſciples of Jeſus any where elſe. Acts xxvi. 10. 11. *Which thing I alſo did in Jeruſalem. . . . and being exceedingly mad againſt them, I perſecuted them even unto ſtrange cities. Whereupon as I went to Damaſcus.*

The perſecution became more extenſive afterwards. As may be gathered from thoſe words of St. *Luke*, juſt cited: *Then had the churches reſt throughout all Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria.* Wherein it is implied, that the believers in thoſe countreys had been diſturbed: though, perhaps, the perſecution was not there ſo violent, as in *Jeruſalem*, and near it.

But ſo long as *Paul* continued in his courſe of oppoſition, the perſecution either was confined to *Jeruſalem*, or was not very violent in many other parts, if in any. This may be evidently concluded from Acts viii. 1. *And they were all ſcattered abroad throughout the regions of Judea, and Samaria, except the Apoſtles.* Many of the diſciples therefore, who left *Jeruſalem*, found ſhelter in *Judea*, and *Samaria*. This was ſoon after the death of *Stephen*, and before *Paul* went to *Damaſcus*.

Yea

ea it is added ver. 4. 5. *Therefore they that were ſcattered abroad, went pery where, preaching the word. Then Philip went down to the city of amaria, and preached Chriſt unto them.* And what follows to ver. 40. learly ſhewing the truth of what we are now arguing.

Moreover, it ſhould be remembered, that the Jewiſh Council had ot the power of life and death. The death of *Stephen* therefore was regular and tumultuous. That no others ſuffered in a like manner uring this period, I would not ſay: conſidering the great conciſeneſſe f St. *Luke*'s hiſtorie, and what St. *Paul* ſays Acts xxvi. 10. *And when hey were put to death, I gave my voice againſt them.* But if any, beſide *Stephen*, were put to death, I apprehend, not many, and thoſe of lower ank only, none of a ſtation in the Church, equal to that of *Stephen*. he Roman Officers in *Judea* did not joyn in any part of this perſecuion. They had no orders ſo to do. And if the Jewiſh Council had aſſumed authority to put men to death, it would have been complained of, and they would ſoon have been checked.

If the Jewiſh Council had had the power of life and death for theſe our years, it would indeed have gone very hard with the Chriſtian inereſt, throughout the whole countrey of *Judea*: the number of believers would have been much leſſened: nor could any new converts have been made. Such a perſecution the Church was not able to endure in its very infance.

In like manner, a four years perſecution by *Herod Agrippa* would have extirpated it. All the believers in general muſt have periſhed, throughout the whole extent of his dominions, without ſafety to any, but thoſe who eſcaped into other countreys. When therefore that proud and bigoted Prince (whom we allow to have had ſupreme power throughout all the land of *Iſrael*) began to perſecute the Church, and had ſlain *James*, and impriſoned *Peter*; Providence interpoſed, and miraculouſly delivered *Peter* out of priſon. And that Prince not obſerving the hand of God therein, nor being intimidated thereby: as appears from his ordering the innocent guards to be immediately executed: and growing ſtill more and more proud and arrogant, he fell under the hand of God himſelf. Of whoſe death, ſoon after, St. *Luke* has left an affecting hiſtorie, ch. xii. 19. . . . 23. confirmed alſo by (*o*) *Joſephus*.

3. The firſt notice, which we have of *Paul*, is in the account of *Stephen*'s martyrdom. And it ſeems likely, that he had not long before made his appearance in the world.

And, if we conſider *Paul*'s ſituation and circumſtances, we ſhall diſcern the proper vindication of his moral character. It may be reckoned probable, that he had not ſeen Jeſus in the time of his abode on this earth. Poſſibly, he did not come to *Judea* from *Tarſus*, till after the period of our Lord's miniſtrie. It may be likewiſe ſuppoſed, that he had not a perſonal acquaintance with any of Chriſt's Apoſtles, nor ſeen any miracles done by them, before he became a perſecutor. And after that, he would not admit of inſtruction from the followers of Jeſus. However, it is not improbable, that he ſaw the ſplendour of *Stephen*'s countenance before the Jewiſh Council. Acts vi. 15. as well as was witneſſe of the wonderful patience and meekneſſe of his death. ch. vii. 55. . . 59.

(*o*) *See the firſt Part of this work. B. i. ch. i. §. vi.*

55. . . 59. But then, as may be well ſuppoſed, he was not only prejudiced, but enraged. See ver. 54. 57. and ch. xxvi. 11.

How long he had been in *Judea*, and under the tuition of *Gamaliel*, cannot be certainly ſaid. But it is well known, that ſtudents, whilſt under the government of tutors, are ſtrictly guarded, and much reſtrained. None leſs acquainted with what is done in the world than they. Among the ancients, eſpecially, ſtudents of the Law and Philoſophie, were required to pay a ſtrict regard to their maſters inſtructions, and theirs only. It may be ſuppoſed, then, that *Paul*, ſo long as he was with *Gamaliel*, knew little of the public affairs of *Judea*, though he was in that countrey. Coming from the ſchools, animated with an earneſt zeal for the law of Moſes, and all it's peculiarities, and for the traditions of the Elders: and finding a number of men, called followers of Jeſus of *Nazareth*, whom they ſpake of as the Meſſiah, and raiſed from the dead, and greater than Moſes himſelf: he was filled with indignation, and thought, he was obliged to oppoſe them to the utmoſt. Which he did, till Jeſus met him, and reclaimed him. It is not unlikely, that he conceived of them, as the deluded followers of an impoſtor, like others that appeared in *Judea* about that time, and therefore deſerving of no regard for any wiſe men.

Paul ſays, among other humbling conſiderations, that he was *injurious*. 1 Tim. i. 13. And he has mentioned ſeveral inſtances of it. Acts xxvi. 10. But even then, as we may well ſuppoſe, he would not have injured any man in his perſon, or property, from worldly conſiderations. In what he did againſt the followers of Jeſus he was not actuated by envie, malice, covetouſneſſe, or any worldly view. It was a falſe zeal for God and religion, by which he was induced to be a perſecutor. Which in ſome perſons, and in ſome circumſtances, is conſiſtent with integrity. It is very likely to have been ſo in *Paul*, a young man, little acquainted with the world, and juſt come freſh from the ſtudie of the Law, and the Rabbinical interpretations of it. *Chryſoſtom* makes this difference between *Paul* and the Jews. He (*p*) had a ſincere zeal for religion, according to his knowledge at that time. They had no concern for the welfare of *Jeruſalem*, and aimed at nothing but their own honour.

All this has been ſaid for ſhewing, that *Paul* was ſincere in what he had done, and that he did not act contrarie to conviction. But † he cannot be juſtified. He ſhould have examined. He ſhould have taken care to be well informed. If, when he firſt came abroad in the world, and met with thoſe who profeſſed faith in Jeſus, as the Meſſiah, he had inquired into the grounds of their perſuaſion: if he had attentively obſerved, whether they wrought any miracles, like thoſe of Moſes, and the ancient Prophets, recorded in the Old Teſtament: if he had attended

(*p*) Οὗτος μὲν ἓν οὕτως ἐπόιει, οὐχ ὡς ἰεδαῖοι· μὴ γένοιτο. Οτι γὰρ ζῆλῳ ἐπόιει, δῆλον ἐκ τῦ εἰς τὰς ἔξω πόλεις ἀπιέναι· ἐκεῖνοι δὲ οὐτε καὶν τῶν ἱεροσολύμοις ἤφεροντισαν· ἀλλ' ἑνὸς ἐγένοντο μόνυ τῦ τιμῆς ἀπολαύειν. *In Act. Ap. hom.* 19. *T.* 9. *p.* 155. *D.*

† *See Dr. Doddridge upon* 1 *Tim. i.* 13. *note* (*b*) *Family Expoſitor. Vol.* 5. *p.* 443.

ended to the prophecies concerning the Meſſiah, which they alleged, for ſhewing, that the character of Jeſus was anſwerable to them, and hat they were fulfilled in him; he might have received ſatisfaction, nd might have been prevented from acting that part againſt Jeſus, and is diſciples, which he afterwards bewailed.

But prejudices are very ſtrong in ſome. They were ſo in this young man. Perſuaded of the divine original of the law, and of the impor-ance of the traditions of the Elders, in which he had been lately in-ſtructed, and which he had received, and held, as a moſt valuable ranch of ſcience, he had a ſovereign contempt for this new ſect, and vas of opinion, that nothing could be ſaid by them, which deſerved onſideration.

Such were his prejudices, that they were not to be overcome in an ordinarie way. Without ſomething more than common, to awaken is attention, he was in danger to have proceeded much farther in the wrong courſe, which he was in.

But though *Paul* was greatly prejudiced, he was not obſtinate. The Lord Jeſus ſaw this. He knew *Paul* to be tractable, and open to con-viction. Otherwiſe, he would not have met him in the way to *Da-maſcus*, as he did: nor would he have called to him: *Saul, Saul, why perſecuteſt thou me?* But he well knew, that thoſe words, together with he glorie of the appearance ſurrounding him, would change his heart, nd melt him down to readie obedience.

Openneſſe to conviction is a moſt neceſſarie diſpoſition in ſuch weak, gnorant, fallible, ſinful creatures, as we are. Without it there can be o alteration for the better: no change of errour for truth, or vice for irtue. Of the conceited and obſtinate there is no hope. But they who re attentive to reaſon and argument, and are willing to be determined y evidence, may do great things. Of ignorant they may become nowing. Inſtead of being erroneous, they may have juſt ſentiments. And they will proceed from one meaſure of knowledge and virtue to nother, till they attain to great perfection in both.

This was *Paul*'s diſpoſition. It is very manifeſt in him. With what enmity againſt the diſciples of Jeſus he ſet out for *Damaſcus*, and how ſoon he was changed, the hiſtorie ſhews. *And as he journeyed, he came near to Damaſcus. And ſuddenly there ſhined round about him a light from heaven. And he fell to the earth, and heard a voice ſaying unto him: Saul, Saul, why perſecuteſt thou me?* Acts ix. 3. . . 6. Whereupon he trem-bles, and acquieſces. All his rage is ſubdued, and he becomes a diſ-ciple of Jeſus.

Upon occaſion of an abuſe, which he received from the High-Prieſt, before whom he ſtood, he expreſſed himſelf with rather too much warmth and reſentment. But having been admoniſhed of it by thoſe who ſtood by, he anſwers with great mildneſſe: *I wiſt not*, I did not conſider, *brethren, that it was the High-Prieſt. For it is written: Thou ſhalt not ſpeak evil of the ruler of thy people.* Acts xxiii. 1. . . 5.

He was once offended with *John Mark*, becauſe he declined a ſer-vice, which he thought reaſonable to be performed. Acts xiii. 13. xv. 38. But he was afterwards reconciled to him, and deſired his compa-

nie:

nie: perſuaded, that he would be *profitable to him for the miniſtrie.* 2 Tim. iv. 11.

So much did this temper prevail in him, and ſo reaſonable and beneficial did it appear to him, that he thought, no men could be deſtitute of it, and that all men muſt be willing to hearken, and to yield to evidence. This we perceive from what he ſays, Acts xxii. 17. . . . 21. *When I was come again to Jeruſalem, I was in a tranſe, and ſaw him ſaying unto me: Make haſte, and get thee quickly out of Jeruſalem. For they will not receive thy teſtimonie concerning me. And I ſaid: Lord, they know that I impriſoned, and beat in every ſynagogue them that believed on thee. . . . And he ſaid unto me: Depart. For I will ſend thee far hence unto the Gentils.* He imagined, that an account of his converſion, who once was ſo oppoſite, and the reaſons of it, if fairly laid before them, muſt perſuade them. But Jeſus, who knew the hearts of all men, ſaw that the people of *Judea* were ſo hardened, that nothing would work upon them. Inſtead therefore of labouring unprofitably among them, the Lord renewed his orders to *Paul*, without delay, to proceed in the work of preaching to Gentils, as he had already begun to do.

4. It was very gracious in the Lord Jeſus, to call to *Paul* at the time he did, and not to ſuffer him to continue any longer in his careen of raſh, and inconſiderate, and injurious zeal, without controlle. As yet he was tender, and tractable. Afterwards he might have been hardened: or, upon conviction, he might have ſunk into deſpair.

5. We have reaſon to think, that there was an over-ruling providence in diſpoſing the perſon and concerns of *Paul* about this time, as well as in the other parts of his life.

He reflects with gratitude, that *God had ſeparated him from his mother's womb, and called him by his grace.* Gal. i. 15. There was great wiſdom, as well as goodneſſe, in the ſeaſon of his call, as juſt ſhewn.

It was likewiſe a very happie and favorable circumſtance, that he did not return into *Judea*, preſently after his converſion: foraſmuch as the violent perſecution, which began about the time of *Stephen's* death, had continued at leaſt three years after *Paul* left *Judea* to go to *Damaſcus.*

It was alſo well for him, that he was out of *Judea*, during the three or four years reign of *Herod Agrippa*, when he was King of all *Iſrael.* It was, indeed, owing to a violent onſet of the *Grecians*, as they are called, that the diſciples were induced to convey him to *Ceſarea*, and ſend him forth to *Tarſus.* Acts ix. 29. 30. But it was over-ruled for his good. By this means he was out of *Judea*, during the reign of that proud and cruel Prince: which appears to have been a troubleſome time to the followers of Jeſus in that countrey, till near the end it broke out into the greateſt violence. As we learn from the hiſtorie in the twelfth chapter of the Acts.

His Age at the Time of his Converſion.

IV. What was *Paul's* age at the time of his converſion, is not certain. *Witſius* ſuppoſeth, that (*q*) he was born near the end of *Herod's* reign, about the ſame time with our Saviour. It is obſervable, that in the epiſtle to

(*q*) At in neutram vaſtationem incidit pueritia Pauli, quem natum eſſe oportet

to *Philemon* ver. 9. writ about the year of the vulgar æra 62. he calls himſelf *Paul the aged.* Which, I think, muſt lead us to ſuppoſe, that he was then ſixty years of age, or not much leſs.

In the account of the martyrdom of *Stephen* he is called *a young man.* Acts vii. 58. But it is well known, that among the ancients the word *youth* is uſed with latitude. Some things ſaid of him about that time may induce us to think him arrived to years of maturity, or diſcretion. For he ſeems to have been one of the principal agents in the perſecution of the believers after the death of *Stephen:* and to have been entruſted by the Jewiſh rulers in carrying it on. As he ſays to King *Agrippa.* Acts xxvi. 10. *Which thing I alſo did in Jeruſalem. And many of the ſaints did I ſhut up in priſon, having received authority from the Chief Prieſts.* And it is well known, being (*r*) again and again related, that he had a commiſſion from the High-Prieſt, when he went to *Damaſcus.* And it is alſo mentioned afterwards in the farther account of himſelf to *Agrippa.* ver. 12. *Whereupon, as I went to Damaſcus with authority and commiſſion from the Chief Prieſts.* . . And there were ſeveral others with him at the ſame time, who may be ſuppoſed to have been officers under him. All which ſhews the regard, that was paid to him.

Mr. *Biſcoe* (*s*) thinks, that before his converſion *Paul* had been ordained Elder, or Rabbi, or Doctor. And he ſuppoſeth, that this may enable us to account for *Paul*'s being never excommunicated by the Jews. "It may ſeem ſtrange to ſome, ſays he, that St. *Paul* was not excommunicated by the Jews, after he turned Chriſtian. For St. *John* tells us ch. ix. 22. *the Jews had agreed, that if any man did confeſs, that Jeſus was the Chriſt, he ſhould be put out of the ſynagogue.* St. *Paul,* notwithſtanding, entred boldly into their ſynagogues, wherever he came, and preached, that Jeſus was the Chriſt. He was often ſcourged by them. 2 Cor. xi. 24. But we no where read of his being excommunicated. The Talmud explains this to us: foraſmuch as thence it is abundantly evident, that they were very backward to excommunicate the diſciples of the Wiſe, the Doctors and Teachers of the law."

Whether that be certain, or not, I think it may be inferred from what was before ſaid, that at the time of his converſion *Paul* was of an age when men are able to judge of the evidence of things, and to form a reaſonable determination concerning their future conduct.

V. It may be now fit for us, before we proceed any farther, to conſider, when *Paul* became an Apoſtle. *When he was made an Apoſtle?*

It has generally been the opinion of learned men, that *Paul* was called to the apoſtleſhip, at the time that he was converted, or very ſoon after.

portet circa mortem Herodis. Quod ita conficitur. Ipſe ſe *ſenem* fuiſſe dicit, quando evangelii cauſſa vinctus Romæ detinebatur a Nerone. Philem. inm. 9. Neque tamen admodum ſenex eo tempore fuit, quum παῖδας dicatur in martyrio Stephani. Unde neceſſe eſt, ejuſdem propemodum cum Chriſto ætatis fuiſſe. *De Vita Pauli. Sect. i. n. iii.*

(*r*) *See Acts ix.* 1. 2. 14. *xxii.* 8.

(*s*) *The Hiſtory of the Acts confirmed. p.* 269. 270.

after. So fays (*t*) *Spanheim*, and (*u*) *Whitfius*, who follows him. So likewife fay divers others, who alfo have carefully confidered this point, particularly (*x*) *Cave*, (*y*) *Pearfon*, (*z*) *Baſnage*. To whom I muſt add my late much valued friend (*a*) Mr. *Hallett*. Who in his Diſcourſe on Ordination had occafion to conſider Acts xiii. 2. 3. as well as fome other texts.

That *Paul* was now made an Apoſtle, and fully inſtructed for preaching the goſpel, is evident from the account of his converſion given by the Evangeliſt (*b*) *Luke*, and from all the accounts, which he gives of himſelf in his diſcourſes in *Judea*, to (*c*) the Jewiſh people, and (*d*) to *Feſtus*, and *Agrippa*, and from his epiſtle to the *Galatians*, and from the manner of his ſpeaking of himſelf at the begining of divers of his epiſtles.

What he ſays of himſelf to the *Galatians*, in particular, implies his having had a full knowledge of the goſpel revelation, and his being inveſted in the apoſtolical character, before the time of his firſt coming to *Jeruſalem*, after his converſion. Gal. i. 11. 12. *But I certify you, brethren, that the goſpel, which was preached of me, is not after men. For I neither received it of men, neither was I taught it, but by the revelation of Jeſus*

(*t*) Id vero ante omnia in diſquiſitionis hujus limine ſupponimus: idem omnino eſſe tempus vocationis Paulinæ ad apoſtolatum, quod fuit ad Chriſtum, annum adeo eundem utriuſque ac menſem. *Spanh. ubi ſupra.* §. *iv. p.* 314.

(*u*) Quo tempore ad Chriſtianiſmum, eodem ad Apoſtolatum vocatus eſt Paulus. Actor. ix 15. xxiii. 15. xxvi. 17. &c. *Witſ. de Vit. Pauli. Sect. ii. num. xxi.*

(*x*) *See before note (o) p.* 183.

(*y*) Tiberii 22. A. D. 36. Saulus in Arabia moratur, ubi per Revelationem accepit plenam a Deo notitiam evangelii, ad quod prædicandum immediate vocatus eſt.

. . . A. D. 37. Saulus ex Arabia redit Damaſcum, ſatis in officio per revelationem inſtructus. *Pearſon. Ann. Paulin. p.* 2.

(*z*) His peractis, Paulus relicta Damaſco, in vicina loca aliquantiſper receſſit, ut ab ipſo Chriſto *ἀμέσως* inſtitueretur, quod et ipſe tradit. Gal. i. 15. . . 17. In eo igitur receſſu non ab hominibus edoctus eſt, ſed ab ipſo Chriſto per revelationem didicit evangelium, et creatus eſt Apoſtolus, &c. *Baſnag. Ann.* 37. *num. lxii.*

(*a*) "From this view of the hiſtory of St. *Paul*'s life after his converſion "to Chriſtianity, it is plain that many years (thought to have been ten,) "had paſſed, during which he had been a preacher, and an Apoſtle, before "the time mentioned Acts xiii. At the begining of thoſe ten years, juſt af"ter his converſion, Chriſt made him a Miniſter and an Apoſtle, and parti"cularly gave him a commiſſion to preach to the Gentils, when he appeared "to him from heaven, and ſaid, as in Acts xxvi. 16. 17. 18. . . . When there"fore, ten years after this, the Prophets at *Antioch* ſeparated *Paul* for the "work to which he was called, by prayer, and faſting, and impoſition of "hands, it is evident, they did not give him any authority. He had received "the full apoſtolical authority, and that, as the Apoſtle of the Gentils too, "long before this, immediately from Chriſt himſelf." *Hallett's Notes and Diſcourſes. Vol.* 2. *p.* 321. 322.

(*b*) *Acts ix.* 15. . . 22. (*c*) *Ch. xxii.* 6. . . 16.

(*d*) *Ch. xxvi.* 13. . . 24.

Jesus Christ. . . . ver. 15. . . . 18. *But when it pleased God, (who separated me from my mother's womb, and called me by his grace,) to reveal his Son in me, that I might preach him among the Heathen, immediately I conferred not with flesh and blood: neither went I up to Jerusalem, to them which were Apostles before me. But I went into Arabia, and returned again unto Damascus. Then after three years I went up to Jerusalem, to see Peter, and abode with him fifteen days.*

Paul must have been an Apostle, and qualified to preach the gospel, before he came to *Jerusalem*, and saw *Peter*: or what he says here cannot be reckoned material, and to the purpose, about which he is speaking.

Undoubtedly, for some good while *Paul* preached to Jews only. And when he began to preach to Gentils also, he may have had some farther revelations from Christ. But it does not follow, that he was not an Apostle before that. *Peter*, and the rest, had been Apostles several years, before they were required or qualified to preach to Gentils.

Paul seldom speaks of his being an Apostle, or *called to be an Apostle*, as he often does at the begining of his epistles, but he seems to refer to, and intend his early call, when he was converted, and put into the ministrie. Rom. i. 1. *Paul, a servant of Jesus Christ, separated unto the gospel of God.* 1 Cor. i. 1. *Paul, called to be an Apostle of Jesus Christ, through the will of God.* See also 2 Cor. i. 1. but especially Gal. i. 1. *Paul, an Apostle, not of men, neither by men, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father, who raised him from the dead.* See likewise 1 Tim. i. 12. ii. 7. 2 Tim. i. 11.

One requisite qualification of an Apostle appears to have been, that he should see Christ in person, and that after his resurrection. This was manifestly one privilege of the first twelve Apostles, and of *Matthias*, chosen in the room of *Judas*. Acts i. 21. 22. Accordingly, we find, that *Paul* also, claiming the character of an Apostle, speaks of his having seen Christ, and as of a well known, and uncontested thing. 1 Cor. ix. 1. *Have I not seen Jesus Christ, our Lord?* And largely in the xv. chapter of the same epistle, rehearsing divers appearances of our Lord, after his resurrection, to the Apostles, and others, he says ver. 8. 9. *And last of all he was seen of me also, as of one born out of due time. For I am the least of the Apostles, who am not worthie to be called an Apostle, because I persecuted the church of God.*

It is plain, then, that *Paul* had seen Christ, and after he was risen from the dead, as the other Apostles had done. But where did he see him? It is generally (*e*) said, and, I think, rightly, in the way to *Damascus.*

(*e*) *Vid. Witsius de Vita Pauli. Sect. ii. num. v. vi. vii. et Basnagius ann.* 37. *num. lviii.*

Qu. 2. Qualis erat hæc apparitio? *Resp.* Indubie corporalis: quia se, ut ceteros, testem oculatum adducit. *Qu.* 3. Quando, et ubi Christum vidit? *Resp.* Dum iret Damascum. Act. ix. *Obj.* At Paulus tunc excæcatus erat. *Resp.* Prius tamen Dominum vidit, cujus maxima claritate perstricti sunt ejus oculi, ut fit solem intuentibus. *Poli Synops. ad* 1 *Cor.* xv. 8.

Jam quod ad hanc apparitionem Dominicam Paulo factam attinet, quæ sine dubio post ascensionem Domini contigit, illud etiam indubitate tenendum

maſcus. Then, as ſeems to me, Chriſt perſonally appeared to him. It is evident from St. *Luke*'s account of *Paul*'s converſion. Acts ix. 3. . . 6. *And as he journeyed, he came near to Damaſcus. And ſuddenly there ſhined round about him a light from heaven. And he fell to the earth, and heard a voice, ſaying unto him: Saul, Saul, why perſecuteſt thou me? And he ſaid: Who art thou, Lord? And the Lord ſaid: I am Jeſus, whom thou perſecuteſt. . . . And he trembling, and aſtoniſhed, ſaid: Lord, what wilt thou have me to do? And the Lord ſaid unto him: Ariſe, and go into the city. And it ſhall be told thee, what thou muſt do.* When *Ananias*, by ſpecial order, entered into the houſe, where *Paul* was, and put his hands upon him, he ſaid: ver. 17. *Brother Saul, the Lord, even Jeſus, who appeared to thee in the way, as thou cameſt, ὁ ὀφθείς σοι ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ, hath ſent me.* Compare ch xxii. 14. And ch. ix. 27. *Barnabas brought him to the Apoſtles, and declared unto them, how he had ſeen the Lord in the way, and that he had ſpoken unto him. Paul* likewiſe in his own accounts of his converſion uſes words expreſſive of a perſonal appearance to him. So Acts xxii. 6 . . 8. in his ſpeech to the people of *Jeruſalem*, where truth and exactneſſe were very requiſite. *And it came to paſs, that as I made my journey, and was come nigh unto Damaſcus, about noon, ſuddenly, there ſhone from heaven a light round about me. And I fell to the ground, and heard a voice ſaying unto me: Saul, Saul, why perſecuteſt thou me. And I anſwered, Who art thou, Lord? And he ſaid unto me: I am Jeſus of Nazareth, whom thou perſecuteſt.* So likewiſe Acts xxvi. 12. . . 19. very ſtrong and expreſſive, indeed. To which the reader is referred.

If *Paul* did not ſee Jeſus in perſon at the time of his converſion, when did he ſo ſee him? Some may ſay, at the time mentioned Acts xxii. 17. . . . 21. . . . *And it came to paſs, that when I was come again to Jeruſalem, even when I prayed in the temple, I was in a trance, and ſaw him ſaying unto me: Make haſte, and get thee quickly out of Jeruſalem. For they will not receive thy teſtimonie concerning me.*

Some think, that (*f*) *Paul* had this tranſe when he firſt came to *Jeruſalem*, at the end of three years after his converſion. Others rather think,

eſt, talem fuiſſe quâ Chriſtus ſemet ipſum corporaliter atque oculis corporeis videndum Paulo oſtenderet: ad quem modum et aliis omnibus ſupra memoratis viſus eſt. Nam niſi talis viſio fuiſſet etiam hæc de quâ nunc Paulus loquitur, quomodo ſe perinde ut ceteros teſtem adduceret oculatum ad probandam veritatem reſurrectionis Chriſti? . . . Nam Paulo illo tempore tuæ converſionis, quum iret Damaſcum, non tantum audiviſſe Dominum loquentem, ſed etiam vidiſſe, ex ſubſequenti narratione clarum eſt. Dicit enim ad eum Ananias ix. 17. *Dominus miſit me, Jeſus qui apparuit*, Græce ὀφθείς, qui viſus eſt, *tibi in via.* Et. cap. xxii. 14. *Deus præordinavit te, ut videres juſtum, et audires vocem ex ore ejus.* Rurſum cap. ix. 27. Barnabas de eo narrat Apoſtolis, quomodo in via vidiſſet Dominum, et quia locutus eſt ei. Sed et Dominus ad Saulum proſtratum, ipſo referente, cap. xxvi. 16. *Ad hoc enim apparui, ὤφθην, viſus ſum tibi, ut conſtituam te miniſtrum et teſtem eorum, quæ vidiſti.* Et quæ ſequuntur. *Eſt. in 1 Cor. xv.* 8.

(*f*) Ver. 17. *Retourné à Jeruſalem.*] Non pas d'abord. Voyez Gal. i. 17. mais après ſon voyage en Arabie et ſon ſejour à Damas. Ibid. ver. 18. *Lenfant ſur Actes xxii.* 17.

See likewiſe Dr. Doddridge upon the ſame place, in his Family-Expoſitor. Vol. 3. p. 355. Sect. 1.

think, that (*g*) it happened, when he and *Barnabas* came to *Jerusalem* from *Antioch*, with the contributions of the Christians there for the support of the believers in *Judea*, in the time of the dearth in the reign of *Claudius*, and in the year of Christ 44. Of which an account is given Acts xi. 27. . . 30. xii. 25. Others (*h*) hesitate.

But I cannot persuade myself, that this is what *Paul* intended, when he said to the *Corinthians*: *Am I not an Apostle? . . Have I not seen Jesus Christ, our Lord?* nor when he says afterwards in the same epistle: *And last of all he was seen of me also, as of one born out of due time.* For (*i*) there, as I apprehend, he must mean seeing Jesus Christ in person, walking, and with eyes open. Which is quite different from what happens in a dream, vision, transe, or extasie.

The (*k*) same answer will suffice for the reason of his being *taken up into paradise and into the third heaven.* For such things are visionarie. Nor did *Paul* himself certainly know, whether it was *in the body, or out of the body.* 2 Cor. xii. 1. . . 3. that is, whether he was then personally transported into paradise, or whether the representation was made in his mind, without any local removal. And the things, which he then saw and heard, were not to be revealed. He seldom speaks of such matters. When he does, it is not without an apologie. For, as it seems, they were, chiefly, for his own encouragement under the many

(*g*) Et tum, opinor, Saulus raptus est in tertium coelum, post quod tempus anno xiv. scripsit secundam ad Corinthios epistolam. cap. xii. 2. *Pearson. Ann. Paulin. A. D.* 44. *p.* 6.

(*h*) *Witsius*, De Vita Pauli. Sect. iii. num. xi. is in doubt, at which of those times *Paul* had this transe, or vision.

(*i*) Saulo Damascum proficiscenti Jesum factum conspicuum, nulli dubitamus. . . . Nobis aperte favent Ananiæ verba: Act. ix. 17. Illud ipsum refertur Barnabas eo capite ver. 27. sed et ipse Paulus talia voce refert. Act. xxii. 14. . . Comparatum ita erat, ut nemo apostolatûs officio fungi posset, qui corporeis Christum oculis non aspexisset. Itaque in eâ collatâ sibi gratiâ exultat Paulus, atque triumphat. *Nonne Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum vidi?* Quandonam porro vidit, si non vidit, dum Damascum proficisceretur? Non sane in ea visione, cujus meminit Act xxii. 17. . . 21. Fuit enim extasis, quæ non sufficiebat apostolatui. Neque ad raptum ad tertium usque coelum referri potest ea manifestatio, quæ Apostolo necessaria: sive quia dubitat Paulus, utrum corpore fuerit, an spiritu: sive etiam quia multos ante annos munus obiit Apostoli, quam mirandus ipsi raptus contigerit. &c. *Basnag. A. D.* 37. *n. lvii. vid. et n. lviii.*

(*k*) Quod vero multi præter visionem, quæ in via Damascena contigit, etiam mentionem huc ingerunt illius visionis, quam Paulus sibi Hierosolymam reverso, et in templo oranti, narrat oblatam fuisse. Act. xxii. 17. tanquam illud respiciat hoc loco: satis illud refellitur, ex eo quod, ipso Paulo teste, exstatica fuerit illa visio: sive, ut Interpres noster vertit, *in stupore mentis* facta. Jam autem ostendimus visionem corporalem hic intelligi debere. Sed neque ad raptum in tertium cœlum, atque in paradisum, de qua scribit 2 Cor. xii. . . . referenda est hæc visio. . . Non tamen ibi scribit, se Dominum vidisse. Et ut vidisset, nescire tamen se dicit, utrum in corpore, an extra corpus ipsi raptus ille et visio contigerit: et ut in corpore contigerit, quod est probabilius, exstaticam tamen fuisse, mente videlicet a sensibus corporeis abstracta, convenit inter Theologos. Nec, si per sensum oculorum facta fuisset visio, Paulus id nescire potuisset. Hic vero certum perhibet testimonium, se corporaliter, ut alios Apostolos, Christum vidisse. *Eglius ad 1 Cor. xv.* 8.

many and great difficulties, which he met with. This rapture into the third heaven and paradiſe had been concealed by him above fourteen years, and not mentioned at all till now in this his ſecond epiſtle to the *Corinthians*: as has been obſerved both by (*l*) ancients, and (*m*) moderns. But the *ſeeing Chriſt*, for qualifying him to be an Apoſtle, had been often, and openly mentioned by him.

But it may be objected, that long after his converſion *Paul* is numbered among Prophets. Acts xiii. 1 *Now there were in the church that was at Antioch certain Prophets and Teachers: as Barnabas, and Simeon that was called Niger, and Lucius of Cyrene, and Manaen . . . and Saul.*

To which I anſwer. 1. If *Paul* ſhould be allowed to be here ranked among Prophets, it will not follow, that he was not more than a Prophet, even an Apoſtle. St. *Peter* ſtiles himſelf an *Elder*, though, undoubtedly, he was alſo an Apoſtle. 1. Pet. v. 1. Mr. *Le Clerc* has a fine obſervation, relating to this matter in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorie: That (*n*) though *Paul* is mentioned laſt, he was ſuperior to the reſt in point of gifts. But, ſays he, the firſt Chriſtians were not ſolicitous about titles and pre-eminence.

2. It is not clear, that *Paul* is here reckoned among Prophets. He ſeems rather to be diſtinguiſhed from them. For, very probably, it is not without ſome reaſon, that *Paul* is not put firſt, nor next to *Barnabas*, but laſt of all. The meaning appears to be this. "Now there "were in the church at *Antioch* certain Prophets, and Teachers, as "*Barnabas*, and *Simeon*, and *Lucius*, and *Manaen*, and alſo *Saul*, whoſe "character, and ſtation in the Church is well known from the preced-"ing hiſtorie of him in this book." Whereby indeed, he evidently appears to be an Apoſtle.

3. I add one thing more, that I may fully clear up this point. The deſignation, mentioned ch. xiii. ver. 2. 3. could not be to the Apoſtleſhip. For *Paul was not an Apoſtle of men, neither by man, but by Jeſus Chriſt, and God the Father.* Gal. i. 1. Moreover, it is here expreſsly ſaid, that this ordination, or appointment, at *Antioch*, was to a particular work, or ſervice. *As they miniſtered to the Lord, and faſted, the Holy Ghoſt ſaid: Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work, whereunto I have called them. And when they had faſted, and prayed, and laid their hands on them, they ſent them away.* And it might be ſaid, that (*o*) here is no conſecration to an office, but rather a benediction for the particular work, upon which they were now ſent.

As

(*l*) Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸν χρόνον ἔθηκε τῶν δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν· εἰδὲ γὰρ ἁπλῶς ἀνωτέμνηται, ἀλλὰ δείκνυς, ὅτι ἐκ μὲν ὁ τοσούτου καιροῦ χρόνου, νῦν ἂν ἐξεῖπεν, εἰ μὴ πολλὴν ἦν ἀνάγκην. *Chryſoſt in 2 Cor. hom. 26. T. x. p. 681. D.*

(*m*) *See Dr. Doddridge's Family-Expoſitor. Vol. 4. p. 522.*

(*n*) Ceterum, ſi ex Spiritus Sancti donis, ſublimibuſque revelatonibus, Prophetarum, Doctorumque, qui memorantur, ordo conceptus eſſet, ſine dubio, primum omnium Saulum collocari oportuiſſet. Sed iis temporibus nondum de prima ſede, dignitateque contentiones erant inter Chriſtianos: et qui meritis in rem Chriſtianam omnium erant primi, ii ſe, ex Domini præcepto, quaſi minimos gerebant, nec ultimos appellari refugiebant. *Cleric. H. E. A. D. 45. num. i.*

(*o*) Porro, vere ut dicamus, nil ordinationis eſt in Antiochenſium Prophetarum χειροθεσια. . . . Eam ergo Paulus Barnabaſque manuum ſuſcepe-

runt

As Mr. *Hallett* says, in the place before quoted: "They (*p*) were "not now separated for the work of the ministry, in general, but were "separated from the other teachers at *Antioch*, to go aboard, and pro-"pagate the gospel in other countries. When they went out upon "this important work, nothing could be more agreeable, than for the "church at *Antioch*, to pray God to give *Barnabas*, and *Paul*, good "success. Which accordingly they did. They now *recommended them* "*to the grace*, or favour *of God*: as St. *Luke* says concerning this solemn "transaction. ch. xiv. 26. And after this again, when *Paul* was sent "abroad another time, to preach the gospel, where he had preached it "before, he was in the same manner recommended to the grace of God, "as it is written ch. xv. 40. *Paul chose Silas, and departed, being recom-*"*mended by the brethren to the grace*, or favour *of God*. Since therefore "both times, when *Paul* went out from *Antioch*, to preach the gospel "to the same people, the Evangelist says, in the same words, that he "was *recommended to the grace of God*; we cannot suppose, that he was "any more first made an Apostle of the Gentils, at the former, than "at the later time of his being recommended."

Upon the whole it appears to me highly probable, from all the accounts, which we have of *Paul*'s wonderful conversion, in Acts ix. xxii. and xxvi. that he received his apostolical commission from the mouth of Christ in person, when he called to him from heaven, and spoke to him in the way to *Damascus*. And especially does this appear from Acts xxvi. 15. . . 20. where *Paul* expressly relates his commission, and the time of it, and declares, as seems to me, that all which had been hitherto done by him, in preaching the gospel, to the very time when he was imprisoned, had been done in virtue of that commission. *And he said: I am Jesus, whom thou persecutest. But arise, and stand upon thy feet. For I have appeared to thee for this purpose, to make thee a minister, and a witness, both of these things, which thou hast seen, and of these things, in which I will appear unto thee: delivering thee from the People, and from the Gentils, unto whom I now send thee, ἀνοῖξαι ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν, to open their eyes, and to turn them from darkness to light. . . . Whereupon, O king Agrippa, I was not disobedient unto the heavenly vision: but shewed first unto them of Damascus, and at Jerusalem, and throughout all the coasts of Judea, and then to the Gentils: that they should repent, and turn to God, and do works meet for repentance.*

This also exactly suits the manner, in which the other Apostles where appointed. They were Apostles from the time that Jesus Christ called them to attend upon him. See Matth. iv. 18. . . 22. Luke vi. 13. And he often discoursed to them concerning their commission in it's full extent, and the difficulties they would meet with in the discharge of it: giving them also various directions, relating to their conduct, when they should come abroad in the world. See Matth. x. throughout, and xvi. 18. 19. and many like places in the other Gospels. And before he left them, he expressly said: *Go ye therefore, and teach all nations.* Matt. xxviii. 19. But they did not at first understand the full extent

runt impositionem, quæ benedictionis est, non consecrationis. *S. Basnag. An.* 45. *num. iii.*

(*p*) *Vol. 2. p. 323*

extent of their commiſſion, nor preſently execute it. At the firſt they preached to Jews only. And it was ſeveral years, after Chriſt's aſcenſion, before they preached to Gentils. So *Paul* was from the beginning called, and appointed to be an Apoſtle: and by degrees he was qualified for it, as his commiſſion opened. And in time he was called out by Divine Providence to the full execution of it. But all along he was an Apoſtle, and acted, and taught, as ſuch: firſt preaching to Jews at *Damaſcus*, and *Jeruſalem*, and *Judea*, and other parts, and then to Gentils. So he plainly ſays to *Agrippa* in the place recited juſt now.

His Hiſtory from his Converſion to his coming to Jeruſalem.

VI. Having thus ſettled the time of *Paul*'s converſion, and apoſtleſhip, according to the beſt of my ability, I now intend to give an account of his travels in the ſervice of the goſpel. This I do for the ſake of ſhewing the date of his writings. And it would be ſhorter and more agreeable, on divers accounts, to take in his epiſtles as we go along. But there being debates about the time of ſeveral of them, I think it will be preferable, to write his hiſtorie, without interruption, as briefly as we can, and then obſerve the order of his epiſtles.

Paul, having been baptized by *Ananias* at *Damaſcus*, ſtaid a ſhort time with the diſciples there, and then went into *Arabia*: where, it is very likely, he might meet with ſome believers. For *Arabians* are expreſsly mentioned Acts ii. 11. among the Jews and proſelytes, who heard the Apoſtle *Peter*'s firſt ſermon at *Jeruſalem* after the deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt. At which time many were converted to a faith in Jeſus Chriſt. Acts ii. 41.

Whilſt *Paul* was in *Arabia*, it is reaſonable to think, that he was fully inſtructed, by ſpecial †† revelation, in the doctrine preached by Jeſus Chriſt, when here on earth, and all the things ſaid and done by him, and his ſufferings, crucifixion, reſurrection, and aſcenſion, the fulfilment of the ancient prophecies in Jeſus, the Chriſt, the ſon of *David*, and the ſon of *Abraham*, and received alſo the Holy Ghoſt, in a meaſure equal to that of other Apoſtles. Whereby he was qualified to preach the goſpel, and to teſtify the reſurrection of Jeſus, and to prove him to be the Chriſt, without receiving either inſtruction, or gifts from other Apoſtles.

Having been ſome time in *Arabia*, he returned to *Damaſcus*. *And ſtraitway he preached in the ſynagogues, that Jeſus is the Chriſt, or the Son of God.* This he did with ſuch ſtrength and cogence of argument, as to *confound the Jews, which dwelt at Damaſcus.* They being greatly provoked, and forming a deſign upon his life, the diſciples found means to provide for his eſcape. Whereupon he went to *Jeruſalem*. Acts ix. 20. . . 25.

Some think, that *Paul* preached at *Damaſcus*, ſoon after he had been baptized by *Ananias*, and that he alſo preached in *Arabia*, and that (*q*) he had preached three years, before he came to *Jeruſalem*, after his converſion.

†† Concerning the manner of the revelations now vouchſafed to *Paul*, may be ſeen *Lightfoot*, in his Comm. upon Acts ix. 1. in the firſt volume of his works. p. 791.

(*q*) Il veut montrer, qu'il avoit prêché l'evangile trois ans avant que d'avoir vu aucun Apoſtre, &c. *Beauſ. ſur Galat. i.* 18.

ersion. *Pearson* (*) supposeth, that *Paul*, whilst in *Arabia*, received by revelation, a full knowledge of the gospel. And says, that when he returned from *Arabia* to *Damascus*, he preached there. But I do not perceive him to say, that *Paul* preached in *Arabia*, or at *Damascus*, presently after his conversion.

To me it seems, that *Paul* did not preach at *Damascus*, presently after he had been baptized, but first went into *Arabia*, and then returned to *Damascus*. And being now qualified by divine revelation, and by diligent reading the scriptures of the Old Testament, during his recesse in *Arabia*, and being fully determined, after a competent time of humiliation for past conduct, and serious meditation, in which he had well weighed the difficulties of the work he was entering upon, he began to preach Christ in the synagogues of *Damascus*. I am confirmed in this opinion by the interpretation of an author, whose words I place (*r*) below. Nor does St. *Paul*, that I remember, any where say, that he preached in *Arabia*. He makes a large, and, seemingly, very particular enumeration of places and people, to whom he had preached, in his discourse before *Agrippa*, without taking any notice of *Arabia*. Acts xxvi. 20. *I shewed first unto them of Damascus, and at Jerusalem, and throughout all the coasts of Judea, and then to the Gentils, that they should repent, and turn to God.*

Jerome observing, that St. *Luke* had said nothing of *Paul*'s being in *Arabia*, is inclined to think, that (*s*) he did not discharge any part of his apostolical office in that countrey. But then, if *Paul* was silent there, he thinks, it was not owing to the Apostle's backwardnesse to speak: But the divine wisdom appointed, that it should be so.

Theophylact observes, that (*t*) the design of the *Jews* at *Damascus*, to destroy

(*) Saulus in Arabiâ moratur, ubi per revelationem accepit plenam a Deo notitiam evangelii, ad quod prædicandum immediate vocatus est. Saulus ex Arabiâ redit Damascum, satis in officio per revelationem instructus. *Annal. Paulin. A. D.* 36. 37. *p.* 2.

(*r*) "St. *Paul* being restored to his sight by *Ananias*, staid not long at "*Damascus*, but retired forthwith into *Arabia*, as he himself tells us. Gal. "i. 16. 17. Whereas it is said Acts ix. 19. 20. *And when he had received* "*meat, he was strengthened. Then was Saul certain days with the disciples at* "*Damascus, and straitway he preached Christ in the synagogues.* Here the word, "*straitway*, does not relate to *Saul*'s first coming to *Damascus*, but to his "return thither, after he had been in *Arabia*. For Acts ix. 19. 20. are to be "rendered and paraphrased thus: *And when he had received meat, he was* "*strengthened.* Presently after which, according to Gal. i. 16. he went in- "to *Arabia*, and having been there instructed in the gospel by the revela- "tion of Jesus Christ, according to Gal. i. 12. he returned again to *Damas-* "*cus. Then*, or *now, was Paul certain days with the disciples at Damascus, and* "*straitway*, namely, after his return out of *Arabia, he preached Christ in the sy-* "*nagogues.*" *Dr. Edw. Wells Historical Geography of the N.T. Part.* 2. *p.* 20. 21.

(*s*) Lucam vero ideirco de Arabia præterisse, quia forsitan nihil dignum apostolatu in Arabia perpetrarat: et ea potius compendiosa narratione dixisse, quæ digna Christi evangelio videbantur. Nec hoc segnitiæ Apostoli deputandum, si frustra in Arabio fuerit: sed quod aliqua dispensatio et Dei præceptum fuerit, ut taceret. *Hieron. in Gal. i.* 17. *T.* 4. *P. i. p.* 235.

(*t*) . . . ὅτι ἡ ἐπιδημία ἐν Δαμάσκῳ ἐκ τύχης μετὰ τὸ πιστεῦσαι γέγονε· ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὸ ἀναλθεῖν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ Ἀραβίας μετὰ ἔτη τρία. καὶ οὕτως γέγονεν ἡ πρὸς Ἰερουσόλυμα ἄνοδος. *Theoph. in Act. Ap. p.* 94.

deſtroy *Paul*, was not formed preſently after his converſion to the faith: but after his return thither from *Arabia*, at the end of three years, juſt before his going to *Jeruſalem*.

Indeed, it is very likely, that if *Paul* had preached at *Damaſcus*, ſoon after his firſt arrival there, he would have met with a moſt violent onſet. And as nothing of that kind is particularly taken notice of, it may be concluded, that he did not then publicly preach in any ſynagogues. Nor was it fit, or becoming, that he ſhould. It was highly proper, that ſome time ſhould be allotted for retirement, after ſuch a courſe, as he had been in, before he began to preach and teach publicly in the name of Jeſus.

Though St. *Luke* had not mentioned the journey into *Arabia*, nor the time of *Paul*'s abſence from *Damaſcus*, he knew it very well, and has hinted it, ſaying: *And after many days were fulfilled, the Jews took counſel to ſlay him.* Acts ix. 23.

Mr. *Beauſobre* ſays, that (*u*) *Paul*'s journey into *Arabia* ſhould be placed between ver. 22. and 23. of the ix. chapter of the Acts. I ſhould rather place it between ver. 19 and 20. of that chapter.

This period of three years, or three years and ſomewhat more, from *Paul*'s converſion to his coming to *Jeruſalem*, reaches, according to our computation, from near the end of the year 36. to near the end of 39. or the begining of the year 40. or from the begining of the year 37. to the former part of the year 40.

I cannot allow myſelf to ſpeak poſitively, where there is not the evidence of certainty. I do not know, in what month *Paul* was converted, or came to *Jeruſalem*. Of ſuch things as theſe it is ſufficient to ſay, that they happened in ſuch a year, or thereabout.

From his coming firſt to Jeruſalem after his Converſion to his being brought to Antioch by Barnabas.

VII. *Paul* having been full three years at *Damaſcus*, and in it's neighbourhood, and in *Arabia*, he came to *Jeruſalem*. Gal. i. 18 *And when he was come thither, he aſſayed to joyn himſelf to the diſciples: but they were all afraid of him, and believed not, that he was a diſciple.* Acts ix. 26.

This may ſeem ſtrange to ſome. But now we diſcern the reaſon of it from the account, that has been lately given of the continuance of the perſecution in *Judea* after the death of *Stephen*, and alſo of *Paul*'s retired way of life, for ſome while, in *Arabia*. *Paul* had but lately begun to preach openly in the name of Jeſus, in the ſynagogues of *Damaſcus*. And †† the believers in *Judea* being much harraſſed by the perſecution

(*u*) *Comment. ſur Gal. i.* 17.

†† Says *Lightfoot* in his Commentarie upon Acts ix. 26. Vol. i. p. 814. "Some cannot conceive, how it ſhould be poſſible, that he ſhould have been a convert three years, and yet his converſion and preſent abilities ſhould be unknown to the church at *Jeruſalem*. But theſe two or three conſiderations may help the ſcruple. 1. The diſtance between *Damaſcus* and *Jeruſalem*. 2. The perſecution, that continued ſtill upon the church of *Judea*, which would keep the diſciples of *Damaſcus* from going thither. And 3. The juſt fear, that might poſſeſs the diſciples at *Jeruſalem*, in the very time of perſecution. For though it was ſaid before, that the church of *Jeruſalem*, and of

tution which they met with at home, had not received any intelligence about what had paſſed at *Damaſcus*, and in the way thither. Nor are the Jewiſh rulers forward to publiſh the loſſe of ſo active a ſervant as *Paul* had been.

Acts ix. 27. . . 30. *But Barnabas took him, and brought him to the Apoſtles, and declared unto them, how he had ſeen the Lord in the way, and that he had preached boldly at Damaſcus.*

There have been different conjectures concerning the reaſons, why *Barnabas*, in particular, brought *Paul* to the Apoſtles. Some have imagined, that * he and *Barnabas* had ſtudied together under *Gamaliel*: or at leaſt, that they had been acquainted formerly. But I ſee no ground for ſuch a ſuppoſition in the hiſtorie. If that had been the caſe, there would have been ſome intimation of it. Which there is not. I therefore rather think, that it was entirely owing to the circumſtances of things. When *Paul* came to *Jeruſalem*, it was a time of perſecution as before obſerved, and the Apoſtles lived privatly. *Paul* endeavored to joyn himſelf to the diſciples, and be acquainted with them. But they were all ſhy of him And poſſibly they were deſirous, that he ſhould be approved by ſome of the Apoſtles, before they took notice of him. However, he met with *Barnabas*, and gave him an account of his converſion, and of every thing that had happened to him, ſince he went from *Jeruſalem*. And *Barnabas* gave credit to his account. Nor is it impoſſible, but that ſome believers might come from *Damaſcus*, and confirm the truth of it. Whereupon *Barnabas* was willing to introduce him to the Apoſtles. Unqueſtionably, they placed full confidence in *Barnabas*, and he might know where they were. However it is evident, he had acceſſe to *James*. To him he brought *Paul*. And *James* brought him to *Peter*. So *Paul* had communion with all the Apoſtles. After which he was readily received by the diſciples, or believers in general. *And he was with them, coming in, and going out at Jeruſalem. And he ſpake boldly in the name of the Lord Jeſus, and diſputed with the Grecians*, or Greeks: meaning proſelytes to the Jewiſh religion, in whom we ſee the true ſpirit of the Jewiſh proſelytes about this time, as declared by our Saviour himſelf. Matt. xxiii. 15. *But they went about to ſlay him. Which when the brethren knew, they brought him down to Ceſarea, and ſent him forth to Tarſus.*

By *Ceſarea* I ſhould be apt to underſtand, *Ceſar a by the ſea ſide*, mentioned before. ch. viii. 40. But ſome learned men, particularly, (x) *Witſius*,

of *Judea*, enjoyed a great deal of reſt and tranquillity after the converſion of *Paul*, their great perſecutor, in compariſon of what they had done before, yet was not the perſecution of the Church utterly extinct to the very time of *Paul*'s coming up to *Jeruſalem*, but continued ſtill. And therefore it is the leſs wonder, if the diſciples there be the more fearfull and cautelous."

* On pretend, qu'il avoit étudié avec Saul ſous Gamaliel. *Lenfant ſur Actes. ix.* 27. *See alſo Pool's Engliſh Annotations upon the place.*

** Forte Barnabas Saulum ante converſionem noverat, credebatque ei ut minime mendaci. *Grot. ad loc.*

(x) . . . Hieroſolymam reliquit, et a fratribus Cæſaream deductus eſt, non maritimam illam, quæ eſt *Turris Stratonis* dicta, de qua ſupra cap. viii. 40.

ſed

Hirtius, and (*y*) Dr. *Doddridge*, hereby ſuppoſe to be intended *Ceſarea Philippi*. If we could be aſſured of that interpretation, perhaps it might lead us to the meaning of that expreſſion of *Paul* in his ſpeech to *Agrippa*, cited not long ago: *throughout all the coaſts of Judea*. And indeed it may be reckoned probable, that therein *Paul* refers to what was now done by him. For we cannot think of any more likely ſeaſon for it, conſidering how ſhort a ſtay he generally made in *Judea*, whenever he came thither after his converſion. It is very probable, that as he travelled with the diſciples, who accompanied him, he was not ſilent. Though he made no long ſtay in any one place, he would embrace every opportunity that offered, to ſpeak of the doctrine, which now lay with ſo much weight on his mind.

The brethren, as St. *Luke* ſays, *brought him down to Ceſarea, and ſent him forth to Tarſus*. And St. *Paul* himſelf ſays Gal. i. 21. *Afterwards I came into the regions of Syria and Cilicia*. *Tarſus* was now the chief city of *Cilicia*, and *Paul*'s native place: where he had not been, ſince he firſt came up to *Jeruſalem*, to ſtudy the law under *Gamaliel*. Poſſibly, *Paul* now found ſome of his relations, and likewiſe ſome others, who were diſciples of Jeſus before him. See Rom xvi. 7. 11. Poſſibly alſo, while he travelled now in theſe countreys of *Cilicia* and *Syria*, he met with ſome of thoſe dangers, and difficulties, which are entirely omitted by St. *Luke*, but are mentioned, or hinted by the Apoſtle, in his epiſtles, eſpecially the eleventh chapter of the ſecond epiſtle to the *Corinthians*.

In thoſe countreys *Paul* was the remainder of the year 40. and all 41. and likewiſe all 42. or the greateſt part of it, till about the beginning of the year 43. preaching, undoubtedly, in the name of Jeſus, to native Jews, and to proſelytes of the Jewiſh Religion.

Afterwards he went to *Antioch*, and began to preach to Gentils, as we ſhall ſee preſently.

The churches having peace, and being no longer diſturbed by a violent perſecution, *Peter* viſited the diſciples in the ſeveral parts of *Judea*. Acts ix. 32. . . . 43. Before he returned to *Jeruſalem*, whilſt he was in the city of *Joppa, where he tarried many days*, he received an order from heaven to go to *Ceſarea*. And in ch. x. and xi. 1. . . . 18. St. *Luke* gives a diſtinct account of St. *Peter*'s going to the houſe of *Cornelius* at *Ceſarea*, and there preaching to Gentils, and of the defenſe, which he made of his conduct to the Apoſtles and brethren at *Jeruſalem*, and their acquieſcence therein, upon which I do not now enlarge.

Afterwards at ver. 19. 20. St. *Luke* ſays; *Now they which were ſcattered abroad upon the perſecution that aroſe about Stephen, travelled as far as Phenice, and Cyprus, and Antioch, preaching the word to Jews only. And ſome*

ſed *Cæſaream Philippi*, quæ ſita erat circa montem Libanum, ad confluentem Jor et Dan, unde Jordannes originem ducit, quæ olim Lachis, deinde Dan appellata fuit, de qua Jud. xviii. Cujus pomœria quum Rex Agrippa protuliſſet, mutato nomine in honorem Neronis vocavit Neroniada. Joſeph. Antiq. 20. viii. *Witſ. de Vita Pauli Sect.* 3. *n.* ii.

(*y*) *See the Family-Expoſitor. Vol.* 3. *p.* 146. *upon Acts ix.* 30.

e of them were men of Cyprus and Cyrene: Who when they were come to tioch, ſpake unto the Grecians, preaching the Lord Jeſus.

These men had preached the goſpel to Jews, and the proſelytes to daiſm, in *Phœnice*, and *Cyprus*, and *Antioch*. But ſome time after ir arrival at *Antioch*, hearing of *Peter*'s having opened the door of the gdom of heaven to Gentils at the houſe of *Cornelius*, they began to each alſo to the *Greeks* at *Antioch*, that is, the †† people of the coun-ry: who might, poſſibly, ſome few of them, be pious men, like *Cor-lius*, who even before his converſion was a worſhipper of the true God, God of *Iſrael*. but the greateſt part of them muſt have been Hea-n idolaters, as all the people of the earth, except the Jews, general-were, till the coming of Chriſt, and the preaching of his goſpel (z) ong them.

Ver. 21. *And the hand of the Lord was with them.* God graciouſly companied their miniſtrie with miraculous works, which he enabled em to perform in the name of Jeſus. Whereby they who ſaw them re awakened and convinced. And thoſe Evangeliſts likewiſe were tly encouraged, being thereby fully ſatisfied, that what they did approved by God himſelf. *And a great number believed, and turned to the Lord.*

Ver 22. . . . 26. *Then tidings of theſe things came unto the ears of the urch, which was at Jeruſalem. And they ſent forth Barnabas, that he uld go as far as Antioch. Who when he came, and had ſeen the grace d, was glad, and exhorted them all, that with purpoſe of heart, they ſhould ve unto the Lord. . . . Then departed Barnabas to Tarſus, for to ſeek ul And when he had found him, he brought him unto Antioch.*

VIII. If *Peter* preached to *Cornelius*, in the year . and about the middle of that year, as is pro-ble; it would be near the end of the year 42. or beginning of the year 43. when *Paul* was brought *Barnabas* to *Antioch*.

. . . to his coming up to Jeruſalem with the Contributions of the Chriſtians at Antioch.

During this time of *Paul*'s being at *Antioch*, in the year of Chriſt 43. might have the rapture, mentioned by him 2 Cor. xii. It ſeems to me,

†† . . . *that is, the people of the country.* Acts xix. 10. . . . *ſo that all they which dwelt in Aſia, heard the word of the Lord Jeſus, both Jews and Greeks.* l ver. 17. *And this was known to all the Jews and Greeks alſo dwelling Epheſus.* It is common with all authors about that time, to call the ple, who inhabited the cities of *Aſia* and *Syria*, *Greeks*. Οι δε μετ' αυ-. . . . ταυτα τοις επ' αυτη χωρας ιδοξαν, ως ειπειν, . . . και τοσουτον ισχυσαν ιστε την πολιν ολην ελληνιδα ποιησαι. *Joſ. de B. J. l. 7. cap. 3. n. 3. p. 1009. edit.* Iter igitur ita per Aſiam fecit . . . Nullo judicio, nullâ contumelia, hortatione et cohortatione perfecit, ut et Græci, et cives Romani, qui fruentum compreſſerant, magnum numerum populis pollicerentur. *Cic. ad . l. 5. ep. 21. et paſſim.*

(z) Ut ut ſit, Gentiles hic intelligi, res ipſa clamat. Atque hoc primum exemplum eſt evangelii publice Gentibus prædicati. Nam alterum illum Cornelii non niſi domeſticum fuit. Quum vero Dei favorem in facto opere inſignitum experirentur fideles illi Cyprii ac Cyrenenſes, multitudoque eorum numerus fide ipſis habita converteretur ad Chriſtum, non potuit ea rei fama Hieroſolymitanæ eccleſiæ proceres diu latere. *Hiſt. de l'Eglise. Sect. 3. n. iii.*

me to have happened soon after he came to *Antioch*, when he first b gan to preach to Gentiles, who hitherto had preached to Jews only.

Ver. 46. *And it came to pass, that a whole year they assembled themselv with the church, and taught much people. And the disciples were called Chr tians first at Antioch.*

This whole year, I think, must be part of the years 43. and 44. a cording to the vulgar computation. It may have reached some w into the year 44. Indeed, I apprehend, *the whole year*, mentioned b *Luke*, to have expired not long before the time, that *Paul* and *Barnab* went up to *Jerusalem*, with the contributions made at *Antioch*, for the re lief of the believers in *Judea*, in the approaching famine. For that what St. *Luke* immediately proceeds to relate in ver. 27. . . 30. that to the end of the chapter. And in this year, 44. I suppose the believe in Jesus to have obtained this denomination.

And the disciples were called Christians. Which (*a*) some think to ha been done by *a divine admonition*. And they translate after this manne *And* (*b*) *the disciples were by divine appointment first named Christians at An tioch.*

Witsius (*c*) does not discern any particular emphasis in the word, an readily admits the interpretation of *Grotius*, that the Greek word, a cording to it's usual meaning in the best Greek writers, and in the Ne Testament itself, signifies *named*, or *called*. And he inclines to the co jecture of Abp. *Usher*, that this appellation was given to the believe by the Romans then at *Antioch*.

Suicer in his Thesaurus explains (*d*) the original word, and unde stands this text, exactly as *Grotius* did.

Dr. *Heumann* has (*e*) a Dissertation concerning the origin of the nam of Christians. Wherein (*f*) he largely shews it to be very probabl th

(*a*) *See Dr. Benson's History of the first planting the Christian Religion. v. i. c i. sect. vi. p.* 241. *first ed. p.* 248. *2d. ed.*

(*b*) *That is Dr. Doddridge's translation. Family Expositor. vol.* 3. *p.* 178.

(*c*) Quod nomen Latinâ non Græcâ formâ a Christo deflexum, a Roman Antiochiæ degentibus impositum illis fuisse, conjectat in Annalibus suis U sserius. Nec desunt, qui emphasin quærant in voce χρηματισαι, quâ Luc utitur. Scilicet talem volunt nominationem eo vocabulo designari, quæ pu blico edicto, et jussu Reipublicæ fit. . . . Non invideo sane observationes ist doctissimis auctoribus suis: modo mihi dubitare liceat, an tam solidæ qua subtiles sint. Simplicior videtur annotatio Grotii: χρηματ ξειν, pro nom nari, est vox melioris Græcitatis, quam et Polybius non semel usurpat: Paulus Rom. vii. 3. ἄρα οὖν ζωντος δ ἀνδρὸς μοιχαλις χρηματισει. Ubi ha jactata vocis emphasis? *Witsius ubi supr. Sect.* 3. *num. iv.*

(*d*) χρηματίζω significat nomino, vocor, appellor. Ita sumitur Acts x 26. . . *Factum est autem, ut primum Antiochiæ discipuli nominarentur vel appell rentur Christiani.* χρηματισαι hic est. ὀνομασθῆναι, προσαγορευθῆναι, λεχθῆνα κληθῆναι. *Suicer.*

(*e*) De ortu nominis christianorum. *Diss. xi. ap. Primit. Gotting. p.* 13 . . 147.

(*f*) Satis nunc cognovimus, Christianorum appellationis auctores fuisse n ipsos Christi cultores, sed Ethnicos. . . . Illud præterea hinc discimus, L tinum potius esse nomen Christianorum, quam Græcum. Ac proinde faci subscribimus sententiæ Usserii, in Annalibus suis pronunciantis: *Nomen Chr tianor*

hat this name had not it's rife from the Jews. Nor did the difciples of Jefus take it to themfelves. But, probably, they were firft fo called by Heathens, particularly the Romans: as Abp. *Uſher* had argued, the name not having a Greek, but a Latin termination.

This will overthrow the obfervation of *Chryſoſtom*, formerly (*g*) mentioned, "That St. *Paul* gave us this name." And indeed Dr. *Heumann* fhews, that both (*h*) St. *Luke*, and (*i*) St. *Paul* feem to have declined

ianorum Latina non Græca forma a Chriſto deflexum, a Romanis Antiochiæ tum gentibus impoſitum illis ſu iſſe videtur. Nec Rex Agrippa Act. xxvi. 28. appellatione Chriſtianorum utens, cum effet in domo Feſti Romani præfidis, alio fredi poteſt nomine uſus eſſe, quam quod uſurpabant Romani. Ac certe in univerſa Laertii Hiſtoria Philoſophorum Græcorum, ne una quidem fecta occurrit, cujus nomen terminationem *anus* nactum fit: neque e. g. Platoniani ieuntur Platonis affeclæ, uti Ciceronianos dixiſſent Latini et Catonianos, fed Platonici. . . . Illud adjicio, etiam Herodianis hoc nomen impoſuiſſe non Græcos aut Judæos, fed Romanos. *Heum. ib. num. ix. p.* 140.

(*g*) *See Vol. x. p.* 361.

(*h*) Nec vero folum non probari poteſt, primum uſos eſſe Chriſtianorum appellatione Chriſti diſcipulos: verum etiam gravibus id negari poteſt argumentis. . . . Primum enim Lucam ſequentibus in capiti us hujus fui libri uti portuiſſet hac appellatione, ſi Chriſtiani Antiocheni hoc nomen ipſi ſibi impoſuiſſent. Jam vero id ne ſemel quidem ab eo factum eſt, ſed, uti antea Chriſtianæ religionis profeſſores modo μαθητὰς vocavit. cap. i. 15. vi. 1. 2. ix. 1. 10. 19. 25. 26. 36. modo ἀδελφὺς. ix. 30. x. 23. xi. 1. 12. ſemel etiam τῆς πίστεως iv. 32. ac ſemel τὸς ἁγίους. ix. 32. ſic poſt mentionem de virtu nominis Chriſtianorum eos ſemel appellavit τὰς πεπιστευκότας. xxi. 25. ceteris in locis aut μαθητὰς. xi. 29. xiii. 52. xvi. 20. 28. xvii. 1. xviii. 23. xix. 1. 9. xx. 1. 7. 30. xxi. 4. 16. aut ἀδελφὺς. xi. 29. xii. 17. xv. 1. 3. 22. 23. 32. 33. 40. xvi. 2. 40. xvii. 6. 10. 14. xviii. 18. xxi. 7. 17. xxviii. 14. 15. *Ubi ſupr. num. vi. p.* 137.

(*i*) Deinde, ſi eo tempore, quo Paulus Antiochiæ docuit, Chriſti diſcipuli hoc nomen ſua ipſorum adciviſſent, dubitari non poteſt, quin is Apoſtolus unuſquiſque futurus hanc appellationem fuiſſet ſuis in epiſtolis. Semper autem alio is utitur nomine. In exordiis ſolet eos τὰς ἁγίους vocare. Natus quoque opportunam occaſionem eos appellandi τὰς χριστιανὰς. ex. gr. Rom. viii. 9. Gal. v. 24. tamen dicere maluit τὰς τοῦ χριστοῦ. Imo cum Agrippa Act. xxvi. 28. ad ipſum hanc vocem edidiſſet. *Prope abeſt, ut et ego fiam χριστιανός*: quaſi refugiens appellationem hanc, non ita reſpondet: *Vellem fias Chriſtianus*, ſed hiſce verbis: *Vellem fias talis, qualis ego ſum.* Notabilis et ille locus Gal. i. 22. . . . At non ait ibi Paulus: ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις χριστιανῶν, ſed ταῖς ἐν χριστῷ. Eodem modo. 1 Tim. v. 16. ubi dicere poterat, *ſi quis Chriſtianus vel chriſtiana mulier*, ita locutus eſt: εἴ τις πιστὸς ἢ πιστή. Jam ſi Eccleſia ipſa auctor fuiſſet hujus appellationis, an, eâ, tam ſtudiose abſtinere potuiſſe Paulum credi poteſt? Memini, etiam, Iſidorum Peluſiotam olim hanc propoſuiſſe quæſtionem. lib. 4. ep. 61. Cur nuſquam Paulus nomen uſurparit χριστιανῶν: nihil autem ad eam reſpondiſſe. Nos vero videmur nobis juſtiſſima reſponſione defuncti eſſe. *Ibid. num. vii. p.* 138.

Nomine illo Chriſtianorum nec Paulum uſquam nec Lucam uſum eſſe, cum ipſa obſervaverimus, nunc diſpiciamus, age, cur hic Apoſtolus, una cum miniſtro ſuo ſocioque ſacri itineris id fecerit: cur item non ita multo poſt in civitatem Chriſtianam recepta fuerit ea appellatio. Abſtinuiſſe ſcilicet eâ hanc ob cauſam videtur Paulus, ne Chriſtus hoc pacto in ordinem redigeretur doctorum

clined the uſe of it: poſſibly, leſt our Saviour ſhould have been eſteemed an ordinarie leader of a ſect, like the Philoſophers at that time much celebrated among the Greeks and Romans.

However, it was not long, before it obtained, and was very acceptable to the followers of Jeſus. It is uſed by St. *Peter* 1. iv. 16. And ſome (*k*) have thought it to be the *worthie name* intended by St. *James* ch. ii. 7. And it is certain, that afterwards it was much, and juſtly valued by thoſe, who bore it. In the epiſtles of the churches of *Vienne* and *Lyons*, giving an account of their late ſufferings, it is ſtiled (*l*) an honourable, and glorious, and reviving appellation.

It may be hence concluded, that the believers at *Antioch* were now numerous. Otherwiſe, Heathen people had not taken ſo much notice of them. And indeed St. *Luke* had before ſaid, that when the men of *Cyprus* and *Cyrene* were come to *Antioch, and ſpoke to the Greeks, preaching the Lord Jeſus, the hand of the Lord was with them, and a great number believed, and turned unto the Lord.* ver. 20. 21. and that upon the coming of *Barnabas*, and his preaching there, *much people was added unto the Lord.* ver. 24. It is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that after *Paul* came thither, farther additions were made, at which time they received this new name.

It follows Acts xi. 27. . . . 30. *And in thoſe days came Prophets from Jeruſalem unto Antioch. And there ſtood up one of them, named Agabus, and ſignified in the Spirit, that there ſhould be great dearth throughout all the world.* [or all the land, meaning *Judea.*] *Which came to paſs in the days of Claudius Cæſar. Then the diſciples, every man according to his ability, determined to ſend relief to the brethren, who dwelt in Judea. Which alſo they did. And ſent it to the Elders by the hands of Barnabas and Saul.*

Then follows in the xii. chapter an account of the perſecution, and death of *Herod Agrippa:* in the laſt verſe of which chapter it is ſaid: *And Barnabas and Saul returned from Jeruſalem when they had fulfilled their miniſtrie. And they took with them John, whoſe ſurname was Mark.*

Of this famine we ſpoke (*m*) formerly. And as *Agrippa* died in 44. and *Barnabas* and *Paul* ſeem not to have performed this ſervice, nor to have returned to *Antioch*, untill after his death; it was argued, that this commiſſion of the church of *Antioch* was not finiſhed by them till near the end of that year.

At this time of *Paul*'s being at *Jeruſalem*, in the year 44. I ſuppoſe, he had the tranſe mentioned by him in his ſpeech to the Jewiſh people, Acts xxii. 17. . . 21. For it was in that city, and in the temple, as he expreſsly

doctorum ſapientiæ τῶν φιλανθρώπων, cum ſit θεάνθρωπος. &c. *ib. num. xi. p.* 142.

Ad ultimum non dubitabant ipſimet Chriſtiani pervulgato uti hoc nomine. . . . Cujus rei etſi unum duntaxat exemplum in N. T. codice, in prioris videlicet Petri epiſtolæ capite quarto, unum tamen illud exemplum eſt inſtar ſexcentorum. *Ib. num. xii. p.* 142. 143.

(*k*) *Vid. Grot. et Wolf. Curæ in loc.*

(*l*) . . . τὴν πάντιμον, καὶ ἐνδοξον, καὶ ζωοποιὸν προσηγορίαν. *Ap. Euſeb. H. E. l.* 5. *cap. i. p.* 160. *D. Vid. et p.* 158. *A.*

(*m*) *See Part i. B. i. ch. xi. §. ii.*

expreſsly ſays: *And it came to paſs, that when I was come again to Jeruſalem, even while I was praying in the temple: I was in a tranſe . . . And he ſaid unto me: Depart. For I will ſend thee far hence unto the Gentils.* And we ſhall preſently ſee, that ſoon after this, *Paul* and *Barnabas* left *Antioch*, and made a farther progreſſe in preaching the goſpel to Gentil people.

I ſuppoſe this period to be about two years, from the time of *Paul*'s coming firſt to *Antioch*, and begining to preach there to Gentils, to his return thither again, after he had been at *Jeruſalem* upon the commiſſion above-mentioned: that is, from near the end of the year 42. or from the begining of the year 43. to the end of the year 44.

. . . to his coming to the Council at Jeruſalem.

IX. I now intend to take in the hiſtorie of *Paul* and *Barnabas* from that time to their coming again to *Jeruſalem*, and returning thence to *Antioch*.

Says St. *Luke* Acts xiii. 1. . . 3. *Now there were in the church that is at Antioch certain Prophets, and Teachers, as Barnabas, and Simeon, and Lucius, and Manaen, and Saul. And as they miniſtered unto the Lord, and faſted, the Holy Ghoſt ſaid: Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work, whereunto I have called them. And when they had faſted, and prayed, and laid their hands on them, they ſent them away.*

Pearſon ſuppoſeth, that (*n*) at this time, which, according to his computation, was the year 44. *Paul* had the rapture mentioned by him 2 Cor. xii. 1. . . 4. But *firſt*, I ſuppoſe it to have been now the year 45. where alſo this miſſion is placed by (*o*) *Baſnage*. *Secondly*, that rapture muſt have happened before the year 44. The ſecond epiſtle to the *Corinthians* was writ, according (*p*) to *Pearſon*, in the year 57. St. *Paul*'s expreſſion, ſpeaking of this rapture, is *above fourteen years ago*. Which †‡ will carry us back to the fifteenth year, conſequently, to the year of Chriſt 43. for the ſooneſt. At which time I ſuppoſe *Paul* was come to *Antioch*, and was begining to preach the goſpel there to Gentils, together with *Barnabas*. *Baſnage* (*q*) placeth this rapture in the year 41.

Acts xiii. 4. *So they being ſent forth by the Holy Ghoſt, departed unto Seleucia, and thence ſailed to Cyprus.*

Antioch

(*n*) Dum ibi Prophetæ et Doctores miniſtrarent Domino, Saulus et Barnabas ſegregati ab illis ſunt in opus, ad quod aſſumſit eos Spiritus Sanctus. Acts xiii.

Et tum, opinor, Saulus raptus eſt in tertium cœlum, poſt quod tempus anno xiv. ſcripſit ſecundam ad Corinthios epiſtolam. xii. 2. *Pearſon. Ann. Paulin. p. 6. ad ann. Claudii 4. ær. vulg.* 44.

(*o*) *Ann.* 45. *num. iii. iv. &c.* (*p*) *Annal. Paulin. p.* 15.

†‡ "That rapture, or trance, was ſomewhat above fourteen years before he wrote his ſecond epiſtle to *Corinth.* 2 Cor. xii. 2. Now in that he ſaith, it was πρὸ ἐτῶν, *before*, or *above* fourteen years ago, he ſpeaketh not of an indefinite time, . . . but that it was a little above that ſpace, though it were ſomewhat above exact fourteen years," &c. *Lightfoot, Vol. i. p.* 792.

(*q*) *Vid. Ann.* 41. *num. xxi. xxii.*

Antioch upon the *Orontes* was the capital city of *Syria*. *Seleucia* was a city lying about twelve miles lower upon the same river, a port upon the Mediterranean sea, a few miles above the mouth of the *Orontes*. There *Paul* and *Barnabas* took shipping, and sailed to *Cyprus*, which lay westward. They went ashore at *Salamis*, a city at the east end of the island. Where finding Jewish synagogues, *they preached the word of the Lord to them.* After which they went through the island to *Paphos*, at the west end, where was the seat of the Proconsul. His name was *Sergius Paulus. Who sent for Barnabas, and Saul, desiring to hear the word of God.* He being a man well disposed, and seeing the miracle wrought by *Saul* upon *Elymas* the sorcerer, whom he smote with blindness for a season, *believed*, or embraced the doctrine of the gospel, taught by *Saul* and *Barnabas*. And hence-forward St. *Luke* writes the Apostle's name *Paul*, whom he had hitherto called *Saul*.

It may be thought, that the chief reason of their going now to *Cyprus* was, that it was the native countrey of *Barnabas*, as we know from Acts iv. 36. But beside that, I imagine, there was another reason, and more influencing. For we perceive, that some of them who left *Jerusalem* upon account of the persecution, that followed the death of *Stephen*, were men of *Cyprus*, and had been there preaching to *Jews* only, as well as at *Antioch*. And it might be reckoned very proper, when the gospel was to be preached to *Gentils*, as well as to Jews, that these special messengers should go directly to a countrey, where an address had been already made to Jews: and where some of them, as may be reasonably supposed, had been converted to the faith of the gospel.

Leaving *Paphos*, they came back to the continent, and landed at *Perga* in *Pamphylia*. Where *Mark*, who hitherto had accompanied them, left them, and returned to *Jerusalem*.

From *Perga* they went to *Antioch*, the chief city of *Pisidia*, lying north of *Pamphylia*. St. *Luke* has given a large account of *Paul*'s discourse in the Jewish synagogue there, and the success of it. Acts xiii. 14. . . . 52. From *Antioch* they went to *Iconium*, the chief city of *Lycaonia*. Where they also taught in the Jewish synagogue: *so that a great multitude both of the Jews, and also of the Greeks believed.* Many miracles likewise were wrought by their hands, during their stay in that city. xiv. 1. . . 4. But at length a design being formed, both by Jews and Gentils, and their rulers, to stone them to death, and they receiving intelligence of it, when it was almost ripe for execution, went thence: and preached the gospel at *Lystra and Derbe, cities of Lycaonia, and in the region round about:* ver. 6. 7. meaning, perhaps, *Isauria*, sometimes reckoned a part of *Lycaonia*. At *Lystra Paul* healed a man lame from his birth. Which raised great admiration in the people. And, if not restrained, they would have offered a sacrifice to *Paul* and *Barnabas*. Nevertheless by artifices of unbelieving Jews, who came thither from *Antioch*, and *Iconium*, the minds of the people were soon changed, and they *stoned Paul, and dragged him out of the city, supposing he had been dead. Howbeit, as the disciples*, who had not left him, *stood round about him, he rose up, and came into the city. And the next day he departed with Barnabas to Derbe. Where having preached the gospel, and taught many, they returned again to Lystra, Iconium, and Antioch, confirming the disciples* there, *and exhorting*

them to continue in the faith, and letting them know, that we must through much tribulation enter into the kingdom of God. And when they had ordained them Elders in every city, they commended them to the Lord, on whom they had believed. From *Antioch* they went to *Pamphylia. And when they had preached the word in Perga*, where they had been before, but probably made no stay, *they went down to Attalia*, a maritime city of the same countrey. *Thence they sailed to Antioch, whence they had been recommended to the grace of God, for the work, which they had fulfilled. And when they were come, and had gathered the church together, they rehearsed all that God had done with them, and how he had opened the door of faith unto the Gentils. And there they abode long time with the disciples.* ver. 8. . . . 28.

For this journey *Pearson* (*r*) allots three years, that is, 45. 46. 47. and somewhat more. For he placeth their setting out, and going to *Salamis* in the year 44. *Tillemont* (*s*) thinks this journey might be performed in two years, that is, according to his computation, part of the year 44. all 45. and part of 46. From which time to the council at *Jerusalem*, next mentioned by St. *Luke*, might be, as he thinks, about five years. In which space of time, he supposeth *Paul* to have gone into *Illyricum*, and also to have preached *throughout all Judea:* as mentioned Acts xxvi. 20. and likewise in *Cilicia*.

I likewise am of opinion, that this journey of *Paul* and *Barnabas* in the several countreys, just mentioned, might be performed in two years. I think, they could not set out from *Antioch*, before the begining of the year 45. And, probably, returned in the former part of the year 47. But if any are rather for three years, and think this journey was not compleated before the begining of the year 48. I should not reckon it worth while to dispute about it.

But I do not see any reason to believe, that they undertook any more journeys, before they went up to the Council at *Jerusalem*. They might judge it very proper to make a long stay at *Antioch*, where was the first Gentil church: as the other Apostles made a long stay at *Jerusalem*, and in *Judea*. However, this church of *Antioch*, I suppose, with (*t*) *Witsius*, to have consisted partly of Jews, and partly of Gentils. Nor do I think, that *Paul* and *Barnabas* would, as yet, extend their ministrie farther than they had done, without an express divine appointment. What they had already done, was a great deal. And must have exceeded the most raised expectations, till they had seen the event. Their stay at *Antioch* must have been very useful, probably expedient. It was proper to secure what they had gained. And they might there receive applications from the several countreys, in which they had been, and impart counsel and encouragement. If they had soon gone hence again, some might have arrived, that should unsettle the minds of new converts. We plainly perceive, that from *Judea* came several to see this new

(*r*) *Annal. Paulin. p.* 67. (*s*) *S. Paul. Art. xii. . . . xv.*

(*t*) Erat enim urbs Gentilis, et ecclesia ibidem collecta omnium prima, quæ partim Judæis, partim conversis Gentilibus constabat. *Ubi sup. sect. iii. num. v.*

new colonie at *Antioch*. Some might come with good views, to encourage and confirm the believers there: or to ſatisfy themſelves concerning the truth of what they had heard with great pleaſure. But others might come with a deſign to inſtill narrow principles, and diſturb their minds with different ſentiments from thoſe, which had been taught them by *Paul* and *Barnabas*. St. *Luke*, notwithſtanding the conciſeneſſe of his hiſtorie, has informed us of two viſits made here from *Judea*: the firſt, in the year 43. or 44. when *there came Prophets from Jeruſalem to Antioch*. xi. 27. Afterwards *there came men from Judea, who taught the brethren, that unleſs they were circumciſed, they could not be ſaved*. xv. 1. Of which more preſently.

If *Paul* and *Barnabas* went any where, we might think of *Cilicia*: the rather, becauſe we can perceive, that ſoon after this there were Gentil believers there: though, when *Paul* firſt preached in that countrey, we ſuppoſe him to have applied to Jews only. And it is well obſerved by *Tillemont* upon the caſe now before us: "it (*u*) is certain, that Chriſtianity had been eſtabliſhed among the Gentils in *Cilicia*, before the Council of *Jeruſalem*." Acts xv. 23. Nevertheleſs, I ſhould rather think, that *Paul* and *Barnabas* did not now leave *Antioch*, after their return thither, before they went up to *Jeruſalem*. For ſome of *Cilicia* might learn the doctrine of the goſpel by coming to *Antioch*. Or ſome of the Prophets and Evangeliſts, of *Antioch*, may have gone to *Cilicia*, with the approbation, and by the direction of *Paul* and *Barnabas*.

In this way of arguing I am encouraged by thoſe words of St. *Luke*, juſt cited: *And there they abode a long time with the diſciples*. We now proceed.

Acts xv. 1. . . 5. *And certain men, which came down from Judea, taught the brethren: Except ye be circumciſed after the manner of Moſes, ye cannot be ſaved. When therefore Paul and Barnabas had no ſmall diſſenſion and diſputation with them, they determined, that Paul and Barnabas, and certain other of them, ſhould go up to Jeruſalem, unto the Apoſtles and Elders, about this queſtion. . . And when they were come to Jeruſalem, they were received of the church, and of the Apoſtles, and Elders. And they declared all things, that God had done with them. But,* (they ſaid) *there* (B) *had riſen up certain*

(*u*) *As before Art. xv.*

(B) Many have miſtaken thoſe words, as if they were St. *Luke*'s, who obſerved, that there were at *Jeruſalem* ſome of the ſect of the Phariſees, who inſiſted upon impoſing the law upon the Gentils. So thought Dr. *Doddridge*, Family-Expoſitor. Vol. 3. p. 233. So likewiſe *Tillemont*, whoſe words are theſe: Ils furent bien reçeus à Jeruſalem. Mais ils y trouverent les meſmes troubles, qui agitoient l'egliſe d'Antioche, et dont ils venoient chercher le remede. Car quelques Chretiens, qui avoient été Phariſiens, vouloient qu'on obligeaſt les Gentils à la circumciſion, et à l'obſervation de la loi. *S. Paul. art. xvi.* *Grotius* himſelf ſeems to have underſtood theſe words in the ſame manner. Sicut Antiochiæ quidam e Judæis facti Chriſtiani, ita et Hieroſolymis quidam duriorem illam defendebant ſententiam. *Grot. in. ver.* 5. Whereas, upon due conſideration, I think, all muſt be ſenſible, that they are not the words of the hiſtorian, but of the meſſengers of the church of *Antioch*, repreſenting to the Apoſtles and Elders at *Jeruſalem* the caſe, or ſtate of

tain of the ſect of the Phariſees, which believed, ſaying, that it was needful to circumciſe them, and to command them to keep the law. Thus they delivered their meſſage, and propoſed the queſtion, which they were deſirous to have determined.

And the Apoſtles and Elders came together to conſider of this matter. Having in that aſſemblie, after many debates, formed ſome reſolutions, they ſent them in a letter *to the brethren, which are of the Gentils, in Antioch, and Syria, and Cilicia.* ver. 6. . . . 31.

Thoſe determinations were intended for all believers in general from among the Gentils, containing, as it were, the terms, upon which all Gentils were to be admitted into the Church of Chriſt. But the epiſtle was directed, particularly, to the Gentils in *Antioch, and Syria, and Cilicia*, becauſe among them the controverſie had ariſen, and they were the perſons, who had ſent a ſolemn deputation to the Apoſtles and Elders at *Jeruſalem*, to have their opinion upon it.

This journey to *Jeruſalem*, related by St. *Luke* Acts xv. I ſuppoſe to be the ſame with that mentioned by St. *Paul* himſelf, of which he gives an account to the *Galatians*. ii. 1. . . . 10. Indeed, he mentions ſome circumſtances, wanting in *Luke*. But, as I apprehend, they are not ſuch as need induce us to think, two different journeys to be ſpoken of.

From *Paul* therefore we ſhall endeavor to find out the time of it. *Then fourteen years after*, ſays he, *I went up again to Jeruſalem, with Barnabas, and took Titus with me alſo. And I went up by revelation.* In the preceding chapter of the epiſtle to the *Galatians Paul* had related his converſion in the way to *Damaſcus*, and then his *going up to Jeruſalem, after three years, to ſee Peter, and abiding with him fifteen days.* i. 18. Where are we to date the begining of thoſe *fourteen years?* at his *converſion?* or at his coming to *Jeruſalem*, to ſee *Peter? Pearſon* is clearly of opinion, that (*x*) the computation muſt be made from the time of his converſion. So likewiſe ſay (*y*) *Eſtius*, and (*z*) *Baſnage.*

Says

of the queſtion, about which they were ſent, and which they deſired to have now fully reſolved and determined. This is the interpretation, which *Beza* preferred. Hunc locum video omnes perinde interpretati, ac ſi eſſent verba Lucæ, quaſi cum ſuam expeditionem narrarent Paulus ac Barnabas, inſurrexerint, qui circumciſionem urgerent. Quod mihi non ſit admodum probabile. Sed potius illos, expoſita ſua expeditione, ſubjeciſſe controverſiam illam Antiochiæ excitatam, cujus cauſſa ipſi Hieroſolymam venerant. Puto igitur eſſe illorum verba, non Lucæ. *Bez. in loc. Lenfant* follows *Beza*. And *Whitby*, if I do not miſtake him, gives the ſame interpretation. And Dr. *Doddridge*, upon my telling him how I underſtood the place, readily acquieſced, as I well remember. For he was always open to conviction, therein giving a good example to all enquirers after truth.

(*x*) Anno xiv. a converſione S. Pauli congregatum. Hunc enim adventum ſuum narrat Apoſtolus Gal. ii. 1. 2. et tempus ipſum determinate exprimit... Quod autem Apoſtolus ad epocham converſionis ſuæ referat annos, quos ibi narrat, manifeſtum eſt ex ſcopo capitis i. et ii. . . . *Deinde, poſt annos*

(*y*) *Eſt. in Gal. ii.* 1. 2. (*z*) *Ann.* 50. *num. iii.*

Says St. *Paul* Gal. i. 17. *Then after three years I went up to Jeruſalem, to ſee Peter.* Thoſe three years cannot be computed from his return to *Damaſcus*, out of *Arabia*, though it be the thing mentioned immediately before in ver. 17. But muſt be reckoned from his converſion. In like manner muſt be underſtood thoſe words in ch. ii. 1. *then fourteen years after I went up to Jeruſalem.* We muſt take the ſame date or epoch for the *three years*, and for the *fourteen years*. They both begin from the ſame time, that is, St. *Paul*'s converſion.

The Council deputed with their epiſtle two choſen men of their own number, *Judas* and *Silas*, to go to *Antioch*, together with *Paul* and *Barnabas*. Acts xv. 22. 23. After they had tarried there a while, *Judas* returned to *Jeruſalem*, but *Silas* abode there ſtill. ver. 32. . . . 34.

This Council at *Jeruſalem*, according to (*a*) *Pearſon*, and, I ſuppoſe, many others, was held in the year of Chriſt 49. *Baſnage*, ſuppoſing *Paul* to have been converted in 37. placeth (*b*) this Council in the year 50.

As I cannot ſay exactly, when *Paul* was converted, whether in 36. or 37. I am led to heſitate about the time of the Council. But if he was converted before the end of the year 36. the Council, as I apprehend, may be computed to have been held in the year 49. St. *Paul* ſays Gal. i. 18. *then after three years I went up to Jeruſalem.* ἔπειτα μετὰ ἔτη τρία. Which, I think, implies full *three years*, or ſomewhat more, as before obſerved. But the expreſſion in Gal. ii. 1. is different. We tranſlate: *Then fourteen years after I went up again to Jeruſalem.* Ἔπειτα διὰ δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν πάλιν ἀνέβην εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. Which, I think, may be thus rendered: *Then in about fourteen years I went up again to Jeruſalem.* The *three years*, above mentioned, are compleat: but the *fourteen years* need not be ſo underſtood. And, probably, were not compleat. If therefore *Paul* be ſuppoſed to have been converted in the year 36. this Council might be held, accordingly, in 49.

This period, from *Paul*'s ſetting out with *Barnabas* from *Antioch*, to go to *Cyprus*, in the begining of the year 45. to their coming up to the Council at *Jeruſalem*, and returning thence to *Antioch*, near the end of the year 49. or the begining of 50. is the ſpace of about five years.

. . . *to his coming to Jeruſalem when he was apprehended.*

X. The next period will reach from this time to St. *Paul*'s coming again to *Jeruſalem*, when he was apprehended, and impriſoned.

Soon after the return of *Barnabas* and *Paul* to *Antioch*, *Peter*, as it ſeems, came thither, as related by St. *Paul*, Gal. ii. 11. . . . 21. Nevertheleſs that occaſioned not their making any long ſtay at *Antioch*. For ſays St. *Luke*, Acts xv. 36. *And ſome days after*, that is, I think, after their being come back to *Antioch*, or after *Judas* had gone away to *Jeruſalem*, and the controverſie, which had been troubleſome for ſome while before, was fully compoſed, *Paul ſaid unto Barnabas: Let us go again,*

nos quatuordecim rursus aſcendi Hieroſolymam. Idem enim horum verborum ſcopus, eadem annorum epocha. Vox enim ἔπειτα, *deinde*, non conjungit hæc verba cum illis de triennio, quaſi a fine illius triennii initium ſumerent. Aliud enim ἔπειτα inter hæc et illa intercedit. *Annal. Paulin. p.* 89.

(*a*) *Annal. Paulin. p.* 8. 9. 10. (*b*) *Ann.* 50. *num. xxi. xxii.*

again, and visit our brethren, in every city, where we have preached the word of the Lord, and see how they do. And Barnabas determined to take with them John, whose surname was Mark. By which we perceive, that *Mark*, who before had left *Paul* and *Barnabas*, and gone to *Jerusalem*, was now come again into this countrey, and was willing to have again accompanied them. Possibly, he came hither with *Peter*. *But Paul thought not good to take him with them, who departed from them from Pamphylia, and went not with them to the work. And the contention was so sharp, that they departed asunder one from the other. So Barnabas took Mark, and sailed into Cyprus. Paul chose Silas, and departed. . . . and went through Syria and Cilicia, confirming the churches.* Acts xv. 33. . . . 41.

I am inclined to think, that it was in the beginning of the year 50. that St. *Paul* now set out from *Antioch*. *Pearson* (*c*) likewise, and (*d*) *Basnage*, place it in the same year.

Witsius thinks, that (*e*) at this time *Paul* went from *Cilicia* to *Crete*: and that not being able to stay long there himself, he left *Titus*, *that he might set in order the things that were wanting, and ordain Elders in every city.* ch. i. 5. *Pearson* (*f*) placeth *Paul*'s journey into *Crete* in the latter part of the Apostle's life, in 63. or 64. after the deliverance from his imprisonment at *Rome*. But *Witsius* says, it is not likely, that the preaching of the Gospel in *Crete*, should have been deferred so long: when all *Achaia*, *Macedonia*, *Asia*, *Cyprus*, *Syria*, had been already instructed in the doctrine of the gospel. And he observes, that not long after *Paul* was come from *Cilicia*, he took *Timothie* into his attendance, to supply, as he thinks, the want of *Titus*, lately left in *Crete*.

Though I cannot say, that *Paul* now went from *Cilicia* to *Crete*, I readily own myself to be of opinion, that the Apostle's journey into *Crete* was performed, and his letter to *Titus* writ, before his imprisonment at *Jerusalem*. But of this more hereafter.

Having gone through *Syria* and *Cilicia*, confirming *the churches*, *Paul came to Derbe, and Lystra*: where they had been before. Here they found *Timothie*, who, as may be supposed, had been converted, when *Paul* and *Barnabas* were there together. *Timothie* having a good character, *from the brethren at Lystra and Iconium*, *Paul would have him to go forth with him.* Acts xvi. 1. 3.

Afterwards they came into *Phrygia*. And it may be reckoned very probable,

(*c*) *Ann. Paul. p.* 10. (*d*) *Ann.* 50. *num. xlvi.*

(*e*) Ex Cilicia videtur Paulus in Cretam navigasse, et prædicato ibi evangelio, quoniam alio properabat, Titum reliquisse, ut *quæ desunt corrigeret, atque oppidatim presbyteros constitueret.* Quæ Lucæ omissa, ex epistola ad Titum supplenda esse, et huic tempori optime convenire, opinatur L. Capellus. At Pearsonus ad postrema Pauli tempora refert, eaque ejus itinera, quæ solutionem ex vinculis Romanis consecuta sunt. . . Cappelli tamen rationes potiores mihi videntur. Non enim verisimile est, ad illud usque tempus ignoratum fuisse Christum in Creta, quum tota Achaia. . . . personarent evangelii præconio. . . Deinde Derben et Lystram venit. Ibi in Timotheum incidit, cordatissimum sibi abhinc omnium itinerum suorum futurum comitem. &c. *De Vita Paul. sect. v. num. i.*

(*f*) *Ann. Paulin. p.* 21.

probable, that now *Paul* preached in the chief cities of that countrey, *Hierapolis*, *Laodicea*, and *Coloſſe*. He alſo went into *Galatia*, and there founded many churches. But they were forbidden to preach in *Aſia*, properly ſo called. St. *Luke*'s words are ver. 6. 7. *Now when they had gone through Phrygia, and the region of Galatia, and were forbidden of the Holy Ghoſt to preach the word in Aſia, after they were come to Myſia, they aſſayed to go into Bithynia. But the Spirit ſuffered them not.*

Then it follows ver. 8. . . . 10. *And they paſſing by Myſia, came to Troas. And a viſion appeared to Paul in the night. There ſtood a man of Macedonia, and prayed him, ſaying: Come over into Macedonia, and help us. And after he had ſeen the viſion, immediately we endeavoured to go into Macedonia, aſſuredly gathering, that the Lord had called us to preach the goſpel unto them.*

By which manner of ſpeaking we perceive, that *Luke* was now in *Paul*'s companie. It is likely, that he met them at *Troas*. Which ſeems to have been the name of a countrey, and of a city, the chief of the countrey, ſituate upon the ſea-coaſt.

Ver. 11. 12. *Therefore looſing from Troas, we came with a ſtraight courſe to Samothracia, and the next day to Neapolis: and thence to Philippi, which is the chief city of that part of Macedonia, and a colonie. And we were in that city abiding certain days.*

Samothracia was an iſland, over againſt *Thrace*, bordering upon *Macedonia*. *Neapolis* was a town upon the ſea-coaſt, on the *Thracian* ſide of the *Strymonic* Bay, which ſeparated *Macedonia* and *Thrace*. Here, I ſuppoſe, they landed, but made no ſtay. Thence they went by land to *Philippi*. Here they ſtaid ſome while, and ſeveral remarkable occurrences in that city are related by St. *Luke*. *Lydia*, a ſeller of purple, of the city of *Thyatira*, in *Aſia*, attended to the things that were ſpoken of *Paul*, and was baptized, both ſhe and her houſhold. She ſeems to have been a merchant, of no ſmall dealings, and, probably, had with her many ſervants, and other attendants. Here likewiſe *Paul* healed the young maiden, ſaid to be *poſſeſſed with a ſpirit of divination*. After which *Paul* and *Silas* were apprehended, beaten, and impriſoned. But they were ſoon ſet at liberty. Whereupon they left that city. ver. 13. . . . 40.

From thence they paſſed through Amphipolis, and Apollonia, and came to Theſſalonica, where was a ſynagogue of the Jews. Acts xvii. 1.

Amphipolis and *Apollonia* were cities of *Macedonia*. And *Theſſalonica* was the chief city of that countrey. Here being a Jewiſh ſynagogue, *Paul, as his manner was, went in unto them, and three ſabbath-days reaſoned with them out of the Scriptures. . . . And ſome of them believed, and conſorted with Paul and Silas.* Whilſt he was here, believed alſo, *of the devout Greeks*, that is, of the people of the countrey, who were well diſpoſed, *a great multitude, and of the chief women* of the city *not a few*. But the unbelieving Jews made a great diſturbance. ver. 2. . . . 9.

The brethren therefore immediately ſent away Paul and Silas by night unto Beroea, where many of the Jews, and many of the men, and honourable women of the place, believed. But ſome Jews came from *Theſſalonica*, and *ſtirred up the people* there alſo. ver. 10. . . . 13.

The brethren therefore immediately ſent away *Paul*, and conducted him to *Athens*, with *Luke*, it is likely, the writer of this hiſtorie. *But*

Silas and Timothie abode still at Beroea. St. *Luke* then gives an account of the Apostle's preaching at *Athens*. The event was, that *some mocked. Howbeit some adhered to Paul, and believed. Among which was Dionysius, the Areopagite, and a woman named Damaris, and others with them.*

Acts xviii. 1. 2. *After these things Paul departed from Athens, and came to Corinth: and found a certain Jew, named Aquila, born in Pontus, lately come from Italie, with his wife Priscilla, because that Claudius had commanded all Jews to depart from Rome.*

The Council of *Jerusalem*, as before said, was held in the year 49. or 50. And it was supposed by us, that *Paul* might set out from *Antioch* in the year 50. before it was far advanced. If so, he might come now to *Corinth*, before the end of the year 51. For as *Basnage* computes, the Apostle's journeyings, after leaving *Antioch* till his coming to *Corinth*, need not take up more than a year and a half. I put below (*g*) his brief enumeration of all the places, which have been lately taken notice of by us. But he did not think of the journey into *Crete*, mentioned by *Witsius*. Nor do I suppose it to have been then performed. This computation suits *Paul*'s finding *Aquila* and *Priscilla* at *Corinth*. For he thinks that edict of *Claudius* to have been published in the eleventh year of his reign, which began on Jan. 24. in the year 51.

At *Corinth Paul* tarried a year and six months. ch. xviii. 11. that is, as I suppose, the remainder of the year 51. and all 52. and part of 53. ——*And then he took leave of the brethren, and sailed thence into Syria, and with him Priscilla, and Aquila, having shorn his head in Cenchrea. For he had a vow. And he came to Ephesus, and left them there. But he entered into the synagogue, and reasoned with the Jews. When they desired him to tarry longer time with them, he consented not: but bid them farewell, saying: I must by all means keep this feast at Jerusalem:* meaning, as I apprehend, the feast of Pentecost in the year 53. *But I will return again unto you, if God will. And he sailed from Ephesus. And when he had landed at Cesarea, and gone up, and saluted the church*, namely, at *Jerusalem*, *he went down to Antioch. And after he had spent some time there, he departed, and went over all the countrey of Galatia, and Phrygia, in order*, that is, visiting the churches, formerly planted by him, in those countreys, *strengthening all the disciples*, ver. 18. . . . 23.

In this space of time, after *Paul* had left *Ephesus*, came thither *Apollos*,

(*g*) Redux a synodo Paulus, post dies aliquot moræ Antiochenæ, mox in Syriam et Ciliciam proficiscitur. Quibus peragratis, continuo in Pisidiam, Lycaoniam, Phrygiam penetravit, haud longâ usquam morâ, ut verbo διέρχεσθαι ostenditur. Hinc solvens Troade, per Samothraciam delatus est Macedoniam, ubi dies non multos exegit. Mox per Amphipolim, et Apolloniam, Thessalonicam, Macedoniæ metropolim, pervenit, ubi per sabbata tria disseruit. Motâ seditione, Beroeam noctu petiit: quâ salutatâ, eâ discessit propter adventum Judæorum—et Athenas pervenit: quâ post aliquantulam temporis moram relictâ, Corinthum anno 51. ingressus est. Nostram non minimum adjuvat chronologiam adventus Aquilæ in hanc urbem Româ nuper edicto Claudiano pulsi: quod probabilissimâ sane conjecturâ anno Claudii xi. promulgatum esse colligitur. Ut a synodo ad peregrinationem usque Corinthum sesquiannus circiter elapsus sit. *Basn. ann.* 50. *num. xxii. Vid. et ann.* 51. *n. lxviii. lxix.*

los, born at Alexandria. Who received from *Aquila* and *Priſcilla* farther instructions concerning the Chriſtian Religion, beyond what he knew before, and then went away to *Corinth.* ver. 24. . . . 28.

Ch. xix. 1. *And it came to paſs, that while Apollos was at Corinth, Paul having paſſed through the upper coaſts,* meaning the countreys of *Galatia* and *Phrygia,* before mentioned, *came to Epheſus:* that is, as I apprehend, before the end of the year 53. poſſibly, in October, or November.

I hope, I have allowed time enough for all the journeys hitherto mentioned: and that I have not brought *Paul* to *Epheſus* too ſoon.

Ver. 8. . . 10. Says St. *Luke: And he went into the ſynagogue, and ſpake boldly for the ſpace of three months, diſputing, and perſuading the things concerning the kingdom of God. But when divers were hardened, and believed not, but ſpake evil of that way before the multitude, he departed from them, and ſeparated the diſciples, diſputing daily in the ſchool of one Tyrannus. And this continued by the ſpace of two years. So that all they which dwelt in Aſia,* ſtrictly (*b*) ſo called, the countrey, of which *Epheſus* was the metropolis, *heard the word of the Lord Jeſus, both Jews and Greeks.* St. *Paul,* afterwards, Acts xx. 31. in his diſcourſe to the Elders of *Epheſus,* at *Miletus,* ſays, he had been with them *the ſpace of three years.* Which may be a round number. *Three months,* at leaſt, he had *diſputed* in the Jewiſh ſynagogue, and *two years in the ſchool of Tyrannus,* and, poſſibly, ſomewhat more, making, in the whole, a good deal above two, which St. *Paul* might call *three years.*

I think, that *Paul* might come to *Epheſus,* before the end of the year 53. in October, or November, as before ſaid. There he continued the remainder of that year, and the whole of the years 54. and 55. till the year 56. about Pentecoſt. However, let us obſerve the hiſtorie.

From ver. 11. to 41. the end of the forecited xix. chapter of the Acts is St. *Luke*'s account of the ſpecial miracles wrought by *Paul* at *Epheſus,* and divers remarkable events, and then of a tumult raiſed by *Demetrius,* a ſilverſmith, and *other work-men, of like occupation.*

Then Acts xx. 1. . . . 6. *And after the uproar had ceaſed, Paul called unto him the diſciples, and embraced them, and departed for to go into Macedonia. And when he had gone over thoſe parts, and had given them much exhortation, he came into Greece. And there abode three months. And when the Jews laid wait for him, as he was about to ſail into Syria, he purpoſed to return through Macedonia. And there accompanied him into Aſia Sopater of Beroea, and of the Theſſalonians Ariſtarchus and Secundus, and Gaius of Derbe, and Timothie, and of Aſia, Tychicus and Trophimus. Theſe going before tarried for us at Troas. And we ſailed away from Philippi, after*

(*b*) Atque hinc diverſæ notiones vocis *Aſiæ* oriuntur, ut *latiſſima* tertiam orbis terrarum Continentem ſonet, Europæ ab ortu oppoſitam: *latior* magnam peninſulam inter Ponticum et Mediterraneum mare: *lata* Aſiam cis Taurum, vel intra eum montem. Deinde *ſtricte* eſt provinciæ proconſularis: *ſtrictius* media pars illius provinciæ, circa Epheſum et Lydiam propriam: *ſtrictiſſime,* Homerica notione, parvus tractus ad Cayſtrum fluvium. Sacris ſcriptoribus ſignificatio illa placuit, quam *ſtrictiorem* modo diximus, uti ex iis, quæ varie adhuc dicta ſunt, elucet. *Cellar. Diſſ. de ſept. eccleſ. Aſiæ.* §. *ix.*

er the days of unleavened bread, and came unto them to Troas, in five days' here we abode seven days.

There is not, perhaps, any part of St. *Paul*'s travels attended with ore difficulties, than this period, of his leaving *Epheſus*, and ſetting t upon his voyage to *Jeruſalem*, with the collections made in the urches of *Greece* and *Macedonia*, and ſome other places. St. *Luke* is ry diſtinct and particular in the account of the journey from *Troas* to *eruſalem*. But from *Epheſus* to *Troas* he has mentioned but one city ly, which is *Philippi*. Otherwiſe, as we have ſeen in the paſſage juſt nſcribed, he ſpeaks only of the countreys of *Macedonia*, and *Greece*.

We will therefore endeavor to ſettle the time, when *Paul* left *Epheſus*, d then conſider, how long he might be in *Macedonia*, or other places, fore he went to *Troas*.

After having related *Paul*'s preaching at *Epheſus* for a good while, d the ſucceſſe of it, St. *Luke* ſays in the forecited xix. 21. 22. 23. *Af- r theſe things were ended, Paul purpoſed in the ſpirit, when he had paſſed rough Macedonia and Achaia, to go to Jeruſalem, ſaying: After I have n there, I muſt ſee Rome. So he ſent into Macedonia two of them that niſtered to him, Timothie and Eraſtus. But he himſelf ſtaid in Aſia for a ſon. At the ſame time there aroſe no ſmall ſtir about that way:* meaning e tumult cauſed by *Demetrius*, as before mentioned.

Lightfoot has a happy thought upon this place. "*Paul*'s thoughts, ſays (*i*) he, of going to *Rome* argue the death of *Claudius*, who had baniſhed all the Jews from thence. Acts xviii. 2. and that by the coming in of *Nero*, a new Emperour, that decree was extinct, and freedom of acceſſe to *Rome* opened to them again. For it can be little conceived, that *Paul* ſhould think of going thither, when he could neither find any of his nation there, nor himſelf come thither without certain hazard of his life: as the caſe would have been, if *Claudius* and his decree were yet alive. It is therefore agreeable to all reaſon, that the death of *Claudius*, and the ſucceſſion of *Nero* were now divulged. And *Paul* thereupon knowing, that it was now lawful again for a Jew to go to *Rome*, intendeth to take a farewell journey and viſit to *Ma- cedonia*, *Achaia*, and *Jeruſalem*, and then to go and preach there."

Claudius died Oct. 13. in the year 54. It might be the begining of ;. before the tidings of the death of *Claudius* and the acceſſion of *Nero* ached *Epheſus*. Upon which, or ſoon after, the thought of going to *ome* entered *Paul*'s mind. But he intended firſt to go to *Macedonia*, nd *Greece*, and *Jeruſalem*.

So, ſays St. Luke, *he ſent into Macedonia two of them that miniſtered nto him, Timothie and Eraſtus. But he himſelf ſtaid in Aſia for a ſon.*

By which we are led to think, that thoſe meſſengers were ſent into *Macedonia* in the year 55. After they were gone, came to *Paul* at *Ephe- s*, from *Corinth*, *Stephanus*, *Fortunatus*, and *Achaicus*. 1 Cor. xvi. 17. y them he ſends his firſt epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, writ, as I ſuppoſe, in e begining of the year 56. And it appears from 1 Cor. xvi. 10. 11. at *Timothie*, who, as before ſeen, had been ſent into *Macedonia*, was alſo

(*i*) *Harmonic of the N. T. Vol. i. p. 299.*

alſo to go to *Corinth*. For there the Apoſtle ſays: *Now if Timothe come, ſee that he may be with you without fear. For he worketh th work of the Lord, as I alſo do. Let no man therefore deſpiſe him: but con duct him forth in peace, that he may come unto me. For I look for him wit the brethren.* *Paul* therefore was in expectation of *Timothie*'s coming t him at *Epheſus*. Which I ſuppoſe he did, before *Paul* removed thence *Paul* ſays, 1 Cor. xvi. 8. 9. *But I will tarry at Epheſus, untill Penteco For a great door and effectual is opened unto me. And there are many ad verſaries.* The *Penteceſt*, there mentioned, I ſuppoſe to be that of th year 56.

Some time therefore in the year 56. before Pentecoſt, or about tha ſeaſon, *Paul* left *Epheſus* to go into *Macedonia*. So ſays St. *Luke* in hi account of *Paul*'s removal from *Epheſus*. He firſt mentions *Macedoni* and then *Greece*. Acts xx. 1. 2. And from what *Paul* ſays 2 Cor. i 12. it is argued, that (*k*) he did not ſail away directly from *Epheſus* t *Macedonia*: but travelled by land to *Troas*, and then went over to *Ma cedonia* by ſea. If ſo, he went now into *Macedonia*, by the ſame wa that he had done, when he was firſt there. Acts xvi. 11. 12.

But how long was *Paul* now in *Macedonia* and *Achaia?* or what ſpac of time was there between his leaving *Epheſus*, and *Troas*, and his re turn to *Troas*, in his way to *Jeruſalem?* If it was a year only, or ſome what leſs, the Paſſover mentioned Acts xx. 6. and the Pentecoſt men tioned ver. 16. were in the year 57. But if *Paul*'s journey from *Ephe ſus*, round about by *Troas*, *Macedonia*, and *Achaia*, and *Macedonia* again to *Troas*, in the way to *Jeruſalem*, took up two years, or thereabout then the Pentecoſt mentioned Acts xx. 16. was in the year of Chriſt 58 And, if I miſtake not, there are ſeveral conſiderations, leading us t think, that theſe journeyings took up more, than the ſpace of year.

It need not to be doubted, that *Timothie* returned from *Corinth* t *Paul*, before the Apoſtle removed from *Epheſus*. And that *Paul* left hi there, will be manifeſt from that, which is called the firſt epiſtle to *Ti mothie*. *As I beſought thee to abide ſtill at Epheſus, when I went into Ma cedonia, that thou mighteſt charge ſome, that they teach no other doctrine* 1 Tim. i. 3. *Paul* therefore left *Timothie* at *Epheſus*, for weighty rea ſons: and ſome time after his coming into *Macedonia*, wrote him a let ter, for his direction and aſſiſtance in the arduous work, lying befor him. But *Timothie* was with *Paul*, at writing the ſecond epiſtle to th *Corinthians*. For it begins thus: *Paul an Apoſtle of Jeſus Chriſt . . . an Timothie our brother unto the church of God, which is at Corinth, with a the ſaints in all Achaia.* That letter was ſent from *Macedonia*, a littl before *Paul* went to *Corinth*. But ſome good while muſt have paſſed be twee

(*k*) Sed quid interea Paulus, poſtquam Epheſo profectus eſt, ut iret i Macedoniam? Per Minorem Aſiam iter faciens, venit Troadem nobiliſſ mam civitatem, quæ adjacet Helleſponto: ubi quærens Titum, cum non in veniſſet, tranſmiſſo freto abiit in Macedoniam. 2 Cor. ii. *Baron. ann. 57 num. clxxxv.*

Paul ne s'embarqua pas à Epheſe, mais il vint à Troade dans le deſſein d' preſcher l'evangile. *Tillem. S. Paul. art.* 31.

een *Paul*'s leaving *Timothie* at *Epheſus*, and writing to him, and this cond epiſtle to the *Corinthians*. *Paul*, it is very probable, did not ſend r *Timothie* to come to him from *Epheſus* preſently after he had left him ere. I might add, that there muſt have been ſome emergent occaons, that induced *Paul* to call *Timothie* to him from *Epheſus*, where his efence was of great importance. What thoſe occaſions were, *Luke* s not at all hinted. But they may be ſuppoſed. However, I do not w ſtay, to hint what they were.

Paul in his ſecond epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, ch. i. and xiii. 1. apolozeth for his deferring ſo long to come to them. But there could have en no occaſion for ſuch apologies, if he had come to them in the ſame ar that he wrote his firſt epiſtle.

Paul ſays 1 Cor. xvi. 5. 6. *Now I will come unto you, when I ſhall ſs through Macedonia. . . . And it may be, that I will abide, yea, and inter with you.* But *Paul* did not *abide, and winter with them*, accordg to this propoſal, as here intimated. If he had, there could have been ground for ſuch apologies, as are in the ſecond epiſtle. Nevertheleſs e Apoſtle did ſpend *three months* with them, not very long before a paſſver. Which muſt have been partly in ſome winter. As they could ot be in the year 56. when the firſt epiſtle to them was writ, they uſt have been in the year after, that is about the end of the year 7. and the begining of the year 58. See again Acts xx. 1. . . . 6.

St. *Paul* ſays 2 Cor. ix. 2. *For I know the forwardneſs of your mind, or which I boaſt of you to them of Macedonia, that Achaia was ready a year go. And your zeal has provoked very many.* Which plainly ſhews, that was now above a year, ſince writing the firſt epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, hich was ſent from *Epheſus*. For there he ſays ch. xii. 1. 2. *Now ncerning the collection for the ſaints, as I have given directions to the churches Galatia, ſo do ye. Upon the firſt day of the week, let every one of you lay him in ſtore, as God has proſpered him: that there be no gatherings, when come.* Theſe directions were then ſent to the *Corinthians*. They therore were not readie then. They could not be readie, till ſome while fter. And yet at the time of writing the ſecond epiſtle to them, from *Macedonia*, they had been *readie above a year*.

This ſhews, that *Paul* was above a year in *Macedonia*, or near it. Moreover after ſending away this ſecond letter, *Paul* went to *Corinth*, and aid there *three months*. And afterwards went thence through *Macedoia* to *Troas*.

Conſequently there was the ſpace of two years, or almoſt two years, etween *Paul*'s leaving *Epheſus*, and coming to *Troas*, in his way to *Jeuſalem*.

As *Paul* did not winter at *Corinth* in the year 56. we are led to think f *Nicopolis*, mentioned Titus iii. 12.

Before I proceed, I muſt take ſome farther notice of the words of Cor. i. 15. 16. *And in this confidence I was minded to come unto you before,* r firſt, *that you might have a ſecond benefit: and to paſs by you into Macedoia, and to come again out of Macedonia to you, and of you to be brought on y way toward Judea.* Hence it may be concluded, that in the begining f the year 56. before *Paul* left *Epheſus*, he once had hopes of getting to udea, in the year following, that is, in the year 57. probably at Paſſover,

over, or Pentecoſt, and that he had been prevented. He then intended to go from *Epheſus* to *Corinth*, thence to *Macedonia*, and to return from *Macedonia* to *Corinth*, that by the Chriſtians there he *might be brought on his way to Judea*. But by ſome means he had been carried into a different courſe. He had not yet been in *Judea*. Nor was he yet come to *Corinth*, though he had been in *Macedonia*. And, probably, he did not get into *Judea* before the Pentecoſt in 58. Theſe words therefore muſt induce us to think, that there was a longer ſpace of time between *Paul*'s leaving *Epheſus*, and coming to *Corinth*, and *Jeruſalem*, than has been generally ſuppoſed of late.

Baronius ſays, that (*l*) during this period *Paul* was in *Crete*, as well as in *Macedonia*, and *Achaia*, as does (*m*) *Lightfoot:* who alſo ſuppoſeth (*n*) *Paul* to have been now in *Illyricum*.

Dr. *Genſon* (*o*) thinks, that *Paul* might ſay, as he does Rom. xv. 19, that he had preached the goſpel from *Jeruſalem* round about unto *Illyricum*, "upon account of his being, and that more than once, in *Macedonia*, which bordered upon *Illyricum*, the *Scardican* mountains, and the river *Drilo*, being the boundaries between them." And after the like manner *Witſius*, who thinks, that (*p*) *Paul* did not intend to ſay, that he had preached in *Illyricum*. For he only makes it the boundarie of his labours. However, he ſays, that *Appollonia* was a city of *Illyricum*.

Wall upon Acts xx. 2. (*q*) ſays, "St. *Paul* did many great things in that nine months time. [So he computes.] It muſt have been during that ſpace, I think, that he made an excurſion into *Illyricum*, and preached the goſpel there."

Mr. *Biſcoe* delivers his thoughts in this manner: "In (*r*) the ſame epiſtle he ſays: *From Jeruſalem round about unto Illyricum, I have fully preached the goſpel of Chriſt*. Which is a general confirmation of the whole hiſtorie of his travels in the book of the Acts. For in that hiſtorie he is ſaid to have gone through *Syria*, *Cilicia*, and moſt, if not all the countries in *Peninſular Aſia*, to have gone over into *Europe*, and to paſs

(*l*) *Ann.* 57. *num. ccix.*
(*m*) *Lightfoot, Harm. of the N. T. Vol. i. p.* 309.
(*n*) *Ibid. p.* 307.
(*o*) *Upon the Acts, Vol.* 2. *p.* 174. *firſt ed. p.* 194. *the ſecond ed.*
(*p*) Deinde iter fecerunt per Amphipolim urbem Philippis vicinam, et Apolloniam quæ eſt Corinthiorum et Corcyræorum colonia, civitas Illyriæ. Sic enim Stephanus.——Verum id noſtræ nunc potiſſimum conſiderationis eſt, quod Apollonia urbs Illyrica ſit. Pertinet hoc ad illuſtrationem illius quod Paulus Romanis ſcripſit. xv. 19.——Multorum iſte locus ingenia fatigavit, non invenientium, quo tempore Paulus evangelium, in Illyrico, quod ſupponunt, prædicavit.——Sed quid laboramus incaſſum? Primo enim Illyricum non comprehendit Paulus ſuis itineribus, quaſi id quoque evangelium prædicando peragraverit: ſed Illyricum ſtatuit itinerum ſuorum terminum. Venit enim ad limites Illyrici, quando venit Apolloniam. Optime Grotius ad Rom. xv. 19. Macedonia, quam peragravit Paulus, Dalmatiam attingit, quæ pars Illyrici, et ipſum mare Illyricum. In eo tractu eſt Apollonia, nominata Act. xvii. 1. *Witſ. de Vit. Paul. ſect. v. num. xi.*
(*q*) *Wall's Notes upon the N. T. p.* 205.
(*r*) *Upon the Acts. p.* 424. 425.

pass through *Macedonia* into *Greece*. Now *Berœa*, the last city, in which St. *Paul* is said to have preached in *Macedonia*, could not be far from *Dessaretia*, which was part of the ancient *Illyricum*. At the same time I must own, it does not seem at all improbable to me, that St. *Paul* might in one of his journeys through *Macedonia*, (for St. *Luke* relates his passing through *Macedonia* three times) make an excursion into some of the nearer parts of *Illyricum*, and plant the gospel among them, though not taken notice of in the historie of the (*s*) Acts. It is certain however, that during St. *Paul*'s life the gospel was preached even in the remoter parts of *Illyricum*, and not improbably by the Apostle himself, after his release from his first imprisonment at *Rome*. For in his second epistle to *Timothie*, written when he was a second time prisoner in that great city, he informs him, that he had sent *Titus* into *Dalmatia*."

If I were to alter the later part of that paragraph, agreeably to my apprehensions, it would stand thus: "It is certain, that during St. *Paul*'s life the gospel was preached even in the remoter parts of *Illyricum*, and more than probable by the Apostle himself, and that before his imprisonment at *Rome*, when he was sent thither from *Judea* by *Festus*. For in his second epistle to *Timothie*, writ during that his imprisonment at *Rome*, he informs him, that he had sent *Titus* into *Dalmatia*."

The second epistle to *Timothie* having been writ at that time, if any gument can be fetched from it, it must prove, that *Paul* had been in *lyricum*, before he went to *Jerusalem*, and, probably, at the time, which e are now speaking of.

It appears to me very probable, that at this time *Paul* was in *Illyricum*, nd *Crete*. But I cannot digest the order of his journeys, since St. *Luke* s not related them. St. *Luke* says nothing of *Paul*'s going to *Troas*. e only says, that *Paul* went from *Ephesus* to *Macedonia*, and then came to *Greece*. Though *Paul* was preparing for his journey to *Jerusalem*, ith contributions of Gentil churches, he was not in a hurrie. Nor ere those collections his only concern. Notwithstanding the tumult *Ephesus*, he took leave of his friends there with a good deal of delibetion. St. *Luke*'s words are, Acts xx. 1. *And after the uproar was ased, Paul called unto him the disciples, and embraced them, and departed for go into Macedonia.* Nor does St. *Luke* represent the Apostle in great ste in that countrey. For he says, ver. 2. *And when he had gone over ose parts, and had given them much exhortation, he came into Greece.*

It is now a common opinion, that (*t*) St. *Paul* did not go directly to *Macedonia*

(*s*) "All that St. *Luke* says of his second journey is this: *And when he had gone over those parts, and had given them much exhortation, he came into Greece.* Acts xx. 2. All that is said of the third journey is, that whereas he intended to have sailed from *Greece* into *Syria*, knowing that the Jews laid wait for him, he changed his mind, and passed through *Macedonia*. ver. 3. . . . 6. At either of these times he might make an excursion into *Illyricum*, but most probably in his second journey." *That is a note of Mr. Biscoe at p.* 425.

(*t*) "He did not go directly from *Ephesus* to *Macedonia*, that is, he did not take shipping at *Ephesus*: (that was not safe:) but escaped by land to *Troas*, "as

Macedonia from *Ephesus*, but went by land to *Troas*, and there crossed over to *Macedonia*. It is evident, that before he wrote his second epistle to the *Corinthians*, from *Macedonia*, he had been at *Troas*. For 2 Cor. ii. 12. he says, *he came to Troas, to preach Christ's gospel, and that a door was opened to him of the Lord*. There is no absurdity in supposing, that St. *Luke*, who says nothing of *Paul*'s having been then at *Troas*, and omitted the Apostle's journey into *Arabia*, and indeed many other things, has omitted an account of his going to *Crete* and *Illyricum*. *Wall*, and others who compute no more than nine months between *Paul*'s leaving *Ephesus* and coming to *Troas*, in the way to *Jerusalem*, may find a difficulty in admitting what we contend for. But I think, I have shewn it to be space of almost two years, or about a year and three quarters. This alone will render it probable, that somewhat was done by *Paul*, besides what is mentioned by St. *Luke* in Acts xx. 1.—6.

St. *Paul*'s words in the epistle to the *Romans*, writ at *Corinth*, in this period, are very remarkable: *So that from Jerusalem, and round about, unto Illyricum, I have fully preached the gospel of Christ.—For which cause also I have been much hindered from coming unto you. But now having no more place in these parts, and having a great desire these many years to come unto you.* ch. xv. 19. 22. 23. He seems now, as it were, at ease, knowing what he had done, and considering, that there was nothing more left to be done by him in those parts. And why should not *Illyricum* be understood in the same manner, as *Jerusalem*? He had been at *Jerusalem*, and consequently, I think, in *Illyricum* likewise. And I should apprehend, that now was the time, when *Paul* could first say so much, as he here does.

Jerome had no doubt, but that *Paul* was in *Illyricum*. "Christ, says (*u*) he, was with *Peter* at *Rome*, with *Paul* in *Illyricum*, with *Titus* in *Crete*." That opinion, it is likely, was built upon this text in the epistle to the *Romans*. Consequently, it is to be supposed, that *Paul* had been in *Illyricum*, before writing that epistle. Nor can any season be thought of more likely, than this period, between his leaving *Ephesus*, and coming to *Troas*, in the way to *Jerusalem*.

I suppose *Theodoret* to be of the same mind with us, and to confirm what we are now saying, in his comment upon Rom. xv. 19. "He (*x*) "shews, to how many people he had preached: so that *from Jerusalem* "*and round about unto Illyricum, I have fully preached the gospel of Christ*. "As if he had said: I have not cultivated the nations in a strait line "only: but going round about I have planted the doctrine of the "gospel in the Eastern countreys, and also in *Pontus*, and like-

"wise

"as he says 2 Cor. ii. 12. and from thence took ship to *Macedonia*." *Wall's critical notes upon the N. T. p.* 205.

(*u*) Erat igitur uno eodemque tempore et cum Apostolis quadraginta diebus . . cum Thoma in India, cum Paulo in Illyrico, cum Tito in Creta, cum Andrea in Achaia. *Ad Marcell. T.* 4. *P. i. p.* 167. *Bened.*

(*x*) Διδάσκει δὲ καὶ πόσοις ἐκήρυξεν ἔθνεσιν . . . οὐ γὰρ τὰ κατὰ τὴν εὐθείαν ὁδὸν παρακείμενα ἔθνη ἐγεώργησα μόνα, ἀλλὰ καὶ κύκλῳ περιιών, τότε ἔθνη, καὶ τὰ ποντικὰ μέρη, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις τὰ κατὰ ἀσίαν, καὶ τὴν θρᾴκην, τῆς διδασκαλίας ἐπλήρωσα. Τοῦτο γὰρ δηλοῖ τὸ κύκλῳ. *Theod. in loc. T.* 3. *p.* 111. 112.

"wise in *Asia*, and *Thrace*. That is what he intends by *round* "*about*."

And *Euthalius*, in his prologue to St. *Paul*'s fourteen epistles, reckons †† *Illyricum* among the countreys, where *Paul* had preached, and says, that he converted a large part of it to the faith of Christ.

It may be not improper for us to give here some attention to the historie of *Aquila* and *Priscilla*. They were with *Paul* at *Ephesus*, when he wrote his first epistle to the *Corinthians*, in the spring of the year 56. For he sends their salutations in these words: *The churches of Asia salute you. Aquila and Priscilla salute you much in the Lord, with the church that is in their house.* 1 Cor. xvi. 19. The Jews having been banished from *Rome* by an edict of *Claudius*, they came to *Corinth*, a short time before *Paul*. Acts xviii. 1. . . . 3. When *Paul* went from *Corinth* to *Ephesus*, and *Jerusalem*, they went with him as far as *Ephesus*, and tarried there. 18. 19. When *Paul* wrote the epistle to the *Romans*, at the end of his second peregrination in *Macedonia* and *Achaia*, in the spring of the year 58. (as we suppose) they were at *Rome*. For *Paul* sends his salutations to them. Rom. xvi. 3. Afterwards they returned to *Ephesus*. For *Paul* sends his salutations to them in his second epistle to *Timothie*, then at *Ephesus*. 2 Tim. iv. 19. which epistle I think to have been writ in the summer of the year 61. soon after *Paul*'s coming a prisoner to *Rome*. And it has been supposed, that they continued at *Ephesus* the remainder of their life. Which to me seems not improbable. It is likely, that soon after *Paul* went from *Ephesus* to *Macedonia*, which he did in *April* or *May* 56. they also went from *Ephesus* to *Rome*. They might return thither, with a view to settle some secular affairs, they having before left *Rome* in a hurrie, in compliance with the edict of *Claudius*. Or they returned to *Rome* with a design to continue there. For they seem to have had their familie with them. Says St. *Paul*, in the place before referred to, Rom. xvi. 3. . . . 5. *Salute Priscilla and Aquila. . . and the church in their house.* Mr. *Biscoe* (*y*) explaining these words, *the church in their house*, says, "they had, it is probable, a considerable number of "servants to carry on their trade. These, doubtless, were taught by "them the Christian faith: by which means they had a church in their "house, wherever they settled." And speaking of their being at *Corinth* he says: "they (*z*) came from *Rome*, and settled at *Corinth*: in whose "house at *Corinth* St. *Paul* took up his lodging, and wrought with them "at their trade of tent making."

What I would observe is this: that there is nothing in the historie of these two excellent Christians, *Paul*'s helpers, inconsistent with the account, which we have just given of this peregrination of *Paul*. Which is to this purpose. *Paul* removed from *Ephesus* in the spring of the year 56. and went into *Macedonia*. But which way he went, I cannot tell, whether by the way of *Troas*, or some other course. He also was in *Crete*, and *Illyricum* about this time. Having spent the winter of 56. at *Nicopolis*,

†† . . . πολλὰς μὲν πόλεις, πολλὰς δὲ χώρας περιενόησεν, μοχῷ δὲ τὸ ἱλ- ρικὸν ἅπαν τῶν τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν εὐσεβείας δογμάτων ἐνέπλησε. *Euthal. ap. Zac.* . 520.

(*y*) *Upon the Acts. p.* 433. (*z*) *The same p.* 432.

Nicopolis, either in *Thrace* or *Epirus*, he came into *Macedonia*. Where he ſtaid ſome while. And near the end of the year 57. in November, or December, he came into *Achaia*, and particularly to *Corinth*, where he ſtaid three months. Hence *Paul* intended to have ſailed to *Syria*. But underſtanding *that the Jews laid wait for him*, he returned again to *Macedonia*. *And ſailed away from Philippi, after the days of unleavened bread, and came to his friends at Troas in five days.* Acts xx. 3... 6. That Paſſover, which *Paul* kept at *Philippi*, we ſuppoſe to have been in the year 58. At *Troas Paul* ſtaid ſeven days.

It is not needful for us to purſue diſtinctly *Paul*'s journey thence to *Jeruſalem*, it being very clearly laid down by St. *Luke*, in the remaining part of ch. xx. and the begining of xxi. I obſerve a few things only. xx. 13. *And we went before by ſhip to Aſſos*, [from Troas,] *there intending to take in Paul. For ſo he had appointed, minding himſelf to go afoot.* By which, I apprehend, we need not ſuppoſe, that *Paul* walked all that way: the original word, as ſeems to me, importing no more, than that *Paul* choſe to go ſo far by land: whilſt the reſt of the companie went by water.††

Ch. xx. 16. *For Paul had determined to ſail by Epheſus, becauſe he would not ſpend the time in Aſia. For he haſted, if it were poſſible for him, to be at Jeruſalem the day of Pentecoſt.* As I ſuppoſe he was, though it is not particularly mentioned by St. *Luke*. So ſays (*a*) *Lightfoot*: "St. *Paul* "cometh to *Jeruſalem* at the feaſt of Pentecoſt, when the city was now "full of a confluence to that feſtival." Whereby we may be able to apprehend the greatneſſe of the multitude of the people, as intimated by St. *Luke* xxi. 27... 36. and the extremity of the Apoſtle's danger, and the terrifying circumſtances of it.

We have now gone through a period of about eight years, from *Paul*'s leaving *Antioch*, not far from the begining of the year 50. to his coming to *Jeruſalem* at the *Pentecoſt* in 58.

... to the end of his Impriſonment at Rome.

XI. I ſhall next obſerve the Apoſtle's hiſtorie from this time to his deliverance from his impriſonment at *Rome*.

Paul was above two years in *Judea*. He came to *Jeruſalem*, as juſt ſaid, at the feaſt of Pentecoſt in the year 58. And he was ſent away to *Rome* near the end of the year 60. St. *Luke*'s account of what happened to *Paul* in that ſpace of time is in ch. xxi. 17... xxvi. 1... 32. For when he had been a few days at *Jeruſalem*, he was ſeized by a rude and enraged multitude, who would have killed him, if he had not been reſcued out of their hands by *Lyſias*, a Tribune, and the chief officer at *Jeruſalem*, under the Roman Governour: who ſecured him in the caſtle of *Antonia*, binding him with two chains to two ſoldiers. But before *Paul* was carried into the caſtle, he made a ſpeech to the people, as he ſtood upon the ſtairs going up into it. But the people not being at all mollified, and ſtill ſhewing great rage, the Chief Captain ordered, that *Paul* ſhould be brought

†† Μεταμεληθῆναι δ' αὐτὸς ἐν παιτὶ τῷ βίῳ τρεῖς μεταμελείας· μίαν μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ γυναικὶ πιστεῦσαι λόγον ἀπόῤῥητον· ἑτέραν δὲ, πλεῦσας, ὅπερ δυνατὸν ἦν περῶσαι· τὴν δὲ τρίτην, ὅτι μίαν ἡμέραν ἀδιάθετος ἔμεινεν. *Plutarch. Vit. M. Caton. Maj.*

(*a*) *As before. Vol. i. p.* 319.

brought into the caſtle. The next day he looſed *Paul* from his bonds, and brought him before the Jewiſh Council. But a great diſſenſion ariſing in the Council between the members of it, the Captain was obliged *to take him by force from them, and bring him into the caſtle.* The day after the Captain being informed of a conſpiracie to aſſaſſinate *Paul*, prudently ſent him from *Jeruſalem*, under a ſtrong guard, to *Ceſarea* by the ſea-ſide, where the Governour *Felix* reſided. After two years impriſonment *Porcius Feſtus* came in the room of *Felix*, who, to gratify the Jews, *left Paul bound.* In a ſhort time *Feſtus* brought this priſoner's cauſe to a hearing at *Ceſarea.* And the Jews ſtill proſecuting him with great earneſtneſſe, *Paul* appealed to *Ceſar. Then Feſtus, when he had conferred with his council, anſwered: Haſt thou appealed to Ceſar? Unto Ceſar thou ſhalt go.* A while after which *Paul*, and other priſoners in that countrey, were delivered to *Julius*, a Centurion, to be conducted by ſea to *Italie.*

Whilſt *Paul* was in *Judea*, he made a ſpeech to the people at *Jeruſalem*, already taken notice of, when he freely declared his principles and conduct. He was alſo brought by *Lyſias* before the whole Sanhedrim, or Jewiſh council. He pleaded before *Felix* in anſwer to the accuſations of *Tertullus*, and the Jews, who employed him. He preached before *Felix* and his wife *Druſilla*, and was ſeveral times in the preſence of *Felix.* And before he was ſent away to *Rome*, *Feſtus* gave him an opportunity to appear, and plead before himſelf, and King *Agrippa*, and *Bernice*, and the Tribunes, and principal men of *Ceſarea:* when *Paul* gave that auguſt aſſemblie an account of his doctrine, and of himſelf from his converſion to that time. And it is manifeſt, that *Paul*'s diſcourſe was well received. And both he and his doctrine were acquitted from all the charges and accuſations of the Jews. For when the companie had withdrawn, they ſaid among themſelves, where certainly they could ſpeak with freedom: *This man does nothing worthie of death, or of bonds.*

Indeed, it muſt be owned, that *Paul* was civilly treated by all the Roman Officers, in *Judea*, *Lyſias*, *Felix*, *Feſtus*, *Julius.* They all behaved, as Magiſtrates ought to do. They gave their priſoner and his accuſers a fair hearing, that they might know the truth of the caſe. *Felix* was a bad man. Nevertheleſs, *he commanded a centurion to keep Paul, and to let him have liberty, and that he ſhould forbid none of his acquaintance to miniſter, or to come to him.* ch. xxiv. 23. And he left *Paul* bound, when he ſhould have releaſed him. But it was only out of complaiſance to the Jews, of whom he was afraid. And if there was any other defect of juſtice toward *Paul*, in the behaviour of the Roman officers; it may be fitly imputed to the powerful influence of the Jews, the people of the countrey: to whom Governours, ſent in from abroad, would be obliged to ſhew a great regard from political conſiderations.

In ch. xxvii. and xxviii. 1. . . . 16. is an account of *Paul*'s voyage to *Rome*, which St. *Luke* has related very diſtinctly. As it was near winter, when they ſet out; they met with bad weather, and were wrecked on the iſland *Melita*, now called *Malta*, lying ſouth of *Sicilie.* There they ſtaid *three months.* xxviii. 11. and then ſailed for *Italie* in a ſhip of *Alexandria.* They landed at *Puteoli*, and ſo went for *Rome. Paul*, and the other priſoners were delivered by the Centurion to the Captain of the

Guard. How the other prisoners were disposed of, is not particularly related. *But Paul was suffered to dwell by himself with a soldier that kept him.* ver. 16. And as *Paul* had appealed to the Emperour, I suppose, that he was soon brought before him, and that the method of his confinement was ordered by the Emperour himself. Of which I may say more hereafter, when we come to the second epistle to *Timothie.*

Says (*b*) *Lightfoot:* "His accusers, that were come from *Judea* to lay "in their charge against him (for we can hardly suppose otherwise, but "that some such were come) would be urgent to get their business "dispatched, that they might be returning to their own home again. "And so would bring him to trial as soon as they cuold..... As he ap"pealed to *Nero* himself, so *Nero* himself heard his cause. Philip. i. 13. "2 Tim. iv. 16."

So *Lightfoot.* And it appears to me very strange, that any should think *Paul*'s cause was not heard at all at *Rome*, during his two years stay there. And yet it has been the opinion of several learned men, particularly of (*c*) *James Cappell*, and (*d*) Dr. *Doddridge*, whose words I have placed below. And *Fr. Spanheim* speaks to the like purpose. But his sentiments are rejected by his friend (*e*) *Witsius*, as no better than trifling.

Paul came to *Rome* in the spring of the year, as all will readily think. Some learned men place his arrival there in (*f*) *Februarie*, others (*g*) in *April.* Here *Paul dwelled two whole years in his own hired house.* Therefore he was released from his confinement, in the spring, two years after.

I suppose, *Paul* to have come to *Jerusalem* at the Pentecost of the year 58, to *Rome* in the spring of the year 61. and to have been released in the former part of the year 63. This period is therefore about the space of five years.

... to the time of his death.

XII. We are now to write the historie of our Apostle from this time to his death. But in this period we have no assistance from St. *Luke*, very little from the other books of

(*b*) *As before, p.* 322.

(*c*) Redit Romam causam acturus, quod in prima Romae mansione non comparuissent accusatores. *Jac. Capp. Compendios. in Apostol. Histor. Chronolog. Tab.*

(*d*) "After this *Paul* continued two whole years at *Rome* in his own hired "house, before he was heard by *Cesar*, or his deputy, upon his appeal." *Upon Acts xxviii.* 30. *Family-Expositor, Vol.* 3. *p.* 434.

(*e*) Celeberrimus Spanhemius noster ad Historiæ Christianæ seculum. i.... hæc habet: *Dimissus nempe fuerat Paulus, ea lege, ut in Asiâ coram accusatoribus suis sisteretur, aut Romæ rursus se sisteret, quum ante nulli in ipsum Romam missi a Judæis essent. Ea occasione adiit Corinthum.... Sed apparentibus Hierosolymâ Judæis, Romam redire coactus est, anno, ut videtur, sequente: ubi conjectus in vincula, ibidemque ultima Pauli certamina, &c....* Quæ quam debili nitantur fundamento, non puto mihi esse ostendendum. *Witsius de Vit. Pauli. sect. xii. num. xl.*

(*f*) Ita Paulus, postquam per tres menses Militæ hiemasset, per Syracusas, Rhegium, et Puteolos, Romam venit mense Febr. Neron. vii. *Pearson. Ann. Paul. p.* 18. *A. D. lxi.*

Ita tandem Paulus, post tot casus, post tot rerum discrimina, Romam venit, anno vii. Neronis, mense Februario. *Witsius ibid. sect. xii. n. i.*

See likewise Tillemont. S. Paul. art. 42.

(*g*) *Basnag. ann.* 60. *num. x.*

of the New Teſtament, nor very much from ancient authors, which can be depended upon, as certain.

Whither *Paul* went after he had obtained his liberty, is debated. Some think, that (*b*) he went from *Rome* to *Spain*. Others ſee not ſufficient reaſon for that ſuppoſition. Among theſe are (*i*) *Lenfant* and *Beauſobre*, (*k*) *Baſnage*, and (*l*) *Cellarius*, and (†*) *Du Pin*.

That *Paul* went into *Spain*, has been argued from an expreſſion of *Clement* in his epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, who there ſays of *Paul* "that (*m*) "having taught the whole world righteouſneſſe, and having come to "the borders of the weſt, and having ſuffered martyrdom, he went to "the holy place." Which ſome have rendered *the utmoſt bounds of the weſt*, and argue, that (*n*) hereby is meant *Spain*. I rather think, that *Clement* only meant *Italie* or *Rome*, where *Clement* was, and where *Paul* ſuffered. From a note of *Le Clerc* upon the place we learn, that (*o*) *Bp. Fell* ſo underſtood *Clement*. The word *coming* alſo leads to this ſenſe. If *Clement* only had thought of *Spain*, or *Britain*, or any other places beyond that, in which himſelf was, he would not have ſaid καὶ ἐλθὼν, *and having come*, but πορευσάμενος, or ſome other equivalent word, *and having gone to the bounds of the weſt*. *Lenfant* and *Beauſobre* in their general preface to St. *Paul*'s epiſtles ſay, (*p*) *the bounds of the weſt* ſignify nothing but *the weſt*. It is an expreſſion, they ſay, borrowed from the Scriptures, in which *the borders* of a countrey denote the countrey itſelf. In like manner by thoſe words *Clement* intended *Italie*. However,

(*b*) Adveniente Timotheo, ex Italia profectus eſt in Hiſpaniam, quo itum ſe dixerat in epiſtolâ ad Romanos. *Pearſon. ib. p.* 20.

(*i*) Quelques anciens peres ont dit, que ſaint Paul ayant été mis en liberté, alla faire le voyage d'Eſpagne, dont il avoit formé le deſſein cinq ou ſix ans auparavant. Rom. xv. 24. Mais outre que ſes temoignages ſont du quatriéme ou du cinquiéme ſiecle, il ſemble que ces peres n'ont parlé de ce voyage, que ſur ce qui S. Paul en a dit dans l'epître aux Romains. C'eſt au moins tout ce que S. Jerome allegue. . . Auſſi les epîtres, que S. Paul écrivit durant ſa captivité, temoignent, qu'il ne penſoit qu'à retourner en Gréce et en Aſie, des qu'il ſeroit delivré. Pouvoit il avoir dans l'eſprit un voyage en Eſpagne, lorſqu'il mandoit à Philemon, *de lui preparer un logement?* Laiſſant donc une tradition, au moins fort incertaine, &c. *Lenf. et Beauſ. Pref. generale ſur les epiſtres de S. Paul. §. liv. p.* 33.

(*k*) *Ann.* 46, *num. xlvi.* . , *L.*

(*l*) Eruditis placet, et admodum eſt probabile, Paulum prima captivitate, quam Lucas ſcripſit, liberatum in Græciam et Aſiam revertiſſe, adeoque bis Romæ fuiſſe: in Hiſpaniam autem penetraſſe, credibile non eſt. *Chr. Cellar. de Itineribus S. Pauli Apoſtoli. §. xxviii.*

(†*) Il arriva à Rome au commencement de l'an 61. Il en ſortit au bout de deux ans. Pluſieurs ont crû, qu'il avoit alors fait le voïage d'Eſpagne. Mais nous avons fait voir ailleurs, que cela eſt fort incertain. Il eſt plus vraiſemblable, qu'il revint dans l'Aſie, et dans la Grece. *Du Pin. Diſſ. Prel. l.* 2. *c.* 2. *§. viii.*

(*m*) δικαιοσύνην διδάξας ὅλον τὸν κόσμον, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως ἐλθὼν, καὶ, μαρτυρήσας ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων. . . κ. λ. *Clem. cap. v.*

(*n*) Et certe eam regionem vidit, quam Clemens Romanus ejus itinera commemorans appellat τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως. *Pearſon. ibid.*

(*o*) Romæ, hoc eſt in Heſperia, ſive Italia. *Fell.*

(*p*) *Num. liv. p.* 33.

However, another ground of this opinion is what St. *Paul* himself says. Rom. xv. 24. *Whensoever I take my journey into Spain, I will come to you. For I trust to see you in my journey, and to be brought on my way thitherward by you, if first I be somewhat filled with your companie.* But *Paul*'s measures had been broken by his imprisonment at *Jerusalem*, and the consequences of it. And it was now at least five years, since writing the epistle to the *Romans*. It is more likely that (*q*) when *Paul* left *Rome*, he went into the East, and *Greece*. For in his letters, writ near the end of his confinement there, he expresseth hopes of so doing. Philip. ii. 23. 24. speaking of *Timothie*, he says: *Him therefore I hope to send presently, so soon as I shall see how it will go with me. But I trust in the Lord, that I also myself shall come shortly.* Compare i. 20... 25.... And he says to *Philemon*, an inhabitant of *Colosse*. ver. 22. *But withall prepare me also a lodging. For I trust, that through your prayers, I shall be given unto you.* And in the epistle to the *Hebrews*, probably, writ by *Paul* to the Jews of *Judea* and *Jerusalem*, he says xiii. 18. 19. *Pray for us.... And I beseech you the rather to do this, that I may be restored to you the sooner.* And lower, ver. 23. *Know ye, that our brother Timothie is set at liberty. With whom, if he come shortly, I will see you.* Moreover, it is not impossible, but that *Paul* may have taken care of *Spain* by sending thither some of his fellow-labourers, whilst he was prisoner at *Rome*.

As I suppose the epistle to the *Hebrews* to have been writ after that to *Philemon*, I am apt to think, that *Paul* came from *Rome* to *Jerusalem*, as soon, and as directly, as he could. But he made there a short stay only. From *Judea* I think it likely that he went to *Ephesus*, and there left *Timothie*: whom about two years before he had sent for to come to him from *Ephesus* to *Rome*. From *Ephesus Paul* might go to *Laodicea* and *Colosse*. And, possibly, he returned to *Rome* by *Troas*, *Philippi*, and *Corinth*.

Some have hesitated to allow, that *Paul* ever came again into this countrey, because he says, Acts xx. 25. *And now, behold, I know, that ye all, among whom I have gone preaching the kingdom of God, shall see my face no more.* But *Lewis Cappell* (*r*) has well removed that difficulty. I therefore

(*q*) Nos tamen præcipue movent petita ex Scripturis argumenta, quibus aperte liquet, Paulum egressum Romanorum carcere, in Orientem se contulisse. Documento sane magno, mutatum esse jubente Deo Pauli consilium, quo in Hispaniæ tractum ex civitate Romana proficisci statuerat.... Illud etiam nobis est vero proximum, peregrinationem Pauli Hispanicam ex verbis Pauli fabricatam.... Unde collegerunt, quod decreverat, illud executioni esse mandatum. Quæ tamen non est apta argumentandi ratio, &c. *Bass. Ann.* 46. *num. xlix.*

(*r*) Sed responderi potest, Paulum non semel ex humana conjectura, atque ex humano spiritu, consilio, et proposito, multa ejusmodi cogitasse, putasse, proposuisse, ac dixisse. Quæ tamen postea, Deo ita disponente, aliter ceciderunt.... Itaque mirum videri non debet, si cum Spiritus Paulum oppidatim moneret vincula et afflictiones graves manere eum Jerosolymis, sentiretque se Spiritu ligatum, ut eo nihilominus proficisceretur, nescius quænam essent illic sibi eventura, desperaverit de reditu suo ad eos, quos post se relinquebat, licet Deo ita disponente... res aliquot post annis ceciderit aliter, quam ipse tum credebat. Non est itaque tam validum adversus nos argumentum illud, ut

fore have placed below a part of his obſervations. And ſays *Wall* (*s*) upon the place: "Ἐγὼ οἶδα, *I know*, when ſpoken of things future, does "not (as it is uſed by St. *Paul*) always ſignify a certain knowledge, "or a prophetic certainty: but often means only thus much: *I take it for* "*granted: I am fully perſuaded: I foreſee it highly probable: I have no* "*other expectation.* And the like." See alſo what there follows.

They who think that *Paul* did come again into this countrey, but nevertheleſs was not at *Epheſus*, ſeem not to attend to St. *Paul*'s expreſſions, who does not ſay to the elders of *Epheſus*: *I know, that you will ſee me no more.* But his words are theſe: *And now, behold, I know, that ye all, among whom I have gone preaching the kingdom of God, ſhall ſee my face no more.* The apoſtle then thought, that he ſhould never more come into thoſe parts. Conſequently, he might as well come to *Epheſus*, as to *Coloſſe*: which he probably did, and certainly hoped, and intended to do. See Philem. ver. 22.

Beſides *Cappellus*, and *Wall*, already alledged, I might refer to others, who heſitate not at all to allow, that *Paul* came again into this countrey, particularly *Le Clerc*, and *Lenfant* and *Beauſobre*, upon Acts xx. 25. and (*t*) *Pearſon*. Not now to mention any more.

I ſaid juſt now, that, probably, *Paul* went to *Jeruſalem*, as ſoon as he could, after he was ſet at liberty. And ſay *Lenfant* and *Beauſobre* in their (*u*) general preface to St. *Paul*'s epiſtles: "We have ſeen, that the "apoſtle was accuſtomed to go from time to time to *Jeruſalem*, and to "take the opportunity of ſolemn feſtivals. So long as the temple ſubſiſted, the Jewiſh Chriſtians did not neglect the ordinances of the law. "St. *Paul* himſelf did not neglect them, that he might give no offenſe "to the Jews." I readily aſſent to what they ſay about the apoſtle's going to *Jeruſalem*. I could almoſt think, that *Paul* was deſirous to go thither, to praiſe God in his temple for the favourable circumſtances of his impriſonment at *Rome*, and for his deliverance from it. *Paul*'s caſe at *Rome* very much reſembled what had happened to him at *Corinth*. After (c) which, we find, he had a vow, and went from *Corinth* to *Epheſus*, and haſtened to *Jeruſalem*. Acts xviii. 9. . . 22. In like manner, I imagine, that now *Paul* went to *Jeruſalem*, as ſoon as he could. But he made no long ſtay there. It had not been his cuſtom ſo to do, ſince his converſion.

Having been at *Jeruſalem*, I ſuppoſe, as before ſaid, that he viſited divers churches, which had been planted by him, and then returned to *Rome*. St. *Paul*, though a priſoner, had lived very comfortably at *Rome*. And he there had great ſucceſſe in his ſervices for the goſpel. It ſeems to me, that he now conſidered that city, as the moſt proper place for him to reſide in the remaining part of his life. It was the moſt conſpicuous place

ut eo ſubvertatur ſententia noſtra de Pauli reditu in Orientem, poſt ſoluta Romana ejus vincula. *Lud. Cappel. Hiſt. Apoſt. illuſtrat. p.* 34. . . . 36.

(*s*) *Notes upon the N. T. p.* 255.

(*t*) Paulus venit Miletum, &c. *Ann. Paulin. p.* 24. *A. D. lxvi.*

(*u*) *P.* 34.

(c) A particular account of that journey from *Corinth* to *Jeruſalem* may be ſeen in the firſt Part of this work. B. i. ch. 9. § vii.

place in all the world, and the place of the greateſt reſort from all parts. There he hoped to be more uſeful, than in any other place.

But things do not always fall out exactly according to human expectations. For, as I ſuppoſe, the apoſtle had not been long returned to *Rome*, before he was called out to reſign his life for the name of Chriſt.

In the year of Chriſt 64. as we learn from (*x*) *Suetonius*, and (*y*) *Tacitus*, Heathen hiſtorians, as well as from others, was a dreadful fire at Rome, which continued ſix or ſeven days. It was thought by many people, that the city had been ſet on fire by the Emperour's orders. But ſoon after the Chriſtians were moſt cruelly treated by him, as if they had been the authors of the conflagration. So ſays *Tacitus*. The fire is ſaid to have begun on the (*z*) 19. of July. And the perſecution of the Chriſtians began, as is ſuppoſed by ſome, in (*a*) November following, by others (*b*) in Auguſt. Which to me ſeems not ſo likely.

It is the opinion of (*c*) *Pagi*, and (*d*) *Baſnage*, that *Peter* and *Paul* ſuffered martyrdom in the year of †† Chriſt 65. They argue in this manner. *Oroſius* (*e*) having given an account of *Nero*'s perſecution of the Chriſtians, and of the death of the two Apoſtles in it, adds, that it was followed by a peſtilence in the city, and other diſaſters. And *Tacitus* (*f*) ſpeaking

(*x*) Nam quaſi offenſus deformitate veterum ædificiorum, et anguſtiis flexuriſque vicorum, incendit urbem. . . Per ſex dies ſeptemque noctes eâ clade ſævitum eſt. . . Hoc incendium e turri Mæcenctiana proſpectans, lætuſque flammæ, ut aiebat, pulcritudine, ἅλωσιν Illii in illo ſuo ſcenico habitu decantavit. *Sueton. Neron. cap.* 38.

(*y*) Sed non ope humana, non largitionibus Principis, aut Deum placamentis, decedebat infamia, quin juſſum incendium crederetur. Ergo abolendo rumori Nero ſubdidit reos, et quæſitiſſimis pœnis affecit, quos per flagitia inviſos, vulgus Chriſtianos appellabat. . . . Igitur primo correpti qui fatebantur deinde indicio eorum multitudo ingens, haud perinde in crimine incendii, quam odio humani generis convicti, &c. *Tacit. Ann.* 15. *cap.* 44.

(*z*) Fuere qui annotarent, xiv. Calendas Sextiles principium incendii hujus ortum, quo et Senones captam urbem inflammaverant. *Tacit. Annal.* 15. *cap.* 41.

(*a*) . . . cujus initium in medium menſem Novembrem A. 64. cadit. *Moſhem. de Reb. Chriſtian. ſec.* 1. *cap.* 34.

(*b*) *Vid. Toinard. ad lib. de Mort. Perſecut. cap. ii.*

(*c*) *Vid. Pagi ann.* 64, 65, 67.

(*d*) Inchoatam ſuperiore anno perſecutionem currente continuavit Neronis furor, qui Petri Paulique ſanguine reſperſus eſt. *Baſn. ann.* 65. *n. ix.*

†† That alſo was the opinion of *Du Pin*, not now to mention any others. Quoiqu'il en ſoit, il eſt certain, qu'étant revenu à Rome avec ſaint Pierre, il y eût la tête tranchée dans le temps de la perſecution de Neron, et probablement la 65 année de Jeſus Chriſt, comme nous l'avons fait voir en un autre endroit. *Du Pin. Diſſ. Prel. l.* 2. *ch.* 2. § *viii.*

(*e*) Nam primus Romæ Chriſtianos ſuppliciis et mortibus adfecit, ac per omnes provincias pari perſecutione excruciari imperavit: ipſumque nomen exſtirpare conatus, beatiſſimos Apoſtolos, Petrum cruce, Paulum gladio occidit. Mox acervatim miſeram civitatem abortæ undique clades. Nam ſubſequente autumno tanta urbi peſtilentia incubuit, ut triginta millia funerum in rationem Libitinæ venirent. *Oroſ. l.* 7. *c.* 7.

(*f*) Tacitus, lib. 16. cap. 13. loquens de iis quæ Nerva et Veſtino Coſſ. geſta, ſic narrationem ſuam concludit: *Tot facinoribus fœdum annum etiam*

Dii

eaking of affairs, when *Nerva* and *Veſtinus* were Conſuls, which was
e year of Chriſt 65, mentions a peſtilence in the city, violent ſtorms in
me parts of *Italie*, and other calamities. So *Pagi*. And *Baſnage* (*g*)
gues in the like manner from that paſſage of *Oroſius*.

The laſt mentioned learned chronologer likewiſe obſerves, that (*h*)
ulpicius Severus having given an account of the fire at *Rome*, and *Nero*'s
erſecution of the Chriſtians, and of the martyrdoms of *Peter* and *Paul*
herein, adds: "Whilſt theſe things are doing at *Rome*, the Jews being
uneaſie under the oppreſſions of their Governour *Geſſius Florus*, begin
to rebel." Upon which *Baſnage* obſerves: the (*i*) Jewiſh war began
May 66. Therefore the martyrdoms of the Apoſtles happened in the
ar before, that is, 65. To which, perhaps, might be added, that (*k*)
uetonius, having ſpoken of the fire, the peſtilence, and thoſe calamities,
hich are mentioned by *Tacitus*, and *Oroſius*, takes notice, that at the
me time *Syria* was difficultly kept from breaking out into a rebellion:
ntending, probably, the uneaſineſs of the Jewiſh people in 65. and 66.
Baſnage obſerves alſo, that (*l*) *Epiphanius* placeth the death of *Peter*
nd *Paul* in the 12. year of *Nero:* part (*m*) of which, as he ſays, fell in
e year 65.

I am

ii tempeſtatibus, et morbis, inſignivere. Vaſtata Campania turbine ventorum, ui villas, arbuſta, fruges paſſim disjecit, pertulitque violentiam ad vicina urbi. i qua omne mortalium genus vis peſtilentiæ depopulabatur, nullâ coeli intemperie, iæ occurreret oculis. Petrus itaque et Paulus eo anno morti traditi, quo urem peſtilentia afflixit. Quare, cum teſte Tacito, anno Chriſti ſexageſimo uinto peſtis Romæ graſſata fuerit, Principium Apoſtolorum martyrium rperam a Baronio ad præſentem annum dilatum. *Pagi Ann.* 67. *n.* iii.

(*g*) Jam vero ſæva hæc lues in Nervæ et Veſtini conſulatum incidit. *aſn. ann.* 65. *n.* ix.

(*h*) Interea abundante jam Chriſtianorum multitudine, accidit, ut Roma ncendio conflagraret, Nerone apud Antium conſtituto. Sed opinio omnium nvidiam incendii in Principem retorquebat, credebaturque Imperator gloam innovandæ urbis quæſiſſe. Neque ulla re Nero efficiebat, quin ab eo iſſum incendium putaretur. Igitur vertit invidiam in Chriſtianos, actæque i innoxios crudeliſſimæ quæſtiones.... Hoc initio in Chriſtianos ſæviri oeptum. Poſt etiam datis legibus, religio vetabatur: palamque edictis prooſitis, Chriſtianum eſſe non licebat. Tum Paulus ac Petrus capitis damati: quorum uni cervix gladio defecta, Petrus in crucem ſublatus eſt. *Sulp. ev. l.* 2. *c.* 41.

Dum hæc Romæ geruntur, Judæi, præſidis ſui Geſſii Flori injurias non rentes, rebellare coeperunt. *ib. cap.* 42.

(*i*) Bellum autem Judaicum incoepit anni ſequentis menſe Maio. Proinque Apoſtolorum martyrium in præſens tempus conferendum. *Baſn. ann.* 5. *n.* ix.

(*k*) Acceſſerunt tantis ex Principe malis, probriſque quædam et fortuita: eſtilentia unius autumni, quo triginta funerum millia in rationem Libitinæ nerant: Clades Britannica, . . . ægreque Syria retenta. *Sueton. Neron. p.* 39.

(*l*) . . . μετὰ τὴν τῦ ἁγίυ πέτρυ καὶ πάυλυ τελευτὴν τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ δωδεκάτῳ ἔτει ζήσας γινομένην. *Haer.* 27. *num.* vi.

(*m*) Pars autem anni Neroniani duodecimi ad præſentem ſpectat, utpote ctobris tertio et decimo incipientis. *Baſn. an.* 65. *n.* ix.

I am the more inclined to this date, becauſe we do not find in the epiſtles of the New Teſtament any notice taken of the perſecution of the Chriſtians at *Rome*, or of the devaſtations in *Judea*, after the commencement of the war. If *Peter* and *Paul* had been in any of the provinces and had ſurvived the terrible perſecution at *Rome* in 64. and 65. we ſhould have had ſome epiſtle, or epiſtles of theirs, concerning it, to the *Romans* or to the Chriſtians of ſome other place.

I do not preſume to aſſign poſitively the year of the martyrdom of thſee two Apoſtles. I have mentioned the ſpecious and probable arguments of two very eminent chronologers, in favour of the year 65. Nor do I think the Apoſtles ſurvived that year. But I cannot ſay, whether their martyrdoms happened in the year 64. or 65. *Pagi* ſays, that (*n*) *Peter* and *Paul* were taken up and impriſoned in 64, and put to death in the year 65. But I know nothing of the impriſonment of the Apoſtles at this time. There may be in late and fabulous authors large and particular accounts of their impriſonment, juſt before their martyrdoms. But there is little or no notice taken of it by the moſt ancient writers. If *Peter* and *Paul* were come to *Rome* before the City was ſet on fire and before the perſecution of the Chriſtians began, (which is not improbable) they might be taken up, and ſoon put to death, before the end of the year 64.

CHAP. XII.

St. PAUL's Epistles.

I. *The Introduction.* II. *The two Epiſtles to the Theſſalonians.* III. *The Epiſtle to the Galatians.* IV. *The firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians.* V. *The firſt Epiſtle to Timothie.* VI. *The Epiſtle to Titus.* VII. *The ſecond Epiſtle to the Corinthians.* VIII. *The Epiſtle to the Romans.* IX. *The Epiſtle to the Epheſians.* X. *The ſecond Epiſtle to Timothie.* XI. *The Epiſtle to the Philippians.* XII. *The Epiſtle to the Coloſſians.* XIII. *The Epiſtle to Philemon.* XIV. *The Epiſtle to the Hebrews.*

SECT. I.

The Introduction.

I SHALL now endeavour to ſettle the time of St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles, of which *Origen* ſaid: "If (*a*) any man reads them with attention, I am perſuaded, he will admire the writer's abilities in expreſſing great things in vulgar language: or, if he does not admire them, himſelf will appear ridiculous."

It

(*n*) Præterquam quod, cum perſecutio adverſus Chriſtianos anno lxiv. decreta fuerit, ac inſequenti continuata, non dubium, quin priori anno Petrus et Paulus in carcerem conjecti ſint, ac poſteriori necati. *Ann.* 67. *num.* iii.

(*a*) *See Vol.* iii. *p.* 247.

It cannot but afford satisfaction, to know the order of time, in which ey were writ. It will not only be attended with pleasure, but will al- contribute to the right understanding of them. For wrong dates ve been the occasion of many mistakes. *Baronius* observes, that some ve imagined the shipwreck at *Melita*, related in Acts xxvii. to be one the three, mentioned by St. *Paul* 2 Cor. xi. 25. not considering, that e second epistle to the *Corinthians* had been writ several years before. have put the passage (*b*) in the margin, as quoted by *Lewis Cappell.* The Author of the Commentarie upon thirteen of St. *Paul*'s epistles, the fourth centurie, made (*c*) the same mistake, and several others of like kind, in explaining the paragraph of 2 Cor. xi. 25. 26.

Of St. *Paul*'s fourteen epistles thirteen have been generally received Catholic Christians in all times. I therefore need not now allege e testimonies of ancient Christian writers, which may be seen in the ceeding volumes of this work. But as the epistle to the *Hebrews* has en sometimes doubted of, I shall observe the evidences of it's genuine- ess. With regard to the others, I shall do little more than shew the me, when they were writ. And I would take it for granted, that they ho are disposed to examine the arguments in this chapter, have first ad the historie of St. *Paul*, in the preceding Chapter. Which will e of great use, and prevent the trouble of numerous references.

SECT. II.

The two Epistles to the Thessalonians.

THE first and second epistles to the *Thessalonians* are now generally allowed by learned interpreters and chronologers to be the two first writ epistles of St. *Paul*. The time and place of writing them may be deduced from the *A. D.* 52.

(*b*) Quantum juvet, quamque sit utile, certo tenere tempus, quo Pauli pistolæ ab eo fuerunt scriptæ, recte observavit Baronius ad A. C. 58. §. xlii. ed hic, inquit ille, et illud necessario monendum putamus lectorem, non- ullis accidisse, ut temporum ignoratione in maximos errores incidant, pu- antes nimirum naufragium apud Melitam passum, quod Lucas narrat Act. xvii. unum e tribus fuisse a Paulo enumeratis 2 Cor. xi. non animadverten- es, secundam istam epistolam ad Corinthios longe ante illud naufragium esse criptam. Quamobrem scrupulosa, quæ videtur, in historia temporum in- agatio quantum conferat ad veram atque germanam Divinæ Scripturæ in- erpretationem, quisque facile judicabit. —— Hæc rectissime Baronius. Ita- ue hac in parte operam nostram ejusmodi indagatione post alios collocavi- ius. *Lud. Cosp. Append. ad Hist. Apost. p.* 63.

(*c*) *Nocte et die in profundo maris fui.*] Hoc factum est, quando missus est Roman, cum appellasset Cæsarem. Tunc desperatione vitæ in alto, id est, n profundo maris fuit, mortem ante oculos habens.... *Periculis in mari.* am superius dixit: *Ter naufragium feci, nocte et die in profundo maris fui.* Quod aliud periculum fuit in mari. Sed hoc est periculum, quando in mari, oc est, in navi, milites cogitaverant, omnes custodias occidere, ne quis ena- ns effugeret. Quod periculum centurio prohibuit inferri, ne Paulus occi- retur, ut cum vivum Romam produceret. *In 2 ep. ad Cor. xi. 25. 26.* . 202. *ap. Ambros. in App. Tom. 2.*

the epistles themselves, and from the historie of St. *Paul*'s travels in th book of the Acts. Some have thought, that (*d*) the first at least, if n also the second, was writ at *Athens*. But I suppose it to be now gene rally allowed, that (*e*) both these epistles were writ at *Corinth*. Where by we are also assured of their time. For it was formerly shewn to b probable, that (*f*) St. *Paul* came to *Corinth* before the end of the yea 51. and staid there till the begining of the year 53.

In the Synopsis ascribed to *Athanasius* the (*g*) first epistle to the *Thessa lonians* is said to have been writ at *Athens*, and (*h*) the second, very abu surdly, at *Rome*.

Theodoret, as (*i*) before quoted, saw these to be the two first writ ten epistles of the Apostle. The (*k*) first he supposed to have bee writ at *Athens*, and the second not long after, either at *Athens*, o *Corinth*. For he does not seem to say distinctly, at which of thes two cities the second was writ. Nevertheless I suppose it may b shewn, that they were both writ at *Corinth*. St. *Paul* came from *Thes salonica* to *Berea*. Which place he left in haste, because of the violenc of the Jews, who came thither from *Thessalonica*, and *stirred up the peo ple*. Acts xvii. 10. . . . 13. *And then, immediately*, says St. *Luke*, th *brethren sent away Paul, to go as it were to the sea. But Silas and Timo thie abode there still. And they that conducted Paul, brought him unto Athens And receiving a commandment unto Silas and Timothie to come to him wit all speed, they departed.* ver. 14. 15. Accordingly, as we may suppose *Silas* and *Timothie* did soon come to him. And *Paul*, having great con cern for the *Thessalonians*, whilst he was at *Athens*, sent *Timothie* to them As he says. 1 Thess. iii. 1. 2. *Wherefore, when we could no longer forbear we thought it good to be left at Athens alone. And sent Timothie, our brother and minister of God, and our fellow-laborer in the gospel of Christ, to esta blish you, and comfort you, concerning your faith.* From *Athens Paul* went to *Corinth*, where he staid a year and six months. There *Timothie* came back to him from *Thessalonica*. Comp. Acts xviii. 5. and 1 Thess. iii. 6. And *Silas*, or *Silvanus*, and *Timothie* are joyned with the Apostle in the inscription of the epistle.

Near the end of this epistle, ch. v. 27. are these remarkable words : *I charge*, or adjure, *you by the Lord*, ὁρκίζω ὑμᾶς τὸν κύριον, *that this epistle be read unto all the holy brethren.* It is likely, that from the begining all Christian assemblies had readings of the scriptures of the Old Testament. *Paul*, knowing the plenitude of the apostolical commission, now demands the same respect to be paid to his writings, with those of the ancient Prophets. This is a direction, fit to be inserted in the first epistle writ by him. And the manner, in which it is given, suggests an argument, that this was his first apostolical epistle.

The

(*d*) Ante Pauli vincula omnium prima scripta est ad Thessalonicenses utraque. Scriptæ autem omnino videntur duæ illæ epistolæ Athenis. *Lud. Capp. Hist. Ap. p.* 63.

(*e*) *Pearson. Ann. Paulin. p.* 11. . . . 13. *Mill. Prolog. num.* 4. *et* 6.

(*f*) *See before p.* 217.

(*g*) *Synops. S. S. n.* 66. *ap. Athan. T.* 2, *p.* 196.

(*h*) *Num.* 67. *ib. p.* 197. (*i*) *Vol. xi. p.* 85.

(*k*) *Præf. in Ep. Pauli. T.* 3. *p.* 3.

The ſecond epiſtle to the *Theſſalonians* appears to have been writ ſoon er the firſt, and at the ſame place. And *Silvanus* and *Timothie* are ned together with the Apoſtle in the inſcription of this epiſtle, as well of the former.

Theſe two epiſtles therefore I ſuppoſe to have been writ at *Corinth*, in year of Chriſt 52. Which is alſo the opinion of (*l*) *Mill*, and others. ct by whom theſe epiſtles were carried to the *Theſſalonians*, we do not rceive.

Some objections have been made againſt the above mentioned date of ſe two epiſtles. But the point is ſo clear, that I do not think it worth while to prolong this argument in examining them. They who are rious, may ſee thoſe objections well anſwered by Dr. *Benſon*, in the ond edition of (*) his Hiſtory of the firſt Planting the Chriſtian Re- ion.

SECT. III.

The Epiſtle to the Galatians.

THE epiſtle to the *Galatians* is inſcribed after this manner: *Paul, an Apoſtle, . . . and all the brethren which* *A. D.* 53. *with me, unto the churches of Galatia.* Upon which *rome* obſerves: "In (*m*) other epiſtles *Soſthenes* and *Silvanus*, and ometimes alſo *Timothie*, are mentioned at the begining: but in this, or adding the greater weight and authority, are put *all the brethren:* who, perhaps too, were believers of the circumciſion, and not leſpiſed by the *Galatians*. And the conſent of many is of great uſe to atisfy people. *To the churches of Galatia.* Here alſo, as he proceeds, t is to be obſerved, that in this place only *Paul* writes in general, not o the church of one city only, but to the churches of a whole pro- rince: and that he calls them *churches*, whom afterwards he reproves, as corrupted with errour. Whence we learn, that a church may be nderſtood in a two-fold manner: both of that which has no ſpot, or wrinkle, and is indeed the body of Chriſt: and of that, which is aſembled in the name of Chriſt, without compleat and perfect virtues."

Tertullian

(*l*) *Prolegom. num.* 4. . . 7.

(*) *Vol.* 2. *p.* 119. . . . 122.

(*m*) In aliis epiſtolis Soſthenes et Silvanus, interdum et Timotheus, in exordio præponuntur: in hac tantum, quia neceſſaria erat auctoritas plurimorum, omnium fratrum nomen aſſumitur. Qui et ipſi forſitan ex circumciſione erant, et a Galatis non contemptui ducebantur. Plurimum quippe faciebat ad populum corrigendum multorum in una re ſententia atque conſenſus. Quod autem ait, *Eccleſiis Galatiæ*, et hoc notandum, quia hic tantum generaliter non ad unam eccleſiam unius urbis, ſed ad totius provinciæ ſcribat eccleſias: et *eccleſias* vocet, quas poſtea errore arguat depravatas. Ex quo notandum, dupliciter eccleſiam poſſe dici: et eam, quæ non habet maculam neque rugam, et vere corpus Chriſti ſit: et eam, quæ in Chriſti nomine abſque plenis perfectiſque virtutibus congregetur. *In ep. ad Gal. cap. i. T.* 4. 25.

Tertullian (*n*) ſeems to have thought this one of St. *Paul*'s firſt wr ten epiſtles: as has been obſerved by *Grotius*, (*o*) who tranſcribed t paſſage, though long, into his preface to the epiſtle to the *Galatians*. F *bricius* (*p*) likewiſe has taken notice of it.

Theodoret, (*q*) the (*r*) Synopſis of Sacred Scripture, aſcribed to *Athan ſius*, and (*s*) the Author of the Argument in *Oecumenius*, reckon th among the epiſtles writ at *Rome*, and conſequently a late epiſtle. But ſee no ground for that opinion, there not being in the epiſtle any noti taken of an impriſonment at the time of writing it.

However *Lightfoot* (*t*) was alſo of the ſame opinion. He ſuppoſe this to have been the firſt epiſtle writ by St. *Paul*, after his arrival *Rome*. He ſays, it was carried by *Creſcens*, arguing from 2 Tim. i 10. Which Epiſtle to *Timothie* he thinks was writ at *Rome* ſoon a terwards.

Chryſoſtom (*u*) ſays, this (*x*) epiſtle was writ before that to t *Romans*. And in like manner (*y*) *Theophylact*, probably, borrowing fro him.

Divers learned moderns have thought, that this epiſtle was writ *Epheſus*, after *Paul*'s arrival there from his journey, related in Ac xviii. 23. and xix. 1. conſequently, after that the Apoſtle had been ſecond time in *Galatia*. To this purpoſe (*z*) *Lewis Cappell*, (*a*) *Witſiu* a

(*n*) . . . ab illo certe Paulo, qui adhuc in gratia rudis, trepidans den que, ne in vacuum cucurriſſet, aut curreret, tunc primum cum anteceſſo ribus Apoſtolis conferebat. Igitur, ſi ferventer, ut adhuc neophytus, a verſus Judaiſmum aliquid in converſatione reprehendendum exiſtimavit, pa ſivum ſcilicet convictum, poſtmodum et ipſe uſu omnibus omnia futurus, u omnes lucraretur, Judæis quaſi Judæus, et eis qui ſub lege, tanquam ſub l ge: tu illam ſolius converſationis, placituræ poſtea accuſatori ſuo, reprehen ſionem, ſuſpectam vis haberi, etiam de prædicationis erga Deum prævaric tione. *Tertull. adv. Marc. l. i. cap.* 20. *p.* 443.

(*o*) Tertullianus in primo adverſus Marcionem, hanc epiſtolam inter pr mas Pauli fuiſſe exiſtimat. &c. *Grot. Pr. in ep. ad Gal.*

(*p*) Scripſiſſe hanc epiſtolam adhuc neophitum, et in gratia rudem, adec que inter primas non dubitat affirmare Tertullianus. . . . *Fabr. Bib. Gr. l.* *cap. v. Tom.* 3. *p.* 155.

(*q*) Τὰς μὲν δὴ ἄλλας ἀπὸ τῆς ῥώμης ἀπέστειλε, καὶ ταύτην μὲν ἡγεῖται τὴν πρ γαλάτας γεγραφῆναι. *Theod. Præf. in ep. Paul. T.* 3. *p.* 5. *B.*

(*r*) *Ap. Athan. T.* 2. *p.* 194.

(*s*) *Arg. ep. ad Gal. ap. Oecum. T. i. p.* 713.

(*t*) *Kol. i. p.* 323. (*u*) *See of this work, Vol. x. p.* 332.

(*x*) Δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ ἡ πρὸς γαλάτας πρότερα εἶναι τῆς πρὸς ῥωμαίους. *Chry Proæm. ep. ad Rom. T.* 9. *p.* 427. *D.*

(*y*) Αλλὰ καὶ ἡ πρὸς γαλάτας πρότερα ἐστὶ ταύτης πρὸς ῥωμαίους. *Theoph. Arg ep. ad. Rom.*

(*z*) Per idem tempus, nempe ſub finem biennii Epheſini videtur omnin ſcripta epiſtola ad Galatas. &c. *Capp. Hiſt. ap. p.* 69.

(*a*) Epiſtola ad Galatas temporis ſui hos characteres habet. Primum, quo non diu poſt Pauli ab iis diſceſſum ſcripta eſſe videatur. Sic enim ipſe cap. i 6. . . . Affuerat autem iis Paulus paullo antequam proficiſceretur Epheſum Act. xviii. 23. coll. cum cap. xix. 1. Unde probabiliter ſaltem inferti Ephe

(*b*) *Wall.* This likewiſe ſeems to have been the opinion of (*c*) *erſon.* For he placeth this epiſtle in the year 57. after the firſt to the *inthians*, and before *Paul* left *Epheſus*. But I do not diſcern his rea- s for ſo doing.

Grotius (*d*) thought it difficult to aſſign the time when this epiſtle writ: but conjectures, that it was writ about the ſame time with to the *Romans*.

Fabricius ſays, "the (*e*) deſign of the epiſtle is to diſſuade the *Galatians* rom putting their neck under the yoke of the Moſaic law. And, ays he, to the like purpoſe the Apoſtle writes to the *Romans*. But nem he had never ſeen, and he treats them very reſpectfully, and en- rgeth upon the doctrine of the goſpel with greater prolixity. To the *Galatians* he writes more briefly, and as their maſter, and not without me ſeverity in his reprehenſions. He adds, that he is inclined to neir opinion, who ſuppoſe this epiſtle to have been writ not long after nat to the *Romans*, and in the way to *Jeruſalem*, in the year of Chriſt 58."

Mill being a man of great judgment in theſe things, and what he ſays pearing at firſt ſight plauſible, I ſhall tranſcribe it below. He thinks t (*f*) this epiſtle was not writ, untill after that to the *Romans*, probably,

neſi eſſe datam. Specialius, datam eſſe *ſub finem biennii*, quod Paulus Epheſi rit, inde colligit Capellus. . . *Witſ. de Vit. Paul. ſect. viii. num.* ii.

b) "About this time, A. D. 55. when *Paul* had been at *Epheſus* a little hile, he is ſuppoſed to have writ his epiſtle to the *Galatians*." *Wall's es upon the N. T. p.* 164.

) Scribit primam ad Corinthios epiſtolam. . . . Scribit epiſtolam ad atas. Per Demetrium Epheſo pellitur. *Annal. Paulin. p.* 15. *A. D.*

d) Tempus, quo ſcripta eſt hæc ad Gallogræcos epiſtola, ſicut deſig- indicare non poſſum, ita videre mihi videor, non longe abfuiſſe ab empore, quo ad Romanos ſcripta eſt epiſtola. *Gr. Pr. in ep. ad Galat.*

e) Argumentum epiſtolæ eſt, Galatas dehortari, ne jugo Legis Moſaicæ um collum animaſque ſupponerent. Idem diſſuaſerat Romanis, ſed ad , quos nondum præſens ille docuerat, et ſcribit minus familiariter, et ixius iis capita Chriſtianæ fidei exponit. Ad Galatas vero, et brevius ia, et tanquam doctor ipſorum, ita ut nec a gravi increpatione ſibi tem- t. . . . Non poſſum tamen improbare eorum ſententiam, qui non diu epiſtolam ad Romanos in itinere Hieroſolymam verſus A. C. 58. exara- hanc epiſtolam arbitrantur. *Fabr. ubi ſupra. p.* 155.

f) Paulo poſt dictatam hanc, quæ Romanis ſcripta eſt, ſcripſit Paulus epiſ- n ad Galatas, ut apparet ex cap. ii. 10. ὁ καὶ ἐσπούδασα αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι enim verbis aperte indicat Apoſtolus, epiſtolam hanc poſt miniſterium, ſtudium, quod eleemoſynis pro eccleſia Hieroſolymitana colligendis im- ebat, ſcripſiſſe ſe, dum aoriſto utitur, ἐσπούδασα ποιῆσαι. In itinere ita- verſus Hieroſolymam verſatus D. Paulus alicubi hanc epiſtolam exaraſſe ur, et quidem Troade fortaſſis, ubi ſeptem dies moratus eſt: poſtquam ſiam veniens comperiſſet Galatas ad aliud evangelium ἕτερον τραχέως tranſ- fuiſſe. Auditâ nempe, jam ut videtur ab appulſu ejus in Aſiam, iſtâ ωσίᾳ, arrepto calamo, propria manu, contra quam factum in aliis epiſ- tolis,

bably, at *Troas*, or ſome other place in *Aſia*, as *Paul* was going to *Jeru-ſalem*. And he thinks, that *Paul* refers to the collections lately made in *Macedonia* and *Greece*. Gal. ii. 10. And the Apoſtle writes not only in his own name, but alſo in the name of all the brethren, mentioned Acts xx. 4. who were with him at *Troas*, and accompanied him to *Jeruſalem*. Moreover, this epiſtle was writ by the Apoſtle with his own hand, and the more eaſily, and readily, though in a journey, becauſe he had juſt before treated the ſame argument in his epiſtle to the *Romans*. This epiſtle therefore is placed by *Mill* at the year 58.

Upon all which I beg leave to remark, as follows. *Firſt*, that the words, *all the brethren which are with me*, need not to be underſtood of thoſe who were with *Paul* at *Troas*, and were ſetting out with him for *Jeruſalem*. Thereby may be intended the brethren of ſome other place where *Paul* was. *Secondly*, the Apoſtle *Paul* was able at any time to repreſent the doctrine of the Goſpel to any churches, ſuitably to their particular caſe and circumſtance: whether he had juſt before treated of it in an epiſtle, or not. So that the agreement between the epiſtles to the *Romans* and the *Galatians* is no proof, that they were writ very ſoon one after another. *Thirdly*, when *Paul* ſays, ch. ii. 10. *the ſame which I alſo was forward to do:* he cannot intend the collections made in *Macedonia* and *Greece*, with which he was going to *Jeruſalem*. If that had been his meaning, he would have expreſſed himſelf more particularly like to what he ſays to the *Romans*. ch. xv. 25. . . 27. What he ſays here, he might have ſaid, when at *Epheſus*, before he ſet out for *Macedonia*, and indeed at any time, and in any place. For he had been always mindfull of the poor in *Judea*. I apprehend, that the Apoſtle's words are to be interpreted in this manner. *The ſame, which I alſo had endeavoured to do*, or *had been careful to perform:* referring to his conduct even before that propoſal of the three Apoſtles at *Jeruſalem:* and intending, probably, in particular, the contributions brought by himſelf and *Barnabas* from *Antioch* to *Jeruſalem*, ſome while before, as related Act. xi. 27. Which contributions, as may be well ſuppoſed, had been promoted by our Apoſtle's exhortations. *Fourthly*, St. *Paul* ſays to the *Galatians* in this epiſtle, ch. i. 6. *I marvel, that ye are ſo ſoon removed from him that called you unto the grace of Chriſt, unto another goſpel.* Thoſe expreſſions cannot poſſibly ſuit the date aſſigned by *Mill*, that is, after the Paſſover of the year 58. Which muſt have been above four years after even *Paul*'s ſecond journey in the countrey of *Galatia*.

Another opinion has been propoſed by the ingenious and thoughtfull Author (*g*) of *Miſcellanea Sacra*, and embraced by (*h*) Dr. *Benſon:* that

tolis, (exceptâ forte unâ ad Philemonem) totam iſtam ſcripſit epiſtolam, acrem et objurgatoriam, nomine ſuo, omniumque, qui cum ipſo erant fratrum jam Troade, Sopatri, Ariſtarchi, Secundi, Gaii, Tychici, Trophimi, Titi, Silæ, aliorum. Scripſit autem eo celerius, et feſtinantius, quod idem argumentum in hac epiſtola proſequeretur, quod tractaverat paullo ante in epiſtola ad Romanos, cujus fere ſenſus in hanc transfundit . . . . Scripta eſt ſtatim, ut dixi, poſt epiſtolam ad Romanos, anno ære vulgaris lviii. *Prolegom.* 30. 31.

(*g*) *See there the Abſtract of the Scripture Hiſtory of the Apoſtles. p.* 31. *and the Poſtſcript to the Preface p.* 56. . . . 58.

he epistle to the *Galatians* was writ at *Corinth*, when the Apostle was first here, and made a long stay of a year and six months. Whilst *Paul* was here, he received tidings of the instability of his converts in *Galatia*, with which he was much affected. Whereupon he wrote this epistle, and sent by one of his assistants. At that season he might well say at the beginning of his address to them: *I marvel that ye are so soon removed from him that called you unto the grace of Christ.* Nor is there in the epistle any hint of his having been with them more than once. The epistle therefore was writ at *Corinth*, or perhaps, at *Ephesus*: when *Paul* was first here, in his way to *Jerusalem*, as mentioned Acts xviii. 19. . . . 21.

This opinion is proposed by the above mentioned Author, as his own. And I make no doubt, that it was so, and the fruit of his own inquiries and observations. Nevertheless it is not quite new. Say *Lenfant* and *Beausobre* in their general preface to St. *Paul*'s Epistles: "We (*i*) find not in the epistle to the *Galatians* any mark, that can enable us to determine with certainty, at what time, or in what place, it was writ. It is dated at *Rome* in some printed copies, and manuscripts. But there is nothing in the epistle itself, to confirm that date. *Paul* does not here make any mention of his bonds, as he does in all his epistles, writ at *Rome*. He says indeed vi. 17. that *he bears in his body the marks of the Lord Jesus*. But he had often suffered, before he came to *Rome*. There are therefore (*k*) some learned chronologers, who place the epistle to the *Galatians* immediately after the two epistles to the *Thessalonians*. They think, it was writ between the third and fourth journey of *Paul* to *Jerusalem*, and between his first and second journey into *Galatia*. This opinion appears to be very probable. For since the Apostle says, *he wonders, that they were so soon turned unto another gospel*, this epistle must have been writ a short time after he had preached in *Galatia*. Nor can we discern in the epistle any notice of the second journey, which St. *Paul* made into this country. For this reason it is thought, that the epistle to the *Galatians* was writ at *Corinth*, where the Apostle made a long stay, or else, in some city of *Asia*, particularly, *Ephesus*, where he staid some days in his way to *Jerusalem*. Acts xviii. 19. . . . 21. Therefore, in all probability, the epistle to the *Galatians* was writ from *Corinth*, or from *Ephesus*, in the year 52. or 53."

Nothing could be said more properly. And I think, this date may farther confirmed by some other considerations. *Paul* says to the *Corinthians*. xvi. 1. *Now concerning the collection for the saints, as I have given orders to the churches of Galatia, so do ye.* Which shews, that at the writing of that epistle to the *Corinthians*, in 56. he had a good opinion of his converts in *Galatia*, and that he had no doubt of their respect to his

(*b*) *History of the first Planting the Chr. Religion. B.* 3. *ch.* v. §. *xi. Vol.* 2. 118. 119. *first ed. p.* 136. 137. *2d. ed.*

(*i*) §. *xlii. p.* 24——26.

(*k*) Here, in the margin, are put the names of *Usher* and *L. Cappell*, without any references. Nor have I found the places, where this opinion is maintained by them.

his directions. Which, probably, had been ſent to them from *Epheſus* during his long abode there, by ſome one or other of his aſſiſtants. Thi good temper of the *Galatians* may be ſuppoſed owing to the letter ſen to them ſome time before, and to his ſecond viſit to them, related Act xviii. 23.

And now we ſhall be better able to account for what appears ver remarkable. When *Paul* left *Corinth*, after his long ſtay there, he wen to *Jeruſalem*, having a vow. In his way he came to *Epheſus*. Acts xvii 19. . . . 21. *And when they deſired him to tarry longer with them, he con ſented not. But bid them farewell, ſaying: I muſt by all means keep this fea that cometh at Jeruſalem. But I will return again unto you, if God wil* When we read this, we might be apt to think, that *Paul* ſhould haſte back to *Epheſus*, and return thither preſently after he had been at *Jeruſalem* But inſtead of ſo doing, after he had been at *Jeruſalem*, *he went down t Antioch. And after he had ſpent ſome time there, he departed, and went ove all the countrey of Galatia, and Phrygia, in order, ſtrengthening the diſciple* ver. 22. 23. We now ſeem to ſee the reaſon of this courſe. At *Corint* he heard of the defection of many in *Galatia*. Whereupon he ſen away a ſharp letter to them. But conſidering the nature of the caſe, h judged it beſt to take the firſt opportunity to go to *Galatia*, and ſuppor the inſtructions of his letter. And both together had a very good effec Gal. iv. 19. 20. *My little children, of whom I travel in birth again . . . I deſire to be preſent with you, and to change my voice. For I ſtand in doub of you:* or, I am perplexed for you. Now, then, we ſee the reaſon c the Apoſtle's not coming directly from *Jeruſalem* to *Epheſus*. However he was not unmindful of his promiſe, and came thither, after he ha been in *Galatia*.

Upon the whole, the epiſtle to the *Galatians* is an early epiſtle. Anc as ſeems to me moſt probable, was writ at *Corinth*, near the end of th year 52, or at the very begining of the year 53. before St. *Paul* ſet out t go to *Jeruſalem* by the way of *Epheſus*. But if any ſhould rather think that it was writ at *Epheſus*, during the Apoſtle's ſhort ſtay there, in th way from *Corinth* to *Jeruſalem*, that will make but very little difference And ſtill, according to our computation, this epiſtle was writ at the be gining of the year 53.

Ch. vi. 11. *Ye (l) ſee how large a letter I have written unto you with m own hand.*

Hereby ſome underſtand the Apoſtle to ſay, that this, with what fo lows to the end of the epiſtle, was writ with his own hand. So (*m*) *Je rome*, and (*n*) *Grotius*. Others underſtand St. *Paul* to ſpeak of the whol epiſtle

(*l*) Ἰδετε πηλίκοις ὑμῖν γράμμασιν ἔγραψα τῇ ἐμῇ χειρί.

(*m*) Hi qui circumcidi Galatas volebant, diſſeminaverant, alia Paulu facere, alia prædicare.——Hanc opinionem quia non poterat Paulus apu omnes præſens ipſe ſubvertere——ſeipſum per literas repreſentat. Et r aliqua ſuppoſitæ epiſtolæ ſuſpicio naſceretur, ab hoc ipſo uſque ad finem m nu ſua ipſe perſcripſit, oſtendens ſuperiora ab alio exarata. *Hieron. in ep. a Gal. T. 4. p.* 314.

(*n*) In aliarum epiſtolarum fine quædam ſcribebat ſuâ manu. 1 Cor. xv 21. 2 Theſſ. iii. 17. et Col. iv. 18. cetera manu aliena, ut videre eſt Ro man. xvi. 2

istle. So thought (*o*) *Chrysostom*, and (*p*) *Theophylact*, and (*q*) *Theo-*
ret, and (*r*) the Author of the Commentarie upon thirteen of St. *Paul*'s
istles. Which interpretation is approved by (*s*) *Wolfius*.

. . . *How long a letter I have written unto you.* Which some interpret
er this manner: *in what large letters I have written unto you*, intending
deformity, or inelegance of the characters. Which sense is also
und in (*t*) divers ancient authors.

But it is not approved of either by (*u*) *Beza*, or (*x*) *Wolfius*. They
, that this is as long as any of St. *Paul*'s epistles, excepting the epistle
the *Romans*, the two epistles to the *Corinthians*, and that to the *He-*
brews.

n. xvi. 22. Hic vero Paulus suâ manu scripsit omnia quæ sequuntur, ut
te putat Hieronymus. Id autem multum erat in homine adeo occupato,
ut videtur, non multum affueto Græce scribere. *Quantis literis*, id est,
am multis. Solent adjectiva magnitudinis poni pro adjectivis ad numerum
rtinentibus. Sic Græcum τόσοι, *tanti*, utroque sensu usurpatum. *Grot. ad*
lat. vi. 11.

(*o*) Ἐνταῦθα εὖδον ἄλλο αἰνίττεται, ἀλλ' ὅτι αὐτὸς ἔγραψε τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἅπασαν,
πολλῆς γνησιότητος σημεῖον ἦν. κ. λ. *Chr. in loc. T. x. p.* 727. *B.*

(*p*) *In loc. T.* 2. *p.* 492.

(*q*) Πᾶσαν, ὡς ἔοικε, τὴν δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν αὐτὸς ἔγραψε. *Theod. in loc.*

(*r*) Auctoritatem dat epistolæ suæ.——Ubi enim holographa manus est,
sum dici non potest. *In loc. ap. Ambros. in App. p.* 230.

(*s*) Idem vero, [Grotius,] quamvis præeunte Hieronymo, errat, quando
c verba non ad totam hanc epistolam, sed ad ea tantum, quæ nunc utpote
finem leguntur vult referri. Rectius Chrysostomus.——Addit idem
sam, cur totam epistolam sua manu exararit, ut nempe omni *κολακ*-
cio *ἐκγεάφω* hoc præcideretur iis, qui dicere aliquin poterant, nonnulla
inferta, quæ Apostoli sententiæ non respondeant. *Wolf. in loc.*

(*t*) Τὸ δὲ πηλίκοις, ἀντὶ τοῦ μεγέθει, οὐχὶ τὴν ἀπλῶς τῶν γραμμάτων ἰμφάνειαν λέγειν, μοιονοχὶ λέγων· ὅτι οὕτω μεγάλοις γράμμασιν ἔγραψα, ὥστε πᾶσιν ὁρᾶσθαι δι' ἑαυτῶν γράψαι, ὥσπερ τῶν συκοφαντῶν ἐκφεύξασθαι τὸ σῶμα. *Chr. ubi*
pr. p. 727. *C.*

Τοῦ δὲ πηλίκοις γράμμασι, τίσιν, μὴ μεγάλοις, τίσιν δὲ φαύλοις ἠμείψασθε. Ε-
γὼ φημι, ἔγραψα τὴν ἐπιστολήν, καὶ οἱ μὴ γράφων εἰς κάλλος. *Theod. in loc.*

(*u*) *Quam longis*, πηλίκοις. Ad verbum *quantis*. Vulgata *qualibus*. In
o explicando miror cur se tantopere torqueant interpretes, dum alii—ad
plimitatem sententiarum referunt, ut Hilarius, alii ad ipsa literarum elemen-
quæ grandiuscula fuerint——alii ad deformitatem characterum, quasi
ulus imperitus fuerit pingendarum literarum, ut exponit Theophylactus,
rysostomum secutus.——sunt autem tam longiores epistolæ Romanis et
orinthiis inscriptæ, sed aliena manu exaratæ. *Beza. ad loc.*

(*x*) *Ecce quantis*, i. e. *quam multis literis vobis scripsi*. Ita recte Grotius,
dens, adjectiva magnitudinis pro adjectivis, ad numerum pertinentibus,
ni solere, quemadmodum et Græcum τόσος utroque sensu usurpetur. ———
ngius autem a vero aberrant, qui τὸ πηλικος ad designandum *characterum*,
bus usus sit, *magnitudinem*, spectare putant, ut πηλικα α τις sint
æ majusculæ —— Addit. [The Cene] Apostolus hanc epistolam non po-
isse appellare *πηλικην* respectu longitudinis, cum longiores scripserit alias.
o vero scriptionem non tam multorum verborum, quam quæ omnia tam
manu scripserat, qui alias ceteris paucis concisim tibi conclude-
it, longam appellat. Præterea hæc ad Galatas, si tres priores, et
m ad Hebræos exceperis, reliquas omnes longitudine excedit. *Wolf.*
loc.

brews. I may add another thought: that according to our computatic this is the third apoſtolical epiſtle, writ by St. *Paul*, and is much long than either of thoſe to the *Theſſalonians*, which had been writ befor However, undoubtedly, the Apoſtle has regard to the quantity of his ow hand-writing. The reſt of his epiſtles were writ by others, while h dictated, (as is generally done by eminent men, much engaged,) ar himſelf wrote only a few words, or ſentences, at the end: whereas th epiſtle was all in his own hand-writing.

And the original word is elſewhere uſed for epiſtle, or letter. Ac xxviii. 21. *We* (*y*) *have not received letters out of Judea concernin thee.*

So far therefore as I am able to judge, our Engliſh verſion very right. *Ye ſee how large a letter I have writ unto you with my ow hand.*

That is (*z*) *Beza*'s tranſlation. *Le Clerc* (*a*) in his French Teſt ment, and (*b*) *Beauſobre* tranſlate in the like manner.

In *Beauſobre*'s Remarks upon the New Teſtament, publiſhed after h death, is this note upon the text we are conſidering: "*How* (*c*) *lar* "*a letter*, πηλίκοις γεγράμμασι. Some, ſays *Theodoret*, explain this of t "largeneſſe of the letters, others, that the letter was ill writ: as if t "Apoſtle had ſaid: *I have writ to you with my own hand, though I do n* "*write well.* St. *Jerome*, in his Commentarie upon this place, ſays, H "had heard ſomewhat of the like kind from ſome body. But he do "not ſeem to approve of it." I tranſcribe at length (*d*) below the pa ſage referred to. But *Jerome*, having mentioned that obſervation ſome learned man of his time, does himſelf ſeem to trifle, when H adds, "That St. *Paul*'s letter to the *Galatians* was great for the ſenſ And ſo were all his letters, though ſhort." However, this interpre tatic

(*y*) Ἡμεῖς ἴστε γράμματα ποῖα σὲ ἐδεξάμεθα ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας.

(*z*) Videtis quam longis literis vobis ſcripſerim mea manu. *Bez.*

(*a*) Voyez quelle grande lettre je vous ai écrite de ma main. *Le Clerc.*

(*b*) Voyez quelle grande lettre je vous ai écrite de ma propre main. *B.*

(*c*) *Quelle grande lettre.* Quelques uns, dit Theodoret, expliquoient ce m de la grandeur des lettres, et d'autres de ce que la lettre étoit mal écrite, l caracteres mauvais: *Je vous ai écrit de ma main, quoique s'écrive mal.* St. J rome, dans ſon Commentaire ſur cet endroit, dit d'avoir ouï dire quelq choſe d'approchant, à quelqu'un dont il ne paroit pas approver la penſé *Beauſ. Remarques ſur le N. T. p.* 466.

(*d*) *Videte qualibus literis ſcripſi vobis:* Non quod grandes literæ fuerin [hoc quippe in Græco ſonat πηλίκοις:] ſed quod ſuæ manus eſſent eis nota v ſtigia: ut dum literarum apices recognoſcunt, ipſum ſe putarent videre, q ſcripſerat. In hoc loco vir apprime noſtris temporibus eruditus, miror quo modo rem ridiculam loquutus ſit. *Paulus*, inquit, *Hebræus erat, et Græcas l teras neſciebat. Et quia neceſſitas expetebat, ut manu ſua epiſtolam ſubſcribere contra conſuetudinem curvos tramites literarum exprimebat: etiam in hoc ſuæ a Galatos indicia caritatis oſtendens, quod propter illos id quoque quod non pote facere conaretur.* Grandibus ergo Paulus literis ſcripſit epiſtolam, quia ſenſu erat grandis in literis.—Grandes Paulus literas non ſolum tunc ad Galata ſed etiam hodie ſcribit ad cunctos: et quamvis parvi ſint apices, quibus eju epiſtolæ conſcribuntur, tamen magnæ ſunt literæ, quia in literis magnus c ſenſus. *Hieron. Comm. in Gal. T. 4. p.* 315

tion may be approved by some. It is in the note of *Beza*, above) transcribed.

SECT. IV.

The first Epistle to the Corinthians.

THE first epistle to the *Corinthians* was writ at *Ephesus*, as all may perceive. Says the Apostle 1 Cor. i. 8. 9. *But I will tarry at Ephesus, untill Pentecost. For a great or and effectual is opened unto me. And there are many adversaries.* nd ver. 19. he says: *The churches of Asia salute you. Aquila and Priscilla ute you much in the Lord.* Those two good Christians had come with *ul* from *Corinth* to *Ephesus*, when he was first there, and staid but a ort time. As appears from Acts xviii. 18. 19. And there they ntinued, as we suppose, till after *Paul* left *Ephesus*, to go into *Mace-nia.* *A. D.* 56.

This epistle is placed by (*e*) *Pearson* in the year 57. *Mill* thinks (*f*) was writ before the Passover of the year 57.

According to our computation (*g*) of St. *Paul*'s times and travels, is epistle was writ at *Ephesus*, in the spring of the year 56. Which (*h*) is also the opinion of the French Commentators before named, *Len-nt* and *Beausobre*. Some have argued from ch. v. 7. *For Christ our ssover, is sacrificed for us*, that it was now the time of the Jewish Pass-er, or that it was just over. But to me it seems, that the Apostle ight make use of that expression, and build an argument, or exhorta-on, upon it in any part of the year. And when a year was begun, might speak of staying where he was, till some distant feast. And pposing the epistle to have been writ early in the spring, he might think continuing at *Ephesus*, till Pentecost. This letter was carried to *rinth* by *Stephanas*, *Fortunatus*, and *Achaicus*, mentioned 1 Cor. xvi. 17. . who had come to the Apostle from the *Corinthians*, and are supposed have brought a letter with them. See 1 Cor. vii. 1. It was after riting this epistle, that the tumult happened, which was caused by *Deme-rius.* For as *Lightfoot* (*i*) says: "Between ver. 22. and 23. of this x. chapter of the Acts falleth in the time of St. *Paul*'s writing the first istle to the *Corinthians*." Consequently, this epistle was sent away, be-re the tumult raised by *Demetrius*, and other silversmiths, related by . *Luke* Acts xix. 23 . . . . 41. nevertheless, after *Paul* had fought with asts at *Ephesus*, as he says, 1 Cor. xv. 32. When that tumult of *Demetrius*

(*) *See note* (*u*) *p.* 243.

(*e*) Scribit primam ad Corinthios epistolam, cum Sosthene respondens epi-olæ Corinthiorum. *Pearson. Ann. Paulin. p.* 15 *Anno* lvii.

(*f*) Quando igitur? Haud diu sane antequam ex Asia abiret, anno æræ lgaris. lvii. et quidem ante illius anni festum paschale. *Proleg. num.* 9.

(*g*) *See here p.* 219.

(*h*) La i. Epistre aux Corinthiens fut écrite d'Ephese au printemps de nnée 56. *Pref. Gen. sur les ep. de S. Paul.* §. 45. *p.* 27.

(*i*) *Vol. i. p.* 299.

Demetrius was appeaſed, *Paul* ſeems to have been at reſt. And though he did not judge it prudent to ſtay any longer there, he took leave of his friends with deliberation. *And after the uproar was ceaſed, Paul called unto him the diſciples, and embraced them, and departed for to go into Macedonia.* Acts xx. 1.

The firſt epiſtle to the *Corinthians* therefore, according to our account, was writ at *Epheſus*, in the begining, or the ſpring, of the year 56.

SECT. V.

The firſt Epiſtle to Timothie.

A. D. 56. THE firſt epiſtle to *Timothie* was writ, according to (*k*) *Pearſon*, (*l*) *Whitby*, (*m*) *Baſnage*, (*n*) *Cave*, (*o*) *Fabricius*, (*p*) *Mill*, and others, in the year of Chriſt 64. or 65. ſome while after St. *Paul*'s releaſe from his confinement at *Rome*. In (*q*) *Lightfoot* this is the epiſtle writ next after the firſt to the *Corinthians*. It is the ſame in (*r*) *Baronius*, and (*s*) *Eſtius*. Who ſay, that this epiſtle was writ in *Macedonia*, when *Paul* was there the ſecond time. In this date agree in the main (*t*) Dr. *Benſon*, and (*u*) Dr. *Doddridge*. This alſo was the opinion of *Hammond*, as may be ſeen in his preface to this epiſtle. *Whitſius*, after having conſidered the reaſons of *Lightfoot* and *Pearſon* in behalf of their ſeveral opinions, heſitates (*x*) and cannot ſay exactly, when this epiſtle was writ: though he does not judge it needfull to defer it ſo long, as *Pearſon* did, that is, till after St. *Paul*'s deliverance from his impriſonment at *Rome*. *Lewis Cappell* was in doubt, which was firſt writ, whether (*y*) the ſecond epiſtle to the *Corinthians*,

(*k*) *Pearſon Annal. Paulin. An* 64. *p.* 22.
(*l*) *Wh. in his preface to the epiſtle.*
(*m*) *Ann.* 62. *n. vii.* (*n*) *Cav. H. L. in Paulo.*
(*o*) *Bib. Gr. l.* 4. *cap. v. T.* 3. *p.* 157.
(*p*) *Proleg. num.* 123.
(*q*) *See Harmonie of the N. T. Vol. i. p.* 307.
(*r*) *An.* 57. *num.* 187.
(*s*) Scripta eſt autem hæc epiſtola, poſteaquam Paulus, Epheſo relicta, ſicut habetur initio xx. cap. Actorum, profectus eſt in Macedoniam. Id quod ipſius epiſtolæ verba ſtatim initio declarant. Unde cum Cardinalis Baronio colligimus, in Macedonia ſcriptam eſſe. *Eſt. arg.* 1 *ep. ad Timoth. p.* 758.
(*t*) *Hiſtory &c. B.* 3. *ch. vii ſect. v. p.* 167. *&c. firſt ed. p.* 184. *&c. ſec. ed. See alſo his preface to the firſt ep. to Tim. ſect. iii.*
(*u*) *See Family-Expoſitor. Vol.* 3. *p.* 305. *note* (*c*). *p.* 319. *note* (*b*). *p.* 332. *note* (*r*).
(*x*) Non tamen æque conſtat, ſcriptionem epiſtolæ differendam eſſe ad ſolutionem Pauli a Romanis vinculis. Neque enim omnia Pauli itinera deſcripſit Lucas, ſed notabiliora quædam.——Pronunciemus itaque, de tempore, quo ſcripta eſt prior Pauli ad Timotheum epiſtola, non liquere. *Witſ. de Vit. Paul. ſect.* 9. *num. v.*
(*y*) Poſterior ad eoſdem Corinthios epiſtola, et prior ad Timotheum, certant de proprietate, et ſub judice lis eſt. Utraque autem ſcripta eſt paullo

rinthians, or the first epistle to *Timothie*. However, he thinks, that th were writ not long after St. *Paul* had left *Ephesus*, to go into *Ma-i-nia*. Consequently his opinion was not very different from that of *ightfoot*, *Baronius*, and *Estius*, before recited.

According to *Theodoret*, in his general preface to St. *Paul*'s epistles, he first four are the two epistles to the *Thessalonians*, and the first and cond to the *Corinthians*. "The (z) fifth, says he, is the first epistle to *Timothie*. For after the introduction he says: *As I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus, when I went into Macedonia, that thou mightest charge some, that they receive no other doctrine.* 1 Tim. i. 3. It is manifest therefore, that when *Paul* went the second time into *Mace-donia*, he left the most excellent *Timothie* at *Ephesus*, to take care of those who had received the salutarie doctrine."

I shall now endeavor to shew at length the grounds of this opi-ion.

St. *Luke* expresly says Acts xx. 1. *And after the uproar was ceased, Paul called unto him the disciples, and embraced them, and departed for to go into Macedonia.* And St. *Paul* says, in the place just cited, 1 Tim. i. 3. *As I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus, when I went into Macedonia.* And St. *Luke* informs us, ch. xix. 21. 22. *After these things were ended, Paul purposed in spirit, when he had passed through Macedonia and Achaia to go to Jerusalem . . . So he sent into Macedonia two of them that ministred unto him, Timothie and Erastus. But he himself staid in Asia for some sea-son.* Then follows an account of the tumult at *Ephesus*. Some while after those messengers, *Timothie* and *Erastus*, were gone to *Macedonia*, and *Greece*, *Paul*, as it seems, wrote, and sent away his first letter to the *Corinthians*. From which letter we plainly perceive, that *Timothie* was in those parts. For so it is said in 1 Cor. iv. 17. *For this cause have I sent unto you Timothie.* And ch. xvi. 10. 11. *Now, if Timothie come, see that he may be with you without fear . . . Let no man therefore despise him, but conduct him forth in peace, that he may come unto me. For I look for him with the brethren.* Whence it appears, that at concluding that letter *Paul* was in expectation of *Timothie*'s return to *Ephesus*. And very pro-bably he did return, before *Paul* went thence. Moreover St. *Luke* said just now, that after *Timothie* and *Erastus* had been sent into *Macedonia*, *Paul himself staid in Asia for a season.*

St. *Paul* in the place above cited says 1 Tim. i. 3. that he *besought Timothie to abide still at Ephesus, when he went into Macedonia.* Does not that term, *beseeching*, or entreating *Timothie*, imply some difficulty in the service required of him? And do we not see, what appre-

hensions

aullo postquam Paulus Epheso discessisset, adeoque dum Macedoniam peragraret. Sed utra tempore præcedat, non liquet. *Lud. Capp. Hist. Ap. p.* 72.

(z) Πέμπτην ἡγάμαι τῶν πρὸς τιμόθεον τὴν πρωτέραν. Μετὰ γὰρ δὲ τὸ προσ-μιον ἔτω φησί· Καθὼς παρεκαλεσά σε προσμεῖναι ἐν ἐφέσῳ, πορευόμενος εἰς μα-κεδονίαν. . . . Δῆλον τοιγυν, ὡς ἡνικα τὸ δεύτερον ἀπὸ τῆς ἐφέσου παρεγένετο εἰς μα-κεδονίαν ὁ μακάριος παῦλος, τότε τὸν πάντα ἄριστον τιμόθεον ἐκεῖ καταλέλοιπεν, ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν δεξαμένων τὸ σωτήριον κήρυγμα. *Præf. in ep. Paul. T.* 3. p. 3. 4.

henſions *Timothie* might be under upon being left at *Epheſus*, where *Paul* had met with much oppoſition, and ſome very lately? "A (*a*) ſoft word, ſays *Beza* upon the place, to be uſed by one of much ſuperior authority." But if we conſider the dangers of our ſuppoſed time, we may ſee the reaſon of *Paul*'s ſpeaking in that manner to *Timothie*.

Again. 1 Tim. iii. 14. 15. *Theſe things write I unto thee, hoping to come unto thee ſhortly. But if I tarry long, that thou mayeſt know, how thou oughteſt to behave thy-ſelf in the houſe of God.* Words, which mightily ſuit the preſent time. St. *Paul* went into *Macedonia*, with a deſign to forward the collections for the poor ſaints in *Judea*, and then to go to *Jeruſalem*. And it may be well ſuppoſed, that he had then hopes of calling in at *Epheſus*, in his way to *Judea*, and there ſeeing *Timothie*. However, he could not yet ſay the time. Which alſo is plainly agreeable to the Apoſtle's circumſtances at this ſeaſon. For we perceive from what St. *Luke* writes in the Acts, and from the ſecond epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, writ ſome while afterwards in *Macedonia*, that *Paul* was not then able long before hand to fix reſolutions about the time of journeys to be undertaken by him.

Farther, the time aſſigned by *Pearſon*, and thoſe who agree with him, muſt be wrong. It appears from Acts xx. 17.... that when *Paul* was going to *Jeruſalem* in the former part of the year 58. there were Elders at *Epheſus*, and probably, in the neighbouring cities of *Aſia*. But when *Paul* wrote this epiſtle, there ſeems to have been want of ſuch officers at *Epheſus*, or thereabout. For a main deſign of it appears to be, to inſtruct *Timothie* in the proper qualifications of ſuch men, and to admoniſh him to uſe great care and caution in the choice of them.

Once more, I am of opinion, that the ſecond epiſtle to *Timothie* was writ, ſoon after *Paul* had been brought to *Rome* a priſoner from *Judea*. Therefore, if this epiſtle be prior to it, it muſt have been writ, before *Paul* went to *Jeruſalem*, with the contributions of the Chriſtians of *Greece* and *Macedonia*, and other places.

There is, however, a difficulty attending our ſuppoſition. For *Timothie* is joyned with *Paul* in the inſcription at the begining of the ſecond epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, generally allowed to have been writ in *Macedonia*. And in Acts xx. 4. *Timothie* is mentioned among thoſe, who accompanied *Paul* into *Aſia*, when he was going to *Jeruſalem* with the above mentioned contributions. All which may induce ſome to think, that either *Timothie* did not return to *Paul*, before he left *Epheſus*: or that *Paul* took *Timothie* with him, when he went into *Macedonia*.

To which I anſwer: We have ſhewed it to be very probable, that *Timothie* returned to *Epheſus*, before *Paul* left it. The Apoſtle therefore might ſend *Timothie* this letter from *Macedonia*, and afterwards ſend for him, to come thither to him, having ſome ſpecial occaſion for his aſſiſtance. And though this was not entirely agreeable to the Apoſtle, he might

(*a*) Παρεκάλεσα. *ſum precatus, vel hortatus*:] Blando vocabulo utitur, ſingulare modeſtiæ exemplum relinquens quibuſvis, in maxima etiam auctoritate conſtitutis. *Bez. in. loc.*

ght be the rather disposed to it, hoping, that as he went to *Jerusalem*, should have an opportunity to leave *Timothie* at *Ephesus*. Which, as apprehend, he did, when he came to *Miletus*.

Farther, this difficulty is very much abated by the account formerly ven of this period of our Apostle's history. For it was then shewn, at there was a space of almost two years between St. *Paul*'s going om *Ephesus*, when he went into *Macedonia*, and his coming to *Troas*, the way to *Jerusalem*. *Timothie* therefore may have resided at *Ephesus* ove a year, and yet be with the Apostle at the writing of the second istle to the *Corinthians*, which was not sent to them till near the d of the year 57.

Dr. *Benson* (*b*) supposeth this epistle to have been writ at *Troas*, soon ter the Apostle was come from *Ephesus*. And indeed, many learned en think, that *Paul* now went into *Macedonia* by the way of *Troas*. his has been collected from 2 Cor. iv. 12. 13. But that appears to a difficult text. And it may be disputed, whether *Paul* there refers his journey from *Ephesus*. For it is difficult to conceive, how the postle could have reason to expect *Titus* at *Troas*, at that season: consi- ring, that his removal from *Ephesus* had been sudden, or however, newhat sooner than he had intended. How then was it possible for n to have made an appointment for *Titus* to meet him at *Troas* punc- lly at the time of his arrival there.

But allowing *Paul* to have gone from *Ephesus* to *Macedonia* by the y of *Troas*, it will not follow, that this epistle was writ there. It may concluded from 1 Tim. i. 3. that the Apostle was now in *Macedonia*, had been there, since he left *Ephesus*. Accordingly, *Lightfoot*, *Baro- us*, and *Estius*, before named, suppose this epistle to have been writ in *acedonia*. Says (*c*) *Lightfoot*: "It is apparent from 1 Tim. i. 3. that his epistle was written after *Paul*'s setting out from *Ephesus* for *Mace- donia*. . . . Now it cannot be conceived, to have been written, when he was going toward *Macedonia*. For then he was but newly parted from *Timothie*. And it is not likely, that he would so write to him, when he was but newly come from him. . . . Therefore it cannot but be concluded, that this epistle was written, whilst he was in *Macedonia*, or the parts thereabout, at this time that we are upon." To which I readily assent.

I shall add only, what is also already hinted by *Lightfoot*, that it is very probable, that the Apostle should use those expressions. 1 Tim. iii. 14. *hoping to come and see thee shortly*, before he had been in *Macedonia*. St. *Paul* was much more likely to say this, when he had been some months gone from *Ephesus*, than when he had been come away but a few days only.

I should now say more particularly, when this epistle was writ. And think, it must have been writ in the year 56. In the begining of that year, according to our account, *Paul* wrote the first epistle to the *Corin- thians*. Before Pentecost in that year he left *Ephesus*. And before the end of that year, I suppose, he might write this epistle to *Timothie*. The place

(*b*) *See his preface to the first epistle to Timothie. Sect. iii.*
(*c*) *Harmonie of N. T. Vol. i. p.* 307.

place is not abſolutely certain. Before writing this epiſtle the Apoſtle had been in *Macedonia*, ſince he left *Epheſus*. But whether he was now in that countrey, cannot, I apprehend, be fully determined by thoſe expreſſions. 1 Tim. i. 3. However, this may be reckoned very likely, that the Apoſtle was either in *Macedonia*, or near it. *Lewis Cappell*, as before obſerved, was in doubt, which was firſt writ, this epiſtle, or the ſecond to the *Corinthians*. About that I have no doubt. We ſhall ſoon ſee clear proof, that the ſecond epiſtle to the *Corinthians* was writ not long before the end of the year 57. This firſt epiſtle to *Timothie* was writ in the year 56. and probably, ſome good while before the end of it.

SECT. VI.

The Epiſtle to Titus.

A. D. 56. SAYS *Theodoret* immediately after what was tranſcribed from him above concerning the firſt epiſtle to *Timothie*: "After that, (*d*) as I think, was writ the epiſtle "to *Titus*. For being ſtill in thoſe parts, he deſired *Titus* to "come to him, ſaying: *When I ſhall ſend unto thee Artemas, or Ty-*"*chicus, be diligent to come to me at Nicopolis. For I have determined* "*to winter there.* Tit. iii. 12. They ſay, that *Nicopolis* is a city of "*Thrace*, nigh unto *Macedonia*." So writes *Theodoret* in his general preface to St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles. And in his note upon Tit. iii. 12. he ſays. "*Nicopolis* (*e*) is a city of *Thrace*, nigh unto *Macedonia*. It is "manifeſt therefore, that he wrote this epiſtle, when he was in *Mace-*"*donia*, and *Achaia*."

Following the opinion of this learned ancient, which I think to be very right, the epiſtle to *Titus* was writ in the year 56. and *Paul* ſpent the winter of that year at *Nicopolis*.

If it be aſked, when was *Paul* in *Crete*? I anſwer, in general: a ſhort time before he wrote this epiſtle, as may appear from thoſe words: *For this cauſe left I thee in Crete, that thou ſhouldeſt ſet in order the things that are wanting, and ordain elders in every city, as I appointed thee.* ch. i. 5. More particularly, I ſuppoſe, that *Paul* had been in *Crete* in this year 56. ſince he came from *Epheſus*, to go into *Macedonia*. About this time, I think, he was in *Crete*, and *Illyricum*, as well as in *Macedonia*. But as I do not indulge myſelf in making conjectures, I do not attempt to deſcribe the order of the Apoſtle's voyages. It was before ſhewn to be probable, that (*f*) between *Paul*'s leaving *Epheſus* in the ſpring of the year 56. and his coming to *Troas*, after the Paſſover, in the year 58. in his

(*d*) Μετὰ ταύτην ὑπολαμβάνω τὴν πρὸς Τίτον γεγράφθαι· ἐν ἐκείνοις γὰρ ἔτι διάγων τοῖς μέρεσι, καταλαβεῖν αὐτὸν παρηγγύησε. Λέγει δὲ ὅτως· ὅταν πέμψω Ἀρτεμᾶν. . . . . Τὴν δὲ νικόπολιν θρᾴκικὴν μὲν πόλιν εἶναι φασὶ, τῇ δὲ μακεδονίᾳ πελάζειν. *Theod. T. 3. p. 4. C.*

(*e*) Τῆς θρᾴκης ἐστὶν ἡ νικόπολις, τῇ δὲ μακεδονίᾳ πελάζει. Δῆλον τοίνυν ὡς κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν, καθ' ὃν ἐν τῇ μακεδονίᾳ ᾖ ἀχαΐᾳ διέτριβεν, ἔγραψε τὴν ἐπιστολήν. *Ibid. p. 515. A.*

(*f*) *See before p.* 219, . . . 221.

s way to *Jeruſalem*, there was the ſpace of about two years. In that me *Paul* might do, and probably did more than is particularly related y St. *Luke*. Few learned men, conſidering the conciſeneſs of St. *Luke*'s anner of writing, can make any difficulty to allow, that (*g*) he has not lated all the Apoſtle's journeys. It is obſervable, that *Titus* was the erſon, who was ſent by *Paul* into *Dalmatia*, when he was come to *Rome*. As appears from 2 Tim. iv. 10. Which may be reckoned an rgument, that he had been there before.

About this time the epiſtle to *Titus* was writ, according to the opinion f divers learned men, to whom I refer: as (*h*) *Baronius*, (*i*) *Cappell*, (*k*) *Hammond*, and (*l*) *Lightfoot*. *Iſtius* (*m*) could not determine the time f this epiſtle exactly: but he thought, it was writ before the Apoſtle's mpriſonment at *Jeruſalem*, and *Rome*.

Cave in his (*n*) Hiſtoria Literaria placeth this epiſtle in the year 63. ut, when he wrote the Lives of the Apoſtles, he (*o*) ſuppoſed it to have een writ ſoon after the firſt epiſtle to the *Corinthians*.

Mill (*p*) placeth this epiſtle in the year 64. *Pearſon* (*q*) in 65. *Paul* having, as he ſuppoſes, been in *Crete*, and left *Titus* there he year before, that is, in 64. And many others may be of the ſame pinion.

But this appears to me too late a date. All that is ſaid of *Paul*'s going into *Spain*, and *Crete*, and ſome other places, after being releaſed from is impriſonment at *Rome*, is mere conjecture, without any good authority, either from the books of the New Teſtament, or very early antiquity. It is not likely, that *Paul*, who in his epiſtle to *Philemon* calls himſelf *aged*, ſhould after that undertake new work. It is more probable, that he went to ſuch places, where he had been before, and where he had diſciples already: as he intimates in his epiſtles to the *Philippians*, the *Coloſſians*, *Philemon*, the *Hebrews*. Nor is it at all likely, that (*r*) the *Cretans* ſhould have been ſo long without being inſtructed in the doctrine of the goſpel, as *Pearſon* ſuppoſeth.

I have

(*g*) Neque enim omnia Pauli itinera deſcripſit Lucas, ſed non illora quedam. *Witſ. de Vita Pauli. Sect.* 9. *num. v.*

(*h*) *Baron. Ann.* 57. *num. ccix.*

(*i*) *Lud. Cappell. Hiſt. Ap. p.* 16. *et* 66. *Vid. et Jacob. Capp. Comment. in apoſt. hiſt. Chronol. Tab.*

(*k*) *Præf. in ep. ad. Tit.*

(*l*) *Lightfoot's Works, Vol. i. p.* 309. 310.

(*m*) Quando ſcripta ſit hæc epiſtola, non liquet, nec facile ex Actis Apoſt. colligi poteſt, quod in iis non legatur Paulus Cretam ingreſſus fuiſſe. Verſimile eſt, ante captivitatem Apoſtoli, quia vinculorum hic nulla mentio. mo, cum dicit cap. iii. *ibi enim ſtatui hyemare*, plane ſignificat, non eſſe vinctum. *Eſt. Argum. ep. ad Tit.*

(*n*) Epiſtola ad Titum . . . data anno 63. e medio aliquo loco inter Macedoniam et Nicopolim. Illic enim hyemare decreverat. *H. L. in Paulo.*

(*o*) *See there the Life of St. Paul. Sect. iv. num. ix.*

(*p*) *Proleg. num.* 122. (*q*) *Ann. Paulin. p.* 20. . . . . 22.

(*r*) Non veriſimile eſt, ad illud uſque tempus ignoratum fuiſſe Chriſtum in Creta: quum tota Achaia, Macedonia, Aſia, Cyprus, Syria, perſonarent evangelii præconio. *Witſ. de Vita Pauli. Sect. v. num. i.*

I have already ſhewn the moſt probable date of the firſt epiſtle to *Timothie*. It is likely, that the epiſtle to *Titus* was writ about the ſame time. For the ſtate of things in both appears to be very ſimilar. In both are inſtructions concerning the qualifications of Elders, or Biſhops, and Deacons. So 1 Tim. iii. and Tit. i. Nor is it reaſonable to think, that *Paul* ſhould have occaſion, ſo late as the year 64. or 65. to ſend to his aſſiſtants and fellow-labourers ſuch particular directions concerning that matter, as are in theſe two epiſtles. It is probable, that inſtructions of that kind had been given ſooner. Moreover, the like errours are guarded againſt in both theſe epiſtles. 1 Tim. i. 4. *Neither give heed to fables, and endleſs genealogies.* . . . . ch. iv. 7. *But refuſe profane and old wives fables.* . . . . vi. 10. *avoiding profane and vain bablings.* . . . . Tit. 3. 9. *But avoid fooliſh queſtions, and genealogies, and contentions, and ſtrivings about the law. For they are unprofitable, and vain.* See alſo ch. i. 10. . . . . 14. In both are like directions for paying a proper regard to civil magiſtrates. 1 Tim. ii. 1. . . . . 6. and Tit. iii. 1. . . . . 3. There are alſo like directions concerning relative duties, particularly thoſe of maſters and ſervants. 1 Tim. vi. 1. 2. Tit. ii. 9. 10. *Timothie* and *Titus* are in a like manner exhorted, to take heed to themſelves, and their doctrine, and to be examples of virtue. 1 Tim. i. 18. 19. iv. 6. 16. Tit. ii. 1. . . . . 8. I might add, that near the concluſion of each epiſtle the practice of good works is in a very ſimilar manner enjoyned upon the converts to chriſtianity.

It appears from many texts of the ſecond epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, writ in *Macedonia*, that about this time *Paul* had the aſſiſtance of *Titus* in thoſe parts. And *Tychicus*, mentioned Tit. iii. 12. was likewiſe with *Paul* at this time. For he was one of the companie, that went with him into *Aſia*. Acts xx. 4. And therefore, probably, not he, but *Artemas*, had been ſent into *Crete*, to relieve *Titus*. Moreover, *Apollos* was at *Epheſus*, a little before *Paul* left that city, to go into *Macedonia*. That is manifeſt from 1 Cor. xvi. 12. And it may be reckoned very probable, that he did not ſtay long at *Epheſus*, after *Paul*: but either went with him into *Macedonia*, or came into thoſe parts ſoon afterwards. So that *Paul* might now have occaſion to recommend him to *Titus*, in *Crete*, together with *Zenas*. Tit. iii. 13.

There are not in this epiſtle any tokens of *Paul*'s great age, or of his being near the period of his miniſtrie. He is plainly at liberty at the time of writing this epiſtle. Nor are there any intimations of his having as yet endured any long impriſonment.

This letter may be the ſhorter, becauſe, probably, *Paul* had lately writ at length upon the ſame ſubject to *Timothie*. Moreover, *Titus* was older, and might have more experience. *Chryſoſtom* judged (*s*) the brevity of this epiſtle to be an argument of the ability of *Titus*. "He did not need a long exhortation. A few hints were ſufficient."

St. *Paul* ſays, Tit. iii. 12. *When I ſhall ſend Artemas unto thee, or Tychicus,*

(*s*) . . . βραχείαν δὲ ποιεῖ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, εἰκότως. Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς τοῦ τίτου τεκμήριον ἦν, τὸ μὴ δεῖσθαι λόγων πολλῶν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τινὸς ὑπομνήσεως. *In Tit. hom. i. Tom. xi. p. 730. B.*

chicus, be diligent to come to me at Nicopolis. For I have determined there to winter. Thereby *Theodoret* understood *Nicopolis* in *Thrace*, as seen above. So likewise (*t*) *Chrysostom*. But *Jerome* (*u*) supposed the Apostle to mean *Nicopolis* in *Epirus*. Neither of these interpretations is any prejudice to our argument. In which soever of those countreys *Nicopolis* was situated, the Apostle was as likely to be there at the time supposed by us, as at any other.

At *Nicopolis* the Apostle wintered, in the year 56. according to my computation. Consequently, this letter was writ some time before, in the same year 56. When the winter was over, *Paul* came into *Macedonia*, where he had been before, since he came from *Ephesus*. From *Macedonia* he came into *Greece*.

SECT. VII.

The second Epistle to the Corinthians.

WHILST the Apostle was in *Macedonia*, at this time, he wrote the second epistle to the *Corinthians*. *A. D.* 57.

Concerning this there can be no doubt, if we attend to the epistle itself. From which it plainly appears, that the Apostle was then in *Macedonia*, and was going to *Greece*, particularly, to *Corinth*. So 2 Cor. ix. 1. . . . 5. *For as touching the ministring to the saints, it is superfluous for me to write unto You. For I know the forwardness of your mind. For which I boast of you to them at Macedonia: that Achaia was ready a year ago. . . . Yet have I sent the brethren. . . lest haply, if they of Macedonia come with me, and find you unprepared, we (that we say not you) should be ashamed in this same confident boasting. Therefore I thought it necessary to exhort the brethren, that they would go before unto you, and make up beforehand your bounty.* . . . See also ch. viii. And ch. xiii. 1. *This is the third time, I am coming to you.*

According to *Pearson* (*x*) this epistle was writ in *Macedonia*, in the year 57. according to (*y*) *Mill*, near the end of that year. I likewise think, that it was writ in the year 57. probably, in September, or October. For the Apostle, plainly, was soon to go to *Corinth*: where he might arrive, as I apprehend, in *November*.

I suppose, it was now above a year, since writing the first epistle to the *Corinthians*. The reasons of that supposition were mentioned (*z*) formerly. And need not to be repeated here.

Timothie

(*t*) Ἡ δὲ πόλις τῆς Θρᾴκης ἐστὶ. *Chrys. in Tit. hom.* 6. *ib. p.* 766. *B.*

(*u*) Scribit igitur Apostolus, ô Paula et Eustochium, de Nicopoli, quæ in Actiaco littore sita, nunc possessionis vestræ pars vel maxima est. &c. *Hieron. Pr. in ep. ad Tit. T.* 4. *P. i. p.* 407.

Nicopolis ipsa est, quæ ob victoriam Augusti, quod ibi Antonium et Cleopatram superarit, nomen accepit. *Id. in Tit. cap. iii. ib. p.* 439.

(*x*) *Annal. Paulin. p.* 15. *A. D. lvii.*

(*y*) . . . sub finem, ut videtur, anni æræ vulgaris lvii. *Prolog. num.* 21.

(*z*) *See before, p.* 219.

Timothie was with *Paul* at writing this epistle. For his name is in the inscription. It is likely, that (*a*) he had come from *Ephesus* to the Apostle in *Macedonia*, either upon occasion of some affairs of that church, or at the desire of the Apostle, who needed his assistance. As before said.

SECT. VIII.

The Epistle to the Romans.

A. D. 58. THE epistle to the *Romans* is dated by (*b*) *Pearson* in the year 57. by (*c*) *Mill* in the year 58. According to our computation of *Paul*'s journeys there can be no reason to hesitate about either the time, or the place of this epistle. It was writ at *Corinth* in the beginning of the year 58. before *Paul* set out on his journey to *Jerusalem*.

As St. *Luke*'s words in Acts xx. 1. 2. 3. afford great light, and are a sure guide, I recite them here. *And after the uproar was ceased, Paul called unto him the disciples, and embraced them, and departed* [from *Ephesus*] *for to go into Macedonia. And when he had gone over those parts, and given them much exhortation, he came into Greece. And there abode three months.* In the space of these three months was writ the epistle to the *Romans*.

According to *Theodoret* the epistle to the *Romans* (*d*) is the seventh in order of time, having been writ by the *Apostle* after the two epistles to the *Thessalonians*, and to the *Corinthians*, the first to *Timothie*, and the epistle to *Titus*. He adds: "That (*e*) the epistle to the *Romans* was writ "from *Corinth*, is manifest from the conclusion. For there the Apostle "recommends *Phœbe*, calling her *Deaconesse of the church in Cenchrea*, "which was a borough of the *Corinthians*. Rom. xvi. 1. Besides, he says: "*Caius, my host, and of the whole church, saluteth you.* ver. 23. By *host* he "means the person, who entertained him. And that *Caius* was a "*Corinthian*, we learn from the first epistle to the *Corinthians*. For thus "he writes to them: *I thank God, that I baptized none of you, but "Crispus, and Caius.* 1 Cor. i. 14. The epistle to the *Romans* therefore "is the last of the epistles writ from *Asia*, and *Macedonia*, and *Achaia*: "and is the seventh in order, as has been shewn. The rest were sent "from *Rome*." So *Theodoret*. Who might have added, as a proof, that this

(*a*) Fateor, cum Paulus esset in Macedonia, una cum illo fuisse Timotheum. 2 Cor. i. 1. et postquam hyemem transegisset in Epiro. Tit. iii. 12. ac per tres menses commoratus in Græcia. Act. xx. 2. 3. reversusque esset in Macedoniam, illi adfuisse Timotheum Act. xx. 4. ac recta cum illo iviisse Troadem. Quæ omnia contingere potuerunt, postquam Paulus reliquisset Timotheum Ephesi: ex qua urbe tamen iverit ad Paulum, sive propter negotia Ephesinæ ecclesiæ, de quibus Paulum consuli ab eo oporteret, vel ut pareret Paulo, quem, ut videmus, et postea invisit, longiore itinere, Romam usque. 2 Tim. iv. 9. *Hammond. Præf. in 1 ep. Timoth. ex versione Clerici.*

(*b*) *Annal. Paulin. p.* 15. (*c*) *Proleg. num.* 26.

(*d*) Ἑβδόμην τὴν πρὸ ἑωμαίους ἐπίστειλε· μετὰ γὰρ ἀν τούτους ἀπῶσας τούτην αὐτὸς γεγραφέναι διδάσκει. κ. λ. *Theod. T. 3. p.* 4. *C.*

(*e*) *Ibid. p.* 5.

this epiſtle was writ at *Corinth*, what follows in ver. 23. *Eraſtus, the chamberlain of the city, ſaluteth you.* For by *the city* I ſuppoſe to be meant *Corinth*. But whether this *Eraſtus* be the ſame, who is mentioned by St. *Luke* Acts xix. 22. as one of St. *Paul*'s aſſiſtants, I cannot ſay certainly.

The time of writing this epiſtle is farther manifeſt hence. It was writ after that *Paul* had compleated his collections in *Macedonia*, and *Achaia*, and when he was ſetting out for *Jeruſalem*. For ſo he writes, ch. xv. 25. 26. *But now I go unto Jeruſalem, to miniſter unto the ſaints. For it has pleaſed them of Macedonia, and Achaia, to make a certain contribution for the poor ſaints, which are at Jeruſalem.* . . ver. 30. 31. *Now I beſeech you, brethren, . . . that ye ſtrive together with me, in prayers to God for me: that I may be delivered from them that do not believe in Judea, and that my ſervice, which I have for Jeruſalem, may be accepted of the ſaints.*

Conſequently, it is probable, that it was now near the end of the *three months*, that the Apoſtle ſtaid in *Greece*. Whence *he returned to Macedonia, and after the days of unleavened bread, ſailed from Philippi, to Troas*, upon the continent of *Aſia*, Acts xx. 3. . . 6. And then went to *Jeruſalem*, where he arrived about the time of Pentecoſt in the year 58.

If St. *Paul* came to *Corinth* in November 57. the epiſtle to the *Romans* might be ſent thence in the month of *February*, in the year 58.

SECT. IX.

The Epiſtle to the Epheſians.

CONCERNING St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles, writ during his impriſonment at *Rome*, particularly the Epiſtle to the *Epheſians*.

Soon after writing the epiſtle to the *Romans*, as was before hinted, *Paul* ſet out from *Corinth*, on his journey to *Jeruſalem*. In a ſhort time after his arrival there, he was apprehended. And he was kept a priſoner in that country, till he was ſent to *Rome*.

During his ſtay in *Judea*, we know not of his correſponding with any churches, or particular perſons, by writing. But at *Rome*, though a priſoner, he wrote divers letters. *Grotius* ſays, that (*f*) though all St. *Paul*'s epiſtles are excellent, he moſt admires thoſe writ by him, when a priſoner at *Rome*. And of the epiſtle to the *Epheſians* he ſays, it (*g*) ſurpaſſeth all human eloquence.

It is generally ſuppoſed, that St. *Paul* wrote there four epiſtles: to the *Epheſians*, the *Philippians*, the *Coloſſians*, and *Philemon*. *Jerome* has twice (*h*) ſpoken of theſe four epiſtles, as writ at *Rome*. *Theodoret* having ſpoken of

(*f*) Omnes epiſtolæ Pauli egregiæ ſunt: ſed omnium in primis, quæ Româ ex vinculis miſſæ ſunt. *Gr. Pr. in ep. ad Col.*

(*g*) . . . rerum ſublimitatem adæquans verbis ſublimioribus, quam ulla unquam habuit lingua humana. *Grot. Pr. in ep. ad Eph.*

(*h*) Quod Romæ in vinculis conjectus, hanc epiſtolam miſerit eo tempore, quo ad Philemonem, et ad Coloſſenſes, et ad Philippenſes, in alio loco ſcriptas eſſe monſtravimus. *Hieron. in Ep. ad Eph. cap. iii. T. 4. p. 347.*

Scribet

of the epiſtle to the *Romans*, as the ſeventh in order, and the laſt of thoſe that were ſent from *Aſia*, *Macedonia*, and *Achaia*, ſays: "The (*i*) reſt were ſent "from *Rome*: the firſt of which I take to be that, writ to the *Galatians*." *Lightfoot* (*k*) likewiſe ſuppoſed the epiſtle to the *Galatians* to have been writ at *Rome*, and the firſt of thoſe that were writ there. That is a wrong computation, as muſt appear from what has been already ſaid. But beſide the four above mentioned, the ſecond epiſtle to *Timothie* might be writ at this ſeaſon. The epiſtle to the *Hebrews* likewiſe, if it be *Paul*'s, was, probably, writ about this time, either during the Apoſtle's impriſonment, or ſoon after it, before he left *Rome*, and *Italie*.

St. *Paul*'s impriſonment, from the time of his being apprehended at *Jeruſalem*, to his coming to *Rome*, was the ſpace of almoſt, or quite three years. For a ſhort time he was confined in the caſtle of *Antonia* at *Jeruſalem*. Thence he was ſent to *Ceſarea* by the ſea-ſide, the ſeat of the Roman Governour, who at that time was *Felix*. Where he was kept in *Herod*'s judgment hall. Acts xxiii. 15. And, though afterwards there was an order for enlarging the firſt ſtrictneſſe of his cuſtodie, *and that his acquaintance ſhould be permitted to come to him, and miniſter to him.* ch. xxiv. 23. I ſuppoſe, he was ſtill confined in the above mentioned priſon. And, perhaps, this new order imported little more, than leave for his friends to bring him needful refreſhments, and take care of his health. It does not appear, that during the ſpace of two years, and ſeveral months, whilſt he was in *Judea*, he wrote any letters, or received any, as before intimated. Says (*l*) *Wall*: "Thoſe two years of impriſonment under *Felix* ſeem to have been the moſt unactive part of St. *Paul*'s life. There is no account of any preachings, or diſputations, or of any epiſtles writ in this ſpace." Indeed, conſidering the violent oppoſition made by the Jews throughout the whole ſpace of the Apoſtle's being in that countrey: I apprehend, there was no attempt made by *Paul*, or his friends, to procure him intelligence from the Chriſtian churches abroad: and that the Roman Governour could not allow of any ſuch thing. He would rather have ſet *Paul* at liberty, and let him go quite away. But when *Paul* was brought to *Rome*, though he was under a guard, he was *ſuffered to dwell by himſelf, in his own hired houſe*. Acts xxviii. 16. 30. where he was *two years*. Having ſuch liberty, he wiſely improved it, not only by diſcourſing with all thoſe who came to him, but alſo by writing ſeveral epiſtles.

Of all theſe epiſtles the firſt writ ſeems to me to be that to the *Epheſians*. I think, it was drawn up by the Apoſtle, as ſoon as conveniently could be, after his friends at *Rome* had taken a lodging for him, and he was ſettled in it.

A. D. 61.

The epiſtle is inſcribed *to the ſaints which are at Epheſus, and to the faithfull in Chriſt Jeſus*. But I apprehend, that the Apoſtle thought of the Chriſtians throughout *Aſia*, properly ſo called, whether living at *Epheſus*,

Scribet igitur ad Philemonem Romæ vinctus in carcere, quo tempore mihi videntur ad Philippenſes, Coloſſenſes, et Epheſios epiſtolæ eſſe dictatæ. *In Philem. ib. p.* 445. *in.*

(*i*) Τὰς γαρ δὴ ἄλλας ἀπὸ τῆς ῥώμης ἐπέστειλε, ᾗ πρώτην μὲν ἡχεῖμαι τὴν πρὸς γαλάτας γραφῆναι. *T.* 3. *p.* 5.

(*k*) *Lightf. Vol. I. p.* 323.

(*l*) *Notes upon the N. T. p.* 267. 268.

ſus, the chief city of the countrey, or not. To the like purpoſe (*m*) *Hammond:* and alſo Mr. *Pyle*, who paraphraſeth the firſt verſe of the epiſtle in this manner: "*Paul*, called to be an Apoſtle, ſendeth this epiſtle to the church of *Epheſus*, and to all the Chriſtians of the leſſer *Aſia*, thoſe faithfull Chriſtians that firmly rely upon the Chriſtian Religion for ſalvation, without the obſervation of the Moſaical ceremonies." We are led to this ſuppoſition by what St. *Paul* ſays near the concluſion of his firſt epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, writ at *Epheſus: the churches of Aſia ſalute you.* 1 Cor. ch. xv. 19. And that epiſtle to the *Corinthians* is addreſſed *to the church of God, which is at Corinth, to them that are ſanctified in Chriſt Jeſus, called to be ſaints, with all that in every place call upon the name of Jeſus Chriſt, our Lord, both theirs and ours.* And the ſecond epiſtle to the *Corinthians* is addreſſed *to the church of God, which is at Corinth, with all the ſaints, which are in all Achaia.*

After the ſalutation of theſe Chriſtians, at the beginning of the epiſtle, he praiſeth God for the goſpel diſpenſation, now made known to all men, agreeably to the gracious purpoſe, long ſince formed in the divine counſels. *Bleſſed be the God and Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who has bleſſed us with all ſpiritual bleſſings in heavenly places in Chriſt: according as he hath choſen us in him, before the foundation of the world.* ver. 3. 4. to the 12. He then reminds them of their firſt faith in the goſpel, and the circumſtances of it. *In whom ye alſo truſted, after that ye heard the word of truth, the goſpel of your ſalvation: in whom alſo, after that ye believed, ye were ſealed with that holy Spirit of promiſe. Which is the earneſt of our inheritance.* . . . . ver. 13. 14. After which he lets them know, that in his confinement, ſince he came to *Rome*, he had heard of the continuance of their faith, and of their love for all Chriſtians in general. Which had filled him with tranſports of joy and ſatisfaction. *Wherefore I alſo having heard of your faith in the Lord Jeſus, and love unto all the ſaints, ceaſe not to give thanks for you, making mention of you in my prayers: that the God of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the Father of glorie, may give unto you the ſpirit of wiſdom:* or that they might be more and more illuminated, and eſtabliſhed in the principles of true religion. ver. 15. 16. and to ver. 23.

The account, that had been brought him of the Chriſtians at *Epheſus*, by *Tychicus*, as may be ſuppoſed, having been very agreeable, the Apoſtle does not cenſure them for any great irregularities in conduct, as he does the *Corinthians*, nor for any remarkable deviations from the ſimplicity of the goſpel, or inſtability therein, as he does the *Galatians*. But he treats them with great mildneſſe. However, he ſends them a pathetic exhortation to perſevere in a converſation, becoming their profeſſion, and their privileges, and to guard againſt the temptations, which they might meet with either from Heathen idolaters, or corrupt and ſelf-intereſted Chriſtians.

At the end, he tells them, that he had ſent *Tychicus*, who would give them information concerning his affairs, and comfort them. ch. vi. 21. 22. And then adds: *Peace be to the brethren, and love, with faith, from*

(*m*) Epheſum fuiſſe primam Metropolim Lydiæ, vel proconſularis Aſiæ, oſtendimus in notis ad Coloſſ. iv. 16. Itaque epiſtola hæc, Epheſiis inſcripta, non eſt putanda ad eos ſolos pertinere, verum etiam ad alias urbes provinciæ, imo et totius Aſiæ. *Hammond. Præf. in ep. ad Eph.*

God the Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ. ver. 2. 3. *Peace be to the brethren*, that is, the brethren, with you, at *Ephesus*, to whom the epistle is directed. So 1 Thess. v. 27. *I charge you by the Lord, that this epistle be read to all the holy brethren:* meaning the *brethren*, or Christians at *Thessalonica*. So to the *Philippians* ch. iv. 21. *Salute every saint in Christ Jesus*, meaning, undoubtedly, the Christians at *Philippi*. And then at ver. 22. *All the saints salute you:* meaning all the Christians in general at *Rome*. It was not needful to say, of this place. The meaning is obvious.

The concluding words of this epistle are these at ver. 23. *Grace be with all them that love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity*. Which, I think, may be understood, and paraphrased after this manner. "And grace be with all those, who, like you, love the Lord Jesus Christ, in sincerity."

That is a brief and general account of the epistle itself. I must add somewhat in behalf of the early date of it, which is here assigned by me.

There might be many considerations, inducing the Apostle to write to the *Ephesians*, soon after his arrival at *Rome*. *Ephesus* was a place of great importance, being the chief city of *Asia*, where was a great resort of merchants, and all other people. Here the apostle chose to settle that eminent disciple of his, *Timothie*. Here also St. *John* took up his residence, after he had left *Judea*. It was the place, where *Paul* had been longer, than in any other city, except *Antioch*. Here also he had wrought many, and *special miracles*, and had great success in his preaching. Acts xix. Moreover, he had intended them a visit. 1 Tim. iii. 4. But had been prevented. When he went to *Jerusalem*, it is likely, that it was earnestly desired, and confidently expected by the Christians at *Ephesus*. Such expectations are sufficiently intimated by St. Luke. Acts xx. 15. . . . 17. *The next day we came to Miletus. For Paul had determined to sail by Ephesus, because he would not spend the time in Asia. For he hasted, if possible, to be at Jerusalem the day of Pentecost. And from Miletus he sent to Ephesus, and called the elders of the church.* Where having made a pathetic discourse, all present were much affected, and gave testimonies of a fervent affection, and high esteem. These things must have made impressions upon the Apostle, and have been well remembered by him: and may have induced him to think of writing first to this church upon his coming to *Rome*, and having liberty of correspondence.

There might be likewise some other reasons for this determination. The epistle is carried by *Tychicus*, who was of *Asia*, and, probably, an *Ephesian*. Mr. *Biscoe* (*n*) thought, that *Tychicus* accompanied the Apostle in his voyage to *Rome*. But for that I see no ground. I rather think, that like divers others of his fellow-labourers, *Tychicus* had come to *Rome* of his own accord, to meet *Paul*, and to attend upon him: or had been sent by the *Ephesians*, to pay their respects to him, and enquire into the state of his affairs. It seems to me, that *Tychicus* was one of the first, who came to the apostle, and very soon after his arrival at *Rome*. Yea, possibly, *Tychicus* was got thither before him, as some other of the Apostle's friends likewise might be. However, *Tychicus* being now at *Rome*, he was a very fit person to go with a letter from the Apostle to *Ephesus*.

If

(*n*) *Upon the Acts, p.* 435.

If we duly attend to the Apoſtle's ſituation, after having been above two years in a cloſe confinement at *Ceſarea*, we may be able to diſcern the reaſon of ſeveral things. Particularly, we may perceive, why this is a kind of general epiſtle, not much concerning itſelf with the affairs and circumſtances of any church: but delivering, firſt, the doctrine of the goſpel, and then the duties of it, with a fulneſſe ſcarcely equalled in any other of the apoſtolical epiſtles. As *Theodoret* ſaid: "The (*o*) former part of the epiſtle contains the doctrine of the Goſpel, the latter part a moral admonition." Or as a learned modern ſays: "Being ſomewhat in the manner of an inſtitute." The Apoſtle might well judge it beſt to write thus in his firſt letter, writ after a long ſilence: and in this manner to remind his friends and converts in *Aſia* of the principles of the goſpel, and their obligations, as Chriſtians.

We are likewiſe hence led to diſcern the great beauty and propriety of the ſeveral places of this epiſtle, where the Apoſtle ſpeaks of his bonds. ch. iii. 1. *I Paul, the priſoner of Jeſus Chriſt for you Gentils.* That for their cauſe, he was now in bonds, appears from the hiſtorie of his impriſonment, as related by St. *Luke* in the Acts, and particularly, from what is ſaid ch. xxii. 21. 22. and the following verſes. There is an eſpecial ſuitableneſſe in that expreſſion of the Apoſtle, in a letter writ ſoon after his arrival at *Rome*, and eſpecially, if it be the firſt letter writ by him after his being apprehended, as I think it is. And having enlarged ſomewhat farther upon his having been appointed an Apoſtle by Chriſt, for forwarding the goſpel among Gentils, he goes on, and endeavors to comfort theſe Chriſtians, and all Gentil converts in general, with regard to the afflictive diſpenſation, which he was under, and which might appear very ſtrange to many. ver. 13. *Wherefore I deſire, that ye faint not at my tribulations for you, which is your glorie.* Again: iv. 1. *I therefore the priſoner of the Lord beſeech you.* And ch. vi. 20. he calls himſelf *an Ambaſſador in bonds.* How ſuitable is this to the Apoſtle's circumſtances, if we conſider him now lately arrived in the city of *Rome*, the capital of the Roman Empire, and the ſeat of the Emperour!

I cannot forbear tranſcribing that paſſage. ch. vi. 18...20. *Praying for all ſaints . . . . and for me, that utterance may be given to me, that I may open my mouth boldly, to make known the myſterie of the goſpel. For which I am an Ambaſſadour in bonds: that I may ſpeak boldly, as I ought to ſpeak.* Wherein I do not think, the Apoſtle ſo much deſires theſe Chriſtians to pray for his enlargement, as that he might diſcharge his commiſſion aright: and ſpeak with the freedom and boldneſſe of an Ambaſſadour from a great Prince: though he was chained as a priſoner, and had not the outward pomp and ſtate, uſual with men of that high character. This was very proper at the time of his arrival at *Rome*, where he was likely to continue ſome while.

There is a like paſſage in Col. iv. 3. 4. which, I think, ought not to be underſtood very differently.

It is alſo an argument, that this epiſtle was writ by the Apoſtle ſoon after his coming to *Rome:* that here are no expreſſions, denoting hopes of enlargement, as there are in the epiſtles to the *Philippians*, the *Coloſſians*, and *Philemon:* writ, as we ſuppoſe, not long before his deliver-

(*o*) *See Vol. xi. p. 86.*

ance. Nor does he here take any notice of successes obtained at *Rome*, or give any intimations of converts made by him there, as he does Philip. i. 12. 13. 14. iv. 22. He seems indeed to have pleased himself with a prospect of recommending the gospel in his present situation. ch. iii. 7 . . . 10. like to what he says 2 Tim. iv. 17. an epistle writ about the same time. But he does not intimate any advantages obtained as yet. Nor does he at the end of this epistle send such salutations, as at the end of the epistles to the *Philippians*, the *Colossians*, and *Philemon*. All which must lead us to think, that the circumstances of the Apostle at writing this epistle were different from his circumstances at writing those epistles: when his captivity, as is allowed, was near it's period.

Says St. *Paul* 2 Tim. iv. 12. *And Tychicus have I sent to Ephesus.* It is likely, that the Apostle there refers to the epistle, of which we are now speaking. He had just sent, or was sending away *Tychicus* to *Ephesus* with this epistle. I think, I shall presently shew, that the second epistle to *Timothie* was writ in the first year of the Apostle's imprisonment at *Rome*, and not very long after his arrival there. Consequently, this epistle, being there referred to, must have been sent about the same time.

That the epistle to the *Ephesians* is here referred to, has been the opinion of many. So thought (*p*) *Tillemont*. Who supposing, that the second of *Timothie* was writ in a second imprisonment of the Apostle at *Rome*, placeth the writing of this to the *Ephesians* in the year 65. *Whitby* in his preface to the epistle to the *Ephesians* observes: "In his close of "this epistle St. *Paul* speaks thus to them. ch. vi. 21. 22. *That ye may* "*know my affairs and how I do . . . Tychicus shall make known unto you* "*all things*. . . . And in the second epistle to *Timothie* he saith: *Tychicus* "*have I sent unto Ephesus* 2 Tim. iv. 12." So *Whitby*. But forgetting, as it seems, what he had said in some other places. However, this shews, how natural and easie it is, to think the epistle to the *Ephesians* intended in that place of the second to *Timothie*. And it is what most would think, if not biassed by some prejudice.

Theodoret in his general preface to St. *Paul*'s epistles says: "The (*q*) "Apostle sent to the *Ephesians* and the *Colossians* at the same time, and "sent them by the same messenger," meaning *Tychicus*. But in his preface to the epistle to the *Ephesians*, having quoted Eph. vi. 21. 22. he goes on: "And (*r*) that he sent *Tychicus* from *Rome*, he shews in his "second epistle to *Timothie*, saying: Do thy diligence to come to me "shortly. . . . And *Tychicus* have I sent to *Ephesus*." 2 Tim. iv. 10. . . . . 12. So *Theodoret*, without considering the consequence. For he supposed the second to *Timothie* to have been writ but a short time before the Apostle's martyrdom. But if the epistle to the *Ephesians* was writ when the Apostle was first at *Rome*, (as *Theodoret* allows,) and if he refers to it in his second epistle to *Timothie*; it will follow, that this was writ soon after that to the *Ephesians*, and when the Apostle was first at *Rome*.

However,

(*p*) *Saint Paul. Art.* 49. *et Note* 58. *Mem. Ec. Tom. i.*

(*q*) Καὶ μὲν τοι καὶ ἐφεσίοις καὶ κολοσσαεῦσι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔγραψε χρονον, ἐνὶ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἀμφοτέρων διακόνῳ χρησάμενος. *Theod. T. 3. p. 5.*

(*r*). Τὸν δὲ μακάριον τυχικὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ῥώμης ἀπέστειλε· καὶ τοῦτο ἐν τῇ πρὸς τιμόθεον δευτέρᾳ διδάσκει. κ. λ. *Ib. p. 292. A.*

However, there are difficulties attending this opinion, which muſt be conſidered.

Firſt, it is ſaid, that the epiſtles to the *Epheſians* and the *Coloſſians* were ſent by the ſame meſſenger. Comp. Eph. vi. 21. 22. Col. iv. 7. 8. The epiſtle to the *Coloſſians* was ſent away from *Rome*, when the Apoſtle had hopes of enlargement. Conſequently, the epiſtle to the *Epheſians* was writ about the ſame time.

I anſwer, that this is no proof. For *Tychicus* might be ſent twice into the ſame countrey, in the time of the Apoſtle's two years impriſonment. *Tychicus* might be ſent to *Epheſus*, with this letter to the *Epheſians*, ſoon after the Apoſtle's arrival at *Rome*, and come back to him, and be able to take another journey into thoſe parts a year after, when the Apoſtle was about to be ſet at liberty.

Secondly, it is ſaid, that there is a great agreement between the epiſtle to the *Epheſians* and that to the *Coloſſians*. This laſt, as is allowed, was writ in the ſecond year of the Apoſtle's confinement, and when it was near it's end. Conſequently, the epiſtle to the *Epheſians* was writ about the ſame time.

To which I anſwer: Undoubtedly, there is an agreement between theſe epiſtles in ſeveral things, taken notice of by (*s*) *Grotius*, and others. But it does not therefore follow, that they were ſent away together. For, as has been obſerved by (*t*) *Lightfoot*, it is likely, that the Apoſtle kept copies of his letters. If ſo, it might be eaſie for him to write after the ſame manner at different times, to people not very remote from each other, and whoſe circumſtances were much alike. Indeed, without keeping copies of his letters, I believe it would be no difficult matter for St. *Paul* to repeat the Chriſtian principles, and exhortations to Chriſtian virtues, at ſeveral times, in like expreſſions, if the circumſtances of men required it.

And there are ſeveral things in the epiſtles themſelves, which afford good reaſon for thinking, that they were not writ, and ſent away at the ſame time: and that the epiſtle to the *Coloſſians* was writ ſome while after that to the *Epheſians*. From what is ſaid in the ſecond chapter of the epiſtle to the *Coloſſians*, concerning the worſhipping of angels, and other matters, it may be concluded, that the Apoſtle had received from thoſe parts ſome intelligence, which he had not, when he wrote the epiſtle to the *Epheſians*. For there thoſe matters are not at all touched upon.

And though there is a reſemblance between theſe two epiſtles, they are very different. For the epiſtle to the *Epheſians* is a good deal longer than

(*s*) Proxima huic et argumento, et verbis etiam, eſt illa ad Coloſſenſes, eodem, ni fallor, ſcripta tempore. *Grot. Praf. in ep. ad Eph. vid. et ejuſd. Pr. in ep. ad Coloſſ.*

(*t*) "It may be, the *parchments* 2 Tim. iv. 13. were the originals of thoſe epiſtles, that he had already written. For that he ſent tranſcripts, and reſerved the originals, may be collected from theſe paſſages. *I Tertius, who wrote out this epiſtle.* Rom. xvi. 22. See alſo 1 Cor. xvi. 21. Col. iv. 18. 2 Theſſ. iii. 17. For all the epiſtle beſide was written with another hand." *Harmony of the N. T. Vol. i. p.* 316.

than that to the *Coloſſians*, though the fore-mentioned article in the ſecond chapter to the *Coloſſians* is entirely wanting. And in thoſe places, where there is an agreement, there are differences.

Nor is there in the epiſtle to the *Epheſians* any notice taken of *Timothie*, or *Epaphras*, or *Mark*, ſo expreſsly mentioned in the epiſtle to the *Coloſſians*. Which muſt be reckoned a very ſtrong, and even a demonſtrative argument, that theſe two epiſtles were not writ, and ſent away at the ſame time.

In this date of the epiſtle to the *Epheſians* I have (*u*) followed *Lightfoot*: from whom I have had great aſſiſtances in ſettling the time of St. *Paul*'s epiſtles. I have likewiſe had, in this inſtance, aſſiſtances from (*x*) *Baronius*, (*y*) *Eſtius*, (*z*) *Hammond*, and (*a*) *Witſius*.

Baronius (*b*) and *Lightfoot* firſt ſpeak of the ſecond epiſtle to *Timothie*: though they do not deny, the epiſtle to the *Epheſians* to have been writ before it. But as we are now inquiring into the order of time, I have judged it beſt to adhere to that ſtrictly. A few weeks, yea a few days, might make a great alteration in the Apoſtle's circumſtances at this time. And ſome of his friends and aſſiſtants might be daily coming to *Rome* from the provinces, and getting acceſſe to him in his apartment. By comparing theſe two epiſtles I am led to think, that when the Apoſtle wrote the ſecond epiſtle to *Timothie*, he had been longer at *Rome*, and was better acquainted with the world about him, than when he wrote the epiſtle to the *Epheſians*.

Baſnage is ſingular in his ſentiment concerning the time of this epiſtle. "That (*c*) it was writ at *Rome*, when *Paul* was priſoner there, he "ſays, is manifeſt. But he thinks it to have been the laſt epiſtle, which "was ſent thence by the Apoſtle. He argues well enough, that it was "not ſent with the epiſtle to the *Coloſſians*. And he ſuppoſeth, that *Ty*"*chicus* was ſent twice into theſe countreys by the Apoſtle from *Rome*." He ſhould therefore have concluded, that this letter to the *Epheſians* was carried by *Tychicus*, not after thoſe other epiſtles, but before them.

Says

(*u*) *As before p.* 325.

(*x*) *Annal.* 59. *num.* xv. *Vid. et num.* xx.

(*y*) *Præf. in ep. ad Eph.* (*z*) *Præf. in ep. ad Epheſ.*

(*a*) *Witſ. de Vit. Paul. Sect.* xii. *num.* vi. *et* ix.

(*b*) Hæc cum ita ſint, nos tamen primum egimus de ipſa ad Timotheum ſcripta epiſtola, eo quod multa in ea de rebus ſuis Romæ geſtis ipſe ſignificet, ex quibus intexeretur hiſtoria: quarum nulla eſt mentio in epiſtola ad Epheſios. *Baron. Ann.* 59. *num.* xv.

(*c*) Epiſtolarum omnium, quas primis in vinculis exaravit Apoſtolus, ea quæ ad Epheſios ultima eſſe videtur. Ludovico enim Cappello non aſſentimur, qui eodem tempore ad Coloſſenſes et ad Epheſios, epiſtolam ſcriptam eſſe ſtatuit. . . Agebat Romæ Epaphras, dum Paulus ſcribit Coloſſenſibus. Col. i. 8. Urbe autem aberat, cum ad Epheſios miſit epiſtolam, in qua ne verbulo quidem meminit Epaphræ. Quinetiam non ut ad Coloſſenſes ſic et ad Epheſios nomine ſuo et Timothei ſcribit. Præterea per Tychicum miſſa eſt epiſtola. Eph. vi. 21. Quæ de alia prorſus Tychici profectione intelligenda ſunt, quam cujus meminit ad Coloſſenſes iv. 12. Alioquin Timothei ac Epaphræ mentionem quoque injeciſſet. *Ann.* 61. *num.* vii.

Says St. *Paul* 2 Tim. iv. 12. *And Tychicus have I sent to Ephesus.* I suppose the Apostle here to refer to the epistle to the *Ephesians*, which was carried from *Rome* to *Ephesus* by *Tychicus*. But still, perhaps, it may be questioned, whether those two epistles, that to the *Ephesians*, and the second to *Timothie* were sent away together. *Baronius* (*d*) says, they were. He says, the Apostle puts the preterit for the present. So Eph. vi. 21. 22. . . *That ye may know my affairs, and how I do, . . . Tychicus . . . shall make known unto you all things, whom I have sent unto you for the same purpose.* And unquestionably, that way of speaking is not uncommon. Instances are obvious. So Philem. ver. 12. *Whom I have sent again.* Which may be rendered: *whom I am sending again* to you. See also ver. 19. 21. and Philip. ii. 28. So here in 2 Tim. iv. 12. The words may be rendered: *And Tychicus I am sending to Ephesus.* Nevertheless, as that interpretation, in this place, is not certain, I would not be positive. The epistle to the *Ephesians*, I think, was carried from *Rome* by *Tychicus*, either at the same time with the second to *Timothie*, or a short time only before it.

And according to my calculation, the epistle to the *Ephesians* was writ at *Rome*, soon after the Apostle's arrival there in 61. and before the summer of that year. It was the first epistle writ by the Apostle in that city. And it was sent away a short time before the second epistle to *Timothie*, of which I shall speak next, or together with it.

SECT. X.

The second Epistle to Timothie.

WE come now to the second epistle to *Timothie*, which we suppose to have been sent away together with *A. D.* 61. that to the *Ephesians*, or soon after it.

Many learned men speak of a second imprisonment of *Paul* at *Rome*, and suppose, that this second epistle to *Timothie* was then writ, in 67. or 68. But I do not know, that we have any good account of a second imprisonment of *Paul* at *Rome*. He suffered martyrdom there, as some think, in 64. or 65. or as others, in 67. or 68. But that he might do, without a previous imprisonment of any duration. For he might be apprehended on a sudden, and be put to death presently. Which may be reckoned as likely, as not.

Before I proceed to the proofs, that this second epistle to *Timothie* was writ during *Paul*'s imprisonment at *Rome*, when he was sent thither from *Judea* by *Festus*, I would premise, that I suppose, with most learned moderns, that *Timothie* was now at *Ephesus*.

It

(*d*) Verum eidem Tabellario, nempe Tychico, dedit etiam tunc Paulus epistolam ad Ephesios. Licet in ea ad Timotheum dicat: *Tychicum misi Ephesum*: tamen præteritum tempus pro præsenti usurpasse videtur, sicut cum ad Ephesios de eodem scribens ait: *Ut autem et vos sciatis, quæ circa me sunt . . . nota faciet Tychicus . . quem misi ad vos ad hoc ipsum. . .* Bar. ann. 59. num. xv.

It has been thought, that *Timothie* was not there, becauſe it is ſaid ch. iv. 12. *Tychicus have I ſent to Epheſus.* But that argument is of no force. There was no need to ſay: I have ſent *Tychicus* to you. There are many ſimilar, or parallel ways of ſpeaking in St. *Paul*'s epiſtles. 1 Cor. xvi. 32. He ſpeaks of his having *fought with beaſts at Epheſus:* where he certainly was at that time, as appears from xvi. 8. And 2 Tim. i. 17. he ſays: *When Oneſiphorus was at Rome, he ſought me out very diligently.* He does not ſay, when he was here. *Lightfoot* (*e*) obſerves, that from the epiſtle itſelf it may be concluded, that *Timothie* was at *Epheſus.* For 1. He directs him to ſalute the houſhold of *Oneſiphorus.* iv. 9. who was an *Epheſian.* i. 16. . . . 18. 2. He directs *Timothie* to take *Troas* in his way to him. ch. iv. 13. which was the way, that *Paul* had gone from *Epheſus.* 2 Cor. ii. 12. and to *Epheſus* again. Acts xx. 5. 3. He warns him of *Alexander.* iv. 14. who was an *Epheſian.* 1 Tim. i. 20. Acts xix. 33. So *Lightfoot.* To which, I think, may be added, 4. *Paul*'s ſalutation of *Priſcilla* and *Aquila.* ch. iv. 19. who, probably, were now returned to *Epheſus*, and ſettled there, where they had been formerly. Acts xviii. 18. 19. . . . . 26. and 1 Cor. xvi. 19. For certain they were not now at *Rome*, where *Paul* himſelf was: though they were there, when he wrote the epiſtle to the *Romans.* xvi. 3. 4.

Here it may be aſked: When did *Timothie* come to *Epheſus?* And how long had he been there? I anſwer, that by a very eaſie and probable conjecture, it may be concluded, that he was left there, when *Paul* was going up to *Jeruſalem*, with the collections, which he had made among the Gentil Chriſtians, for the poor ſaints in *Judea.* For *Timothie* is expreſsly mentioned by St. *Luke* among the Apoſtle's companie in that journey. Acts xx. 3. 4. 5. And as he was about to *ſail into Syria, he purpoſed to return through Macedonia. And there accompanied him into Aſia, Sopater of Beroea . . . and Timothie, and of Aſia, Tychicus, and Trophimus. Timothie* therefore was in *Paul*'s companie, and went with him as far as *Aſia*, in which *Epheſus* ſtood. And ſo far, I ſuppoſe, all, above mentioned, accompanied *Paul*, but not into *Syria.* I apprehend, that *Timothie* and *Tychicus* ſtaid in *Aſia.* For we have not any intimations from St. *Luke*, or St. *Paul*, or any way, that theſe two were with the Apoſtle at *Jeruſalem.*

Every one is here able to recollect, that when *Paul* went into *Macedonia* in the year 56. about the time of Pentecoſt, he left *Timothie* at *Epheſus.* 1 Tim. i. 3. But for ſome reaſons, which may be well ſuppoſed to have been good and ſufficient, he came from thence to *Paul* in *Macedonia.* For he is joyned with *Paul* in the ſalutation, at the beginning of the ſecond epiſtle to the *Corinthians.* And, as has been juſt ſeen, he attended *Paul*, when he left *Macedonia*, to proceed to *Jeruſalem.* But no man can doubt, that *Paul* would be willing to replace *Timothie* at *Epheſus*, where his preſence was of great importance, if an opportunity ſhould offer. Such an opportunity there now was. And, very probably, it was embraced. And *Paul* parted with him at *Miletus*, where he had ſent for the Elders of the church of *Epheſus* to meet him.

Tillemont

(*e*) *Vol. i. p.* 324.

Tillemont says: "It (*f*) is not said, what became of *Timothie*, during the two years that St. *Paul* was prisoner in *Judea*." I think, I may presume to say, he was all that time at *Ephesus*, and parts adjacent in *Asia*. *Du Pin* was of the same opinion, whose words I transcribe (*g*) below.

Tillemont adds presently afterwards: "It is however certain, that *Timothie* was at *Rome*, when the Apostle wrote to *Philemon*, the *Philippians*, and the *Colossians*: forasmuch as he is named joyntly with him in the titles of those three epistles." How *Timothie* came to be then at *Rome*, we shall see presently.

Paul therefore parted with *Timothie* at *Miletus*, as just said. And I think, that when the Elders of *Ephesus* were come to *Miletus*, *Timothie* joyned himself with them, and stood at the head of them: and consequently was one of those, of whom it is said: *And they all wept sore, and fell on Paul's neck, and kissed him: sorrowing most of all for the words which he spake, that they should see his face no more. And they accompanied him to the ship.* Acts xx. 37. 38.

Of this *Paul* takes notice in the most affectionate manner. 2 Tim. i. 4. *Greatly desirous to see thee, being mindful of thy tears, that I may be filled with joy.* Doubtless *Paul* was much affected by the tears of all the rest, but especially *Timothie's*: and was now *greatly desirous to see him*, who had been so deeply struck with the thoughts of never seeing his face any more.

Timothie, then, was at *Ephesus*, when this epistle was sent to him. And he had been there from the time that *Paul* left *Miletus*, to go to *Jerusalem*, and during his imprisonment in *Judea*.

The observation, that *Paul* here refers to the *tears* shed by his friends at his parting with them at *Miletus*, appears to me very obvious: though it has been hitherto entirely overlooked, so far as I know. And it will directly lead us to the true date of this epistle. It is a most proper begining of a letter sent by *Paul* to *Timothie* at *Ephesus*, soon after his arrival at *Rome* from *Palestine*, at the time we suppose: but it is very unlikely to be taken notice of in an epistle writ several years afterwards, and after there had been an interview: as there certainly was, when *Paul* was at *Rome*.

I shall now observe divers particulars, confirming the supposition, that St. *Paul's* second epistle to *Timothie* was writ, during the Apostle's imprisonment at *Rome*, and near the begining of it.

1. The circumstances of the Apostle's imprisonment at *Rome*, when sent thither by *Festus*, and at the time of writing this epistle, are exactly the same.

Says

(*f*) *S. Timothée Mem. T.* 2.

(*g*) On pourroit dire neanmoins, et je ne m'eloignerois de ce sentiment, que S. Paul le laissa à Ephese, quand s'étant arrêté à Milet, il envoya querir les prêtres de l'eglise d'Ephese. Act. xx. ver. 17. Car nous lisons, que comme S. Paul partoit pour aller en Asie par Macedoine, Timothée fut un de ceux qui l'accompagnerent en Asie. ch. xx. 4. Et nous ne trouvons plus Timothée à sa compagnie, ni à Jerusalem, ni pendant sa prison de Cesarée. Si cela est, Timothée aura été établi par S. Paul pour gouverner les eglises d'Asie en 58. *Du Pin. Dis. Prelim. l.* 2. *ch.* 2. § *viii.*

Says St. *Luke*, Acts xxviii. 16. *Paul was suffered to dwell by himself, with a soldier that kept him.* And ver. 30. *Paul dwelt two whole years in his own hired house, and received all that came in unto him.*

Here are two remarkable particulars. *First*, that *Paul dwelt by himself, with a soldier that kept him:* that is, after the manner of the Romans, by an iron chain of convenient length, he was fastened to a soldier, who had one end of the chain upon his left hand, and *Paul* the other end upon his right hand. As was largely shewn (*h*) formerly. To this St. *Paul* refers in this his second epistle to *Timothie* i. 16. speaking of *Onesiphorus: He oft refreshed me, and was not ashamed of my chain.* So exactly, Acts xxviii. 20. *Because for the hope of Israel, I am bound with this chain.*

Secondly. The other remarkable particular is, that when at *Rome*, *Paul dwelled in his own hired house, and received all who came in unto him.* Such also was his case at writing this epistle, as appears abundantly from ch. iv. 10. and other places. He had with him *Demas*, *Crescens*, *Titus*. The first was gone to *Thessalonica*, without his approbation: the others were gone, whither he had sent them, as it seems. And *Luke* was still with him. And at ver. 21. he sends salutations to *Timothie* from divers persons, and from the church at *Rome* in general, saying: *Eubulus greeteth thee, and Pudens, and Linus, and Claudia, and all the brethren.* Which shews, that people had free access to the Apostle, when he wrote this epistle.

1. Obj. However, it has been objected, that (*i*) when *Onesiphorus* came to *Rome*, *Paul* was close shut up, and *Onesiphorus* had much difficulty in finding him. Which is different from the imprisonment of which St. *Luke* has given an account.

To which I answer, that *Onesiphorus* had no uncommon difficulty in his access to *Paul*, whose words are, 2 Tim. i. 16. 17. *The Lord give mercie to the house of Onesiphorus. For he oft refreshed me, and was not ashamed of my chain. But when he was at Rome, he sought me out very diligently, and came unto me:* that is, I think: "*Onesiphorus* has been often "with me, and refreshed me, with presents, and with his conversation, "without being at all ashamed of me, though I had a chain upon me." Which shews, that *Onesiphorus* might come to visit the Apostle, when he pleased: and might give him as much relief, as he saw good. "Yea, "says the Apostle, as soon as he came to *Rome*, he made inquiries after "me, and came to see me without delay."

Here appear not any tokens of *Paul*'s being under a very strict confinement. But here are evidences of his being in such a condition, as that represented by St. *Luke*, when he had been brought from *Judea* to *Rome*. *Onesiphorus* seems to have come to *Rome*, soon after the Apostle's arrival

(*h*) *See of this work Part i. B. i. ch. x. § ix.*

(*i*) In secundis vinculis alia statim rerum facies fuit. Tunc enim *Onesiphorus*, inquit, *cum Romam venisset, solicite me quæsivit, et invenit.* i. 17. An opus erat, ut Onesiphorus σπουδαιότερον, et cum tanto studio ac solicitudine quæreret Paulum, et ex tam sedula inquisitione inveniret, si Apostolus aut in eadem domo, aut cum eadem libertate, et non in arcta et abdita custodia prædicasset? *Pearson. De Success. primor. Rom. Episcop. Diss. i. cap. 9. n. viii.*

arrival there. In order to find him out, and know where he was, it was needfull to make ſome inquiries. How elſe ſhould any man find a ſtranger in a great city? Whether he was quite at liberty, or in one of the priſons of it, ſome inquiries would be needfull. And when *Oneſiphorus* had found the place, where *Paul* was, he came to it without any difficulty.

Witſius (*k*) ſpeaks exactly to the like purpoſe. And ſuppoſeth, that after ſome inquiries (ſuch as are needfull, when a man comes to a large city, and wants to ſee a ſtranger newly arrived,) *Oneſiphorus* found *Paul* with the ſoldier in his own hired houſe.

The caſe I take to be this. *Oneſiphorus* came to *Rome* upon his own ſecular buſineſſe. He knew very well, that *Paul* had been carried thither, as a priſoner. But what was become of him, he did not know: whether he had been ſet at liberty, or was ſtill a priſoner, or had been put to death. Upon coming to *Rome* therefore, not long after *Paul* had been brought thither, he made anxious inquiries after him. And hearing where *Paul* was, he readily came to him, notwithſtanding his diſgraceful circumſtance, being chained to a ſoldier. And ſo long as he ſtaid in *Rome*, he made the Apoſtle frequent viſits, and afforded him ſuch refreſhment, as was in his power.

2. Obj. But it is urged, that St. *Paul* ſays, 2 Tim. ii. 9. (*l*) —— *Wherein I ſuffer, as an evil doer, even unto bonds.*

To which I anſwer, that the word, here rendered *bonds*, is the ſame that is uſed in other epiſtles, writ during the Apoſtle's impriſonment at *Rome*, when ſent thither by *Feſtus*. Col. iv. 18. *Remember my bonds.* Μνημονέυετέ μου τῶν δεσμῶν. The ſame word is uſed at leaſt four times in the epiſtle to the *Philippians*. ch. i. 7. 13. 14. 16. and in Philem. ver. 10. and 13. Hebr. x. 34. And to the *Epheſians* he ſays iii. 1. *I Paul, the priſoner of Jeſus Chriſt.* ὁ δέσμιος. And ch. iv. 1. *The priſoner of the Lord.* Not to mention any other places. When *Paul* was ſo bound, he had reaſon to ſay, *he ſuffered as an evil-doer*, or malefactor, *even unto bonds*. He was not a malefactor, or notorious offender, nor a criminal: but was innocent in the view of the Roman laws, as well as in point of reaſon, juſtice, and equity. But he ſuffered, *as an evil-doer*. Had he not reaſon to ſay ſo, when he was ſent bound from *Judea* to *Rome*? Had he not been proſecuted, as a malefactor? Did not the Jewiſh multitude, who firſt laid hold of him, intend to kill him? Acts xxi. 31.... 36. xxiii. 27. xxiv. 6. Did not the multitude, who heard him with patience for a while, at length ſay: *Away with ſuch a fellow. For it is not fit, that he ſhould live?* xxii. 22. Does not *Feſtus* ſay to King *Agrippa*,

(*k*) Quando Oneſiphorus Paulum Romæ quæſitum venit, non videtur invenille in carcere conjectum, arctaque cuſtodia detentum, ſed militi ſuo aligatum, in diverſiolo. Sic enim Paulus: Καὶ τὴν ἁλυσίν μου οὐκ ἐπησχύνθη.., ſit ſane quamvis vincula Pauli nota fuerint in toto Prætorio, non tamen inde conſequitur, Pauli domum ita notam omnibus fuiſſe, ut homini peregre advenienti, in urbe quæ orbis compendium erat, ad captivi Judæi domum inveniendam diligenti inquiſitione non fuerit opus. Præſertim ſi adtendamus, data hæc eſſe initio vinculorum Pauli, antequam eum celebritatis gradum eſſet nactus. *Witſ. ubi ſupra. ſect.* 12. *num.* vi.

(*l*) Ἐν ᾧ κακοπαθῶ μέχρι δεσμῶν, ὡς κακοῦργος.

pa, and the large assemblie at *Cesarea? Ye see this man, about whom all the multitude of the Jews have dealt with me, both at Jerusalem, and also here, crying, that he ought not to live any longer.* xxv. 24. So that he was prosecuted as a malefactor all the while that he was in *Judea*. Nor does it appear, that there was any likelihood of his escape, but by appealing to the Emperour. And was he not after all sent bound to *Rome*, with many obnoxious persons under the command of a Centurion? Certainly, I think, these things afforded sufficient ground for *Paul* to say what he does in this place to *Timothie*.

But to insinuate from these expressions, that *Paul* was now in some close confinement, his friends debarred access to him, and himself forbid the use of pen, ink, and paper, I humbly conceive, is altogether without foundation. It is inconsistent with the whole tenour of the epistle, and with the Apostle's writing, or enditing, and sending such a letter as this to *Timothie*. Wherein too he desires *Timothie* to come unto him.

St. *Paul*'s imprisonment at *Rome*, when sent thither by *Festus*, was occasioned by his zeal for the liberty of the Gentils, as is manifest from Acts xxii. 21. 22. Of which he also takes notice, Eph. iii. 1. saying: *I Paul, the prisoner of Jesus Christ, for you Gentils.* His imprisonment at *Rome*, at the time of writing this epistle, was owing to the same thing. For he says here, ch. i. 11. 12. *Whereunto I am appointed a preacher, and an apostle, and a teacher of the Gentils. For the which cause I also suffer these things.* This is very observable. And indeed the twelve verses at the begining of this epistle are a most proper introduction to an epistle, sent to *Timothie* by *Paul*, at the time, for which we argue.

Thus the circumstances of *Paul*'s confinement at the time of writing this epistle, compared with the circumstances of that confinement at *Rome*, of which St. *Luke* has given a general account, and in which it is allowed, that St. *Paul* wrote epistles to the *Ephesians*, *Philippians*, *Colossians*, *Philemon*, shew it to be one and the same imprisonment, and that this epistle also was writ about the same time with them.

2. St. *Luke* was with the Apostle at *Rome*, when he wrote this epistle. 2 Tim. iv. 11. And we know from the Acts, that he went with *Paul* from *Judea* to *Rome*, when he was sent thither by *Festus*. He is likewise mentioned in the epistles to the *Colossians* and *Philemon*, writ during this imprisonment. But it would be presumption to say, that St. *Luke* was with the Apostle at *Rome*, in another imprisonment, three, or four, or five years after this: especially, when we see, that his historie of St. *Paul* in the book of the Acts concludes with the account of his two years imprisonment at *Rome*, when sent thither by *Festus*.

3. Since the Apostle's coming to *Rome*, he had with him, beside *Luke*, who accompained him, *Demas*, *Crescens*, *Titus*, *Tychicus*, four of his assistants and fellow-laborers. Which might be likely enough to be expected, when *Paul* was sent from *Judea* to *Rome*. But it cannot be said to have been likely at any other season. But at this it was. For *Paul*'s imprisonment in *Judea* had lasted above two years. And it must have been known to all Gentil Christians throughout the world, and observed by them with astonishment, and grief. And his last appearance before *Festus*, and others at *Cesarea*, was a very remarkable thing, and must have

soon come to the knowledge of all Christians in *Syria*, *Asia*, *Greece*, and *Italie*. At that assemblie it was determined, that *Paul* should go to *Rome*. He took shipping at *Cesarea* with others. He had a long and dangerous voyage. And after such an imprisonment in *Judea*, as that related by St. *Luke*, with all it's circumstances, it may be reckoned highly probable, that some good number of the Apostle's affectionate friends, especially his fellow-laborers, if not too much engaged, should form a design, and do their utmost, to meet him at *Rome*. It seems to me very likely, that some such persons should with this view get to *Rome*, before *Paul* himself. Accordingly, we have seen four such persons mentioned by *Paul* in this epistle. It is a striking circumstance, and exceedingly favors our argument for the time of this epistle.

4. Says St. *Paul* 2 Tim. iv. 20. *Erastus abode at Corinth.* Which is agreeable to the account of St. *Paul*'s journey to *Jerusalem*, as related by St. *Luke*. For Acts xix. 22. *Erastus* is expressly mentioned as *one of those, who ministred to Paul*, whom he sent from *Ephesus* to *Macedonia*. Nor is *Erastus* among those, who went with *Paul* from *Macedonia*. Acts xx. 4. It (*m*) is therefore very likely, that he stayed at *Corinth*, and did not go with the Apostle to *Jerusalem*. This *Timothie* knew very well. Nevertheless, it (*n*) is very properly mentioned together with other particulars, shewing *Timothie* the reasonableness of his coming to him, and the need, which the Apostle had of his presence.

We should here recollect what was formerly said of the Apostle's situation at *Rome*, after a long and close confinement in *Judea*. And then we shall easily account for *Paul*'s mentioning to *Timothie* divers things, which had happened some good while before. In a word, *Paul* may take the same notice of several things, which had happened before parting with *Timothie* at *Miletus*, in the same manner that he would have mentioned them, supposing him to have staid but a few weeks at *Jerusalem*, and then sailed from *Cesarea* to *Rome*, and soon after his arrival at *Rome*, had writ to *Timothie*, to come to him. For all the time of the Apostle's close confinement in *Judea* had been sunk and annihilated in his computation.

5. In the same verse. *Trophimus have I left at Miletus sick.* Another particular, leading to that date of this epistle, for which we argue.

We know from Acts xxi. 29. that *Trophimus* was with *Paul* at *Jerusalem*. It may be reckoned probable, that he set out with *Paul* from *Cesarea* to go to *Rome*. St. *Luke* indeed Acts xxvii. 2. mentions not expressly any companions of *Paul* in his voyage, beside himself, and *Aristarchus*. Nevertheless *Trophimus* likewise may have embarqued with him. The reason of not mentioning him may be, that he did not compleat the voyage, having fallen sick, and therefore had been left at *Miletus*. This *Timothie* might know very well. Nevertheless it is fitly taken notice of by *Paul*, in a letter, writ soon after finishing the voyage, and when writing to *Timothie*, to come to him.

But

(*m*) *Erastus remansit Corinthi.*] Fuerat in Macedoniam missus a Paulo. Acts xix. 20. Deinde Corinthum redierat, ibique manserat, nec venerat Romam. *Crol. in 2 Tim. iv.* 20.

(*n*) Quod Erastum Corinthi mansisse scribit, non tanquam rem novam incognitamque Timotheo renunciat: refert tamen, uti attinentem ad scopum suum. &c. *Witsi. de Vit. Pauli. Sect. xii. n. vi.*

But when was *Trophimus* left at *Miletus? Beza* (*o*) was inclined to read here Μελίτη, *Melita*, *Malta*, inſtead of Μιλήτῳ, *Miletus*. Which conjecture, is approved by (*p*) *Grotius*. But if *Miletus* ſhould be reckoned the true reading, *Beza* ſuppoſeth, that *Trophimus* might be ſet on ſhore in the time of that *ſlow ſailing* mentioned Acts xxvii. 7. *Lightfoot* (*q*) concludes from what is in Acts xxvii. 2. that *Paul* had a good opportunity to leave *Trophimus* at *Miletus*.

This will be farther confirmed, if we admit the interpretation given by *Wall*, without any view to the uſe, which we are about to make of it. "Acts xxvii. 2. *meaning to ſail by the coaſts of Aſia.* Μέλλοντες "πλεῖν τὰς κατὰ τὴν ἀσίαν τόπους. The ſhip meant to call at ſome places "in *Aſia*. This is a different phraſe from that, ch. xx. 16. παραπλεῦσαι "Ἔφεσον. *to ſail by Epheſus*, that is, to leave it, to paſs by, without call-"ing." It is, then, a very eaſie and natural ſuppoſition, that *Paul* might have an opportunity of ſetting *Trophimus* on ſhore at *Miletus*.

6. St. *Paul* deſires *Timothie to come to him ſhortly*. ch. iv. 9. And unqueſtionably he did ſo. We find his name in the ſalutations at the begining of the epiſtles to the *Philippians*, the *Coloſſians*, *Philemon*, writ during this impriſonment, and near it's period. *Witſius* (*r*) obſerves, that in the Acts there is no account of *Timothie*'s accompanying *Paul* to *Rome*. *Timothie* therefore not being there at the begining of the Apoſtle's captivity in that city, he might have occaſion to ſend a letter to him, at the time ſuppoſed by us. This particular is well enforced by *Witſius* at the begining of his argument upon the date of this epiſtle.

7. Ver.

(*o*) Nempe in illa tarda navigatione, cum præterveheretur littus Aſiæ, ſicuti narratur Act. xxvii. 7. Quamquam potius conjicio legendum ἐν μελίτῃ, in Melita. Quod vocabulum facile fuit in μιλήτῳ depravare. *Bez. in 2 Tim. iv.* 20.

(*p*) Omnino aſſentior doctiſſimo Bezæ legenti ἐν μελίτῃ. . . . In itinere Hieroſolymis Paulus Meliten attigit, non Miletum. *Grot. in loc.*

(*q*) "But when was he left? Not when *Paul* went toward *Jeruſalem*, and ſent for the Elders of *Epheſus* to *Miletus*. Acts xx. For *Trophimus* went, and was with *Paul* at *Jeruſalem*. xxi. 19. But it was, when *Paul* returned from *Jeruſalem*, as has been ſaid, though it be not particularly mentioned, that he touched there. . . . *Luke* ſays plainly, that at *Paul*'s coming away from *Judea* in his voyage to *Rome*, it was their reſolution *to ſail by the coaſts of Aſia*. Acts xxvii. 2. Which would have been a fairer ground to have concluded upon, that *Paul* was at *Miletus* in this voyage, ſince that was a part of thoſe *Aſian coaſts*, than to change *Miletus* into *Melita*, upon no ground at all. And certainly the very ſcope of the Apoſtle in that paſſage will not admit of that change. For he is not telling *Timothie* of *Eraſtus* his abode at *Corinth*, or of *Trophimus*'s ſick-ſtay at *Miletus*, as things unknown to him, but as things very well known, yet mentioned to him, as making to the Apoſtle's purpoſe." *Lightfoot's Harmonie of the N. T. Vol. i. p.* 324.

(*r*) Pro certo habent, Timotheum initio priorum Pauli vinculorum Romæ non fuiſſe. Etenim in Actibus Apoſtolicis nihil ultra de Timotheo dicitur, quam quod Paulum Hieroſolymam proficiſcentem in Aſiam fuerit comitatus, cap. xx. 4. Exinde nulla Timothei mentio: de itinere Hieroſolymitano, nedum de navigatione Romana, ἀδὲ γρύ. Quia vero res ipſius adeo Pauli rebus innexæ fuere, ipſeque tam eximiam ſuſtinuit perſonam, vix videtur præteriri potuiſſe in tanta rerum quæ Paulo acciderunt varietate. &c. *De Vit. Pauli. ſect.* 12. *num.* 9.

7. Ver. 11. St. *Paul* ſays: *Take Mark, and bring him with thee.* And doubtleſs *Timothie* did bring *Mark* to *Rome.* For he is mentioned with theirs. Col. iv. 10. and Philem. ver. 24. and comprehended in thoſe general expreſſions. Philip. iv. 21.

Grotius, in (*s*) his notes upon 2 Tim. iv. 9. 11. ſays the ſame of *Timothie*, *Luke*, and *Mark*, that I have done. It is ſtrange, that he did not diſcern the conſequence, which is ſo obvious: that this ſecond epiſtle to *Timothie* muſt have been writ, before the epiſtles to the *Philippians*, the *Coloſſians*, and *Philemon.* But that he diſcerned this conſequence, does not appear clearly from his preface to this epiſtle. Whether he did, or not, he admits our interpretations. And the conſequence is unavoidable.

It follows alſo from what he ſays upon ver. 20. of *Trophimus* having been left at *Melita*, in *Paul*'s voyage from *Judea* to *Rome*, as before obſerved, and from ſome other things ſaid by him in his Annotations on this epiſtle. Which may be taken notice of hereafter.

8. Ver. 13. *The cloak, that I left at Troas with Carpus, when thou comeſt, bring with thee, and the books, eſpecially the parchments.*

As St. *Paul* went to *Jeruſalem* by the way of *Troas*, we are hereby led to the time of this impriſonment: eſpecially, when we conſider, that *Timothie* accompained the Apoſtle in that journey, as far as *Aſia*. And *Paul* here ſeems to write to *Timothie*, as knowing *Carpus*, and that theſe things had been left with him.

If it be objected, that (*t*) *Paul* had at that time ſeveral friends with him, who might be willing to take care of thoſe things: We (*u*) readily anſwer: It is true. Nor need it to be ſuppoſed, that in any other journey *Paul* was without a ſufficient number of friends, to perform for him any needful ſervice of that kind. There might be other reaſons for leaving thoſe things behind him.

We need not inquire, what were thoſe reaſons, nor what were thoſe things. However I ſhall obſerve here what *Lightfoot* ſays of the word, rendred *cloak*, in his account of St. *Paul*'s journey from *Troas* to *Jeruſalem:*

(*s*) Σπέυδασον ἐλθεῖν πρός με ταχέως· nempe Romam. Et hoc fecit Timotheus, ut apparet. Coloſſ. i. 1. Philem. i. Hebr. xiii. Philip. ii. 19. *Grot. in 2 Tim. iv. 9. vid. et in ver.* 11.

Λουκᾶς ἐστι μόνος μετ' ἐμοῦ. Nam poſt iter illud, quod fine Actorum deſcripſit, manſit in Italiâ cum Paulo. Col. iv. 14. Philem. ver. 24.

Μάρκον ἀναλαβὼν ἄγαγε μετὰ σεαυτοῦ. ——Et hoc deſiderium Pauli impletum eſt. Vide Philem. 24. Coloſſ. iv. 10. *Id. in ver.* 11.

(*t*) Quia jubet ſibi adferri penulam, quam Troade apud Carpum reliquerat, et libros. ——Ineptum autem eſt vel cogitare Paulum hæc Troade reliquiſſe, cum tot ſecum haberet comites, et collectas Hieroſolymam perferendas, et navem ubique conduceret. *Ap. Wiſ. ibid. Sect.* 12. *num. iv.*

(*u*) Reſpondetur: Non magis ineptum eſſe cogitare, Paulum penulam ſuam cum libris quibuſdam et membranis Troade reliquiſſe in illo itinere, quod Lucas meminit, quam in alio, quod, ſupponitur, quocumque. Si enim id conſulto factum ſit, ratio conſilii æque nobis in obſcuro manet: quippe nullibi indicata. Si per oblivionem aliquam aut negligentiam ejus qui Paulo miniſtrabat: quo plures erant, majoriſque momenti ſarcinæ, eo facilior eſſe videtur cujus alicujus, et vilioris, forſan, neglectus. &c. *Wiſ. ib. ſect.* 12. *num. vi.*

lem: "When (*x*) he goes now from thence, it is moſt likely, was the "time, when he left his cloak, and parchments with *Carpus*. 2 Tim. iv. "13. His *cloak*. For he was now going among his own nation in *Judea*, "and there he was to wear his Jewiſh habit. And he left his Roman "garb here, till he ſhould come into thoſe Roman quarters again."

9. The progreſſe of the goſpel at the time of writing this epiſtle, and the other epiſtles, confeſſedly writ in the time of St. *Paul*'s impriſonment at *Rome*, when ſent thither from *Judea*, appears to be the ſame, or very much alike.

To the *Philippians* he writes i. 12. 13. *I would, ye ſhould underſtand, brethren, that the things which have happened unto me, have fallen out rather to the furtherance of the goſpel: ſo that my bonds in Chriſt are manifeſt in all the palace, and in all other places.* See alſo ver. 14. . . . 18. In this ſecond epiſtle to *Timothie* he ſays. ch. ii. 9.——that *though he ſuffered unto bonds, the word of God was not bound.* And ſee iv. 16. 17. And at ver. 11. he deſires, that *Mark* would come to him: *for*, ſays he, *he is profitable to me for the miniſtrie:* ſuppoſing, that he ſhould have employment for him, wherein he might promote the intereſt of the goſpel. *Paul* could ſpeak more diſtinctly of his ſucceſſes, and of the oppoſitions, which he met with at *Rome*, in the epiſtles writ a ſhort time before his enlargement. But even now he appears to have had in proſpect thoſe things, which were afterwards accompliſhed.

10. At ch. iii. 11. he reminds *Timothie* of *the perſecutions, and afflictions, which he had endured at Antioch, Iconium, Lyſtra*, all well known to *Timothie*. Which is very proper and ſeaſonable, at our ſuppoſed time of writing this epiſtle: more ſeaſonable, than it would have been ſeveral years afterwards.

Some, perhaps, may think it reaſonable to expect more notice taken of the Apoſtle's impriſonment in *Judea*, and at *Rome*. But we ſuppoſe, that to be the very impriſonment, which he was now under, and of which he often ſpeaks in this epiſtle, ſaying, that he *ſuffered trouble, even unto bonds:* that *he endured all things for the elects ſake:* that *Oneſiphorus was not aſhamed of his chain:* that he had *made an apologie, when all men forſook him.* But if this letter had been writ ſeveral years after his impriſonment in *Judea*, and at *Rome*; it would have been reaſonable to expect ſome references to it, as a thing paſt, in his exhortations to *Timothie*, in ſpeaking of perſecutions and afflictions formerly endured by him.

11. Ch. ii. 22. *Flee alſo youthful luſts.* An exhortation to *Timothie* more ſuitable now, than ſeveral years afterwards. Indeed, this whole epiſtle is an admonition to *Timothie*, as a Chriſtian, and a Miniſter, better ſuiting the time of St. *Paul*'s impriſonment at *Rome*, when ſent thither from *Judea*, than any later time.

12. Ch. iv. 16. 17. *At my firſt anſwer no man ſtood with me, but all men forſook me. . . . Notwithſtanding the Lord ſtood with me, and ſtrengthened me, that by me the preaching might be fully known, and that all the Gentils might hear. And I was delivered out of the mouth of the lion.*

Theſe words afford a ſtrong argument, that this epiſtle was writ, when *Paul* was ſent bound from *Judea* to *Rome*. For it is much more reaſonable

(*x*) *As before. p.* 316.

able to think, that *Paul* would ſpeak of ſuch an apologie in an epiſtle writ ſoon after it was made, than in an epiſtle writ five or ſix years afterwards. That *Paul* ſpeaks of an apologie made at the time ſuppoſed by us, is very probable. And this text was ſo underſtood by ſeveral ancient writers, *Euſebius*, *Jerome*, *Chryſoſtom*, and *Theodoret*. The words of (*y*) *Euſebius* I tranſcribe below in his own language. *Jerome*'s words were tranſcribed by us (*z*) formerly, and are fit to be repeated here. They repreſent the ſame ſentiment with that in *Euſebius:* from whom, probably, and from ſome other ancients, he learned it. "It (*a*) ſhould be obſerved, ſays he, "that at the time of his firſt apologie, *Nero*'s government not being yet "quite degenerated, nor diſgraced with the horrible wickedneſſe, which "hiſtorians ſpeak of, *Paul* was ſet at liberty, that he might preach the "goſpel in the weſtern parts of the world: as himſelf writes in the ſecond "epiſtle to *Timothie*, dictated by him in his bonds, at the time he ſuffered." And what follows.

And *Chryſoſtom* in a homilie upon the fourth chapter of this epiſtle: "How, ſays (*b*) he, ſhall we underſtand this firſt apologie? He was at "firſt brought before the Emperour, and eſcaped. But when he had "converted his cup-bearer, then he was beheaded."

Theodoret is very expreſs in his comment. "When (*c*) upon his ap-"peal, he was ſent to *Rome* by *Feſtus*, having apologized for himſelf, he "was diſmiſſed as innocent, and went into *Spain*, and other nations. . . "By the firſt apologie therefore he meaneth that which was then made. "*And I was delivered out of the mouth of the lion.* So he calls *Nero*, as "being Emperour, and a cruel man."

Indeed this defenſe, or apologie, cannot relate to any other time. For he ſays: *But the Lord ſtood with me, and ſtrengthened me: that by me the preaching might be fully known, and all the Gentils might hear.* This could not be ſaid at any ſuppoſed ſecond impriſonment, when the Apoſtle was near his end. But muſt relate to the proſpect of ſucceſſe, which he had ſoon

(*y*) . . . τότε μὲν οὖν ἀπολογησάμενον, οὕθις ἐπὶ τὴν τῦ κηρύγματος διακονίαν λόγος ἔχει τελέσθαι τὸν ἀπόστολον· δεύτερον δὲ ἐπιβάντα τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει τῷ κατ' αὐτὸν τελειωθῆναι μαρτυρίῳ: ἐν ᾧ δεσμοῖς ἑλόμενος τὴν πρὸς τιμόθεον δευτέραν ἐπιστολὴν συντάττει, ὁμοῦ σημαίνων τήν τε πρωτέραν αὐτῷ γενομένην ἀπολογίαν, καὶ τὴν παραπόδως τελείωσιν. . . . Εἰκὸς γέτοι κατά μεν ἀρχὰς ἠπιώτερον τῶν νέρωνος διακειμένου, ἐᾶσαι τὴν ὑπὲρ τῦ δόγματος τῦ σωτῆρος καταδεχθῆναι ἀπολογίαν· προελθόντος δὲ εἰς ἀθεμίτους τόλμας, μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ τὰ κατὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐγχειρισθῆναι. *H. E. l. ii. cap. 22. p. 62. A. et D.*

(*z*) *See ch.* 114. *Vol. x. p.* 110. 111.

(*a*) Sciendum autem, in prima ſatisfactione, necdum Neronis imperio roborato, nec in tanta erumpente ſcelera, quanta de eo narrant hiſtoriæ, Paulum a Nerone dimiſſum, ut evangelium Chriſti in Occidentis quoque partibus prædicaret. Sicut ipſe in ſecunda epiſtola ad Timotheum, eo tempore quo et paſſus eſt, de vinculis dictans epiſtolam. &c. *De V. I. cap. V.*

(*b*) Πέιαν δὲ πρώτην ἀπολογίαν λέγει; Παρέσχε ἤδη τῷ νερωνι, καὶ διέφυγεν. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὸν οἰνοχόον αὐτὸν κατήχησε, τότε αὐτὸν ἀπέτεμεν. *In 2 ep. ad Tim. cap. iv. hom. 10. T. iii. p. 728. B.*

(*c*) Ἥνικα τοίνυν ἐπὶ τὴν ἔφοδον ὑπὸ τῦ φήστου παρεπέμφθη, ἀπολογησάμενος, ὡς ἀθῷος ἐφάνη. . . . Πρώτην τοίνυν ἀπολογίαν τὴν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἐκδικίᾳ ἐγγεγραμμένην ἐκάλεσε, κ. λ. *In 2 ep. Tim. iv. 26. Tom. 3. p. 506.*

ſoon after he was brought from *Judea* to *Rome*. At that time theſe expreſſions were exceedingly proper, and his expectations were fully anſwered. As may be collected from Philip. ii. 12. . . . 20. and iv. 22. *Witſius* has ſome obſervations upon this place, which (*d*) deſerve to be tranſcribed. So do likewiſe the obſervations of another learned writer, (*e*) they being well ſuited to illuſtrate this text.

For farther clearing up this point, I muſt ſtay ſomewhat longer here: I cannot but think it very evident, that *Paul* was now brought before the Emperour, and that he here refers to it. *Lightfoot* ſuppoſeth, that (*f*) in thoſe words, *at my firſt anſwer*, *Paul* does not ſo much refer to what, or how many anſwers, he was called to: but intimates, that even at the firſt pinch and appearance of danger, all that ſhould have been his aſſiſtants ſtarted from him." And that may be the meaning. Nevertheleſs it is not impoſſible, that *Paul* might make two apologies, one ſoon after the other, at the firſt of which all forſook him: whereas, at the ſecond, there were ſome, who appeared with him, and ſpoke in his behalf. But however that may be, I am of opinion, that *Paul* was brought before *Nero* himſelf, and that he here ſpeaks of it. Several (*g*) moderns have

(*d*) Puto hæc ad ea quæ Romæ tunc geſta ſunt referenda eſſe. Ibi enim conſtitutus tunc fuit Paulus, ut in ſummo totius mundi loco, unde evangelii ab ipſo prædicati ſonus, non tanquam buccinæ, ſed tanquam tonitru, quaquaverſum audiretur. . . . Porro ea, quæ Romæ, quæ in Prætorio, quæ ad tribunal Cæſaris dicebantur, vel agebantur, in tanta confluentium multitudine, celeri fama, per omnes totius propemodum orbis gentes vulgata fuere. Quibus non parum ponderis ex eo acceſſit, quod captivus iſte, tam mirabilium rerum annunciator, a popularibus quidem ſuis accuſatus, ſed a Cæſare abſolutus, vel certe non damnatus eſſet. *Witſ. de Vit. Paul.* §. 12. *num.* xxxii.

(*e*) Idem jam a Paulo indicatum. 2 Tim. iv. 16. 17. *In prima meo defenſione nemo mihi adfuit, ſed omnes*, nimirum Chriſtiani, Romæ tum Pauli aggregati, *me deſeruerunt. . . . Dominus autem mihi adfuit, et confortavit me, ut per me promulgatio evangelii compleretur, et omnes gentes* illud *audirent: Etenim liberatus ſum ex ore leonis*, quocum jamjam mihi erat depugnandum. . . . Paulus docet, ſeſe, adjuvante Deo, ab intentata ſibi cum leone depugnatione fuiſſe ereptum: ſeſe cauſſam ſuam ita dixiſſe, ut liber et inviolatus fuerit dimiſſus e Prætorio: Deum hoc pacto promulgationem evangelii promoviſſe, et in celebritatem deduxiſſe, ac ad ſecuritatem. Securitas adnuntiationis ſita eſt in voce πληροφορίας, quæ a nave, plenis velis ac liberrime invehente, eſt deſumta. Eum igitur finem liberationis ſuæ Numen Supremum voluerat eſſe proprium, ut Paulus in poſterum eo liberius doctrinam evangelii evulgaret. Roma erat locus celeberrimus. Quidquid ibi gerebatur, id putabatur agi in luce orbis terrarum. Cauſſa itaque Pauli inde innotuit ac increbuit paſſim, ac quicunque de ea aliquid audiebant, avidi fuerunt redditi doctrinæ quoque ipſius, quam docebat, audiendæ et cognoſcendæ. *J. Ch. Harenberg. Otia Ganderſhem. Obſerv.* 8. §. iii.

(*f*) *As before*, *p.* 322.

(*g*) I ſhall cite an author or two here, though they may not agree with me about the time of *Paul*'s appearance before the Emperour.

"Acts xxvii. 24. *Thou muſt be brought before Cæſar.* By this, and by what *Paul* ſays, 2 Tim. iv. 17. it ſeems, that he had a perſonal hearing before *Nero* himſelf." *Wall's Crit. Notes upon the N. T. p.* 271.

have perceived this. But though this opinion had never had the Patronage of any great names, I apprehend, it might be deduced with certainty from St. *Luke*'s hiſtorie in the Acts. He is very conciſe in what he ſays of *Paul* after his arrival at *Rome*. Nor has he ſaid, that *Paul* was brought before *Nero*. But it may be argued, and concluded from what he has ſaid.

When *Paul* was firſt brought before *Feſtus* at *Ceſarea*, after he had been left bound by *Felix*, at the end of two years impriſonment, and *Feſtus* propoſed, that he ſhould *go up to Jeruſalem, and be there judged before him, Paul ſaid: I ſtand at Cæſar's judgement ſeat, where I ought to be judged.* Acts xxv. 9. 10. *Then Feſtus, when he had conferred with his council, anſwered: Haſt thou appealed unto Cæſar? Unto Cæſar ſhalt thou go.* ver. 12. Therefore that was now determined. When *Feſtus* firſt ſpoke to King *Agrippa* about *Paul*'s affair, he ſaid to him: *But when Paul had appealed to be reſerved to the hearing*, or judgment, *of Auguſtus, I commanded him to be kept, till I might ſend him to Cæſar.* ver. 21. And when *Feſtus* actually brought *Paul* before *Agrippa*, and the reſt, he ſaid: *He himſelf having appealed unto Auguſtus, I have determined to ſend him.* ver. 25. After *Paul* had pleaded before *Feſtus*, and *Agrippa*, and that great companie at *Ceſarea*, it is ſaid, ch. xxvi. 31. 32. *And the King roſe up, and Bernice, and they that ſat with them. And when they had gone aſide, they talked between themſelves, ſaying: This man doth nothing worthie of death, or of bonds. Then ſaid Agrippa unto Feſtus: This man might have been ſet at liberty, if he had not appealed unto Cæſar.* After his appeal therefore the ſending *Paul* to *Rome* was unavoidable. If *Agrippa* and the reſt of that great companie did not dare to diſmiſs him, though they thought him innocent, but judged it needful, that he ſhould go to *Rome*, it may be reckoned probable, that he was actually brought before the Emperour. And *Feſtus* wrote a letter concerning *Paul* to the Emperour himſelf, as may be concluded from ch. xxv. 26. 27. And while *Paul* was in the voyage to *Rome*, he had a viſion. *An angel ſtood by him, ſaying: Fear not, Paul, thou muſt be brought before Cæſar.* ch. xxvii. 23. 24. Certainly, therefore, he was brought before him. And that is what he intends, when he ſpeaks of his *apologie*. Which is alſo confirmed by what follows: *And I was delivered out of the mouth of the lion.* Whereby muſt be meant *Nero* himſelf.

And now we may be able to underſtand thoſe expreſſions: *No man ſtood with me, but all men forſook me.* St. *Luke*'s hiſtorie of *Paul*'s arrival at *Rome* will give great light to thoſe words. Acts xxviii. 13. . . 15. *And we came the next day to Puteoli. Where we found brethren, and were deſired to tarry with them ſeven days. And ſo we went toward Rome. And from thence, when the brethren heard of us, they came to meet us, as far as Appii Forum, and the Three Taverns. Whom when Paul ſaw, he thanked God, and took courage.* The affectionate and reſpectful viſit of ſo many *Chriſtians* from *Rome* was very refreſhing and comfortable to him, after all the fatigues

Nous ne ſaurions douter au moins que S. Paul n'ait comparu devant Neron peu de temps avant ſa mort, comme on le voit par ſa ſeconde epître à Timothée. *Tillem. S. Paul. note* 40. *Mem. T. i. p.* 531. *Paris.*

fatigues of his voyage, and in the diſgraceful circumſtances of his appearance. But when he was preſented to the Emperour, *no man ſtood by him. But all men forſook him.* And theſe are the men, whom he intends: theſe, and other Chriſtians then at *Rome*. None of them had courage to appear in his favour, and plead in his behalf, as they might have done. But all drew back, and left him alone. *Notwithſtanding the Lord ſtood with me, and ſtrengthened me.*

Let me now repreſent the progreſſe of this affair, as it appears to me, after having conſulted (*b*) *Lightfoot*, and others.

When the priſoners from *Judea* were brought to *Rome*, they were all delivered to the Captain of the Guard, or Prefect of the Prætorium. At the ſame time *Julius* the Centurion, to whoſe charge they had been committed, and who had all along *courteouſly entreated Paul* [Acts xxvii. 3.] ſpoke honorably of him to the Prefect, or delivered in a written memorial of his voyage, and the ſeveral priſoners, whom he had brought with him, inſerting, particularly, ſome things in favour of this priſoner, and alſo put into his hands the Governour's letter to the Emperour concerning *Paul*. The tenour of which, as may be concluded from the letter of *Lyſias* to *Felix*, ch. xxiii. 25. . . 30. and from other things afterwards recorded in the Acts, omitting the uſual forms, not needful to be mentioned here, was to this purpoſe: " My Lord, when I came into this " province, committed to my charge by thy favour, I found a priſoner, " named *Paul*, left bound by my predeceſſor *Felix*, after he had been two " years in cuſtodie. In a ſhort time grievous complaints were made " againſt him by the chief men of the nation, deſiring me to paſs ſen- " tence of condemnation upon him. Whereupon I appointed them " a hearing. And being ſat on the judgment-ſeat, I commanded the " man to be brought forth. But when the accuſers ſtood up, they al- " leged no proofs of any thing that could render him criminal in the eye " of our laws. They had only certain queſtions againſt him of their " own religion, and concerning one *Jeſus*, who had died, and whom " *Paul* affirmed to be alive. At this time the man expreſſed a deſire to " be heard at thy tribunal. And having conferred with my Council, and " conſidering, that he is a citizen of *Rome*, his appeal was allowed to " be valid. Whereupon I reſolved to ſend him unto thee, as ſoon as " I could.

(*b*) " *Julius*, the Centurion, that had brought *Paul*, and the reſt of the priſoners from *Judea*, had been his friend and favourer from his firſt ſetting out, and ſo continued, till his ſettling at *Rome*. . . . His accuſers, that were come from *Judea*, to lay in the charge againſt him, [for we can hardly ſuppoſe, but that ſome were come:] would be urgent to get their buſineſſe diſpatched, that they might be returning to their own homes again. And ſo would bring him to his trial, as ſoon as they could. And that his trial was early this year, appears by his own words in the ſecond epiſtle to *Timothie*, where he ſpeaketh of his anſwer, that he had been at, and requireth Timothie to come to him before winter. 2 Tim. iv. 16. 21.

As he appealed to *Nero* himſelf, ſo *Nero* himſelf heard his cauſe. Philip. i. 13. 2 Tim. iv. 16. And here it was poſſible for *Paul* and *Seneca* to ſee each other. At which time all that had owned him before, withdrew themſelves for fear, and dared not ſtand by him, or appear with him in his danger." *Lightfoot, as before, p.* 322.

" I could. In the mean time King *Agrippa* and *Bernice* came to the " place of my reſidence. Who being Jews by nation and religion, and " willing to hear the man, I ſet him before them, that I might be the " better informed concerning him myſelf. In their preſence, and be- " fore Me, and many others, Roman Officers, and principal men of " this city, he without reſerve declared his doctrine, and his concern to " promote it, and indeed his whole life from the begining. After " which, when the aſſemblie, (as honorable as can be expected to be " ſeen in any of the provinces:) were gone aſide, they talked between " themſelves. And they were all agreed, ſaying: This man doth no- " thing worthie of death, or of bonds: and he might have been ſet at " liberty, if he had not appealed to Auguſtus. To thee therefore I now " ſend him. And to thy cognizance his cauſe is referred."

When *Burrhus*, the Prefect of the Prætorium, brought *Paul* before the Emperour, and delivered the Governour's letter; it is not improbable, that he might add ſome hints in favour of the priſoner, from the character given of him by *Julius*, either by word, or in his memorial. At this audience muſt have been preſent, beſide †† *Burrhus*, divers other courtiers, of the greateſt eminence and diſtinction, and perhaps *Seneca*. It may be likewiſe ſuppoſed, that ſome Jews delegated by the Council at *Jeruſalem*, appeared, to plead againſt *Paul*. If there were none, it muſt have been underſtood to be a diſreſpect to the Emperour, and a great prejudice to the cauſe of the accuſers. If there were any ſuch here, it would ſhew the reaſonableneſſe of *Paul*'s expectation, that ſome of the Chriſtians at *Rome* ſhould have attended likewiſe.

At this time, (unleſs there was another audience ſoon after,) the Emperour pronounced ſentence upon *Paul*, and ſigned the order of his confinement: ſuch as is related by St. *Luke*. Acts xxviii. 16. 30. 31. And though *Paul* was not acquitted, nor ſet at liberty, it may be eſteemed a favourable deciſion.

It was after this audience of the Emperour, and this ſentence, that *Paul* ſent for the Jews at *Rome*, to come to him. But when he laid before them his caſe, and ſpoke of the proceedings againſt him in *Judea*, and of his appeal to Cæſar; they were very humble, and even low-ſpirited, and did not chooſe to enter into diſcourſe upon the matter.

Paul ſays: Acts xxviii. 19. *But when the Jews ſpake againſt it, I was conſtrained to appeal to Cæſar: not that I had ought to accuſe my nation of.* Theſe laſt words may be underſtood by ſome, as if he had ſaid: " Not that I have any cauſe of complaint againſt my nation." Which would be great complaiſance indeed, after he had received ſo much hard uſage from the Jews. But the words may be thus rendered: " Not that I have a deſign to accuſe my nation of any thing." And in that manner they are rendered by (*i*) *Le Clerc*, and (*k*) *Lenfant*, in their French tranſlations.

†† *Burrhus* is computed to have died in the year of Chriſt 62. and *Seneca* in the year 65. *Vid. Baſn. Ann.* 62. *num. i. et Ann.* 65. *num. iv.*

(*i*) Mais les Juifs s'y oppoſant, j'ai été contraint d' en appeller à Ceſar: ſans que j'aye neanmoins deſſein d'accuſer ma nation, en quoi que ce ſoit. *Cl.*

(*k*) . . . ſans que j'aye deſſein neanmoins d'accuſer ma nation, en quoi que ce ſoit. *Lenf.*

lations. And it is agreeable to (*l*) *Beza*'s annotation upon the place, who is another good judge. This ſenſe is very becoming *Paul*, and was very ſuitable to his circumſtance and ſituation at that time. It was very proper to pacify the Jews at *Rome*, who might have been apprehenſive of *Paul*'s making uſe of his intereſt in the Emperour's Court againſt them, after he had been ſo ill uſed in *Judea*. But all he aimed at was the vindication of his own innocence, that he might with greater liberty preach the goſpel.

Here we ſee the ground of the difference between *Paul*'s impriſonment in *Judea* and at *Rome*. The difference is manifeſt. Whilſt in *Judea*, it does not appear, that he had any communication with other churches out of it. He is wholly engaged in his own defenſe, and does but juſt ſecure his life againſt the violence of the unbelieving Jews, and their Council. But when he came to *Rome*, and his apologie was over, he was permitted to live by himſelf, in his own hired houſe. There he receives intelligence by meſſengers of the churches, who come to him from divers parts. He makes converts, and writes letters, and has fellow-laborers, whom he ſends abroad, as he pleaſeth. We now ſee the ground of this. As (*m*) *Jerome* ſays, "The Apoſtle being ſent to priſon by the Emperour, he becomes acquainted with the Emperour's family, and makes the perſecutor's houſe a church." Referring to Philip. iv. 22. When *Paul* was in *Judea*, he was the Governour's priſoner, whoſe goodwill was reſtrained by the influence of the people of the countrey. Now he is the Emperour's priſoner, who allows what liberty he pleaſeth. And when granted, none dare to controll, or abridge it in any meaſure. Hence all the advantages of this impriſonment, and the happy concluſion of it. Having ſo much liberty, and being able to receive all who came to him, he makes many converts, and many friends, ſome in the Emperour's own family, and near his perſon. Says the Apoſtle in this very Epiſtle iv. 16. 17. *At my firſt anſwer no man ſtood with me. . . . Notwithſtanding the Lord ſtood with me, and ſtrengthened me, that by me the preaching might be fully known, and all the Gentils might hear.* It is a caſe much reſembling that of our Apoſtle before, at *Corinth*. Acts xviii. 9. . . 11. *Then ſpake the Lord unto Paul in the night, by a viſion: Be not afraid, but ſpeak, and hold not thy peace. For I am with thee, and no man ſhall ſet on thee, to hurt thee. For I have much people in this city. And he continued here a year and ſix months, teaching the word of God among them.* And though he was brought before *Gallio* the Governour, and accuſed; he was acquitted, and continued yet there a good while. In like manner here, *the Lord ſtood by Paul, ſtrengthened him, and delivered him.* And he afterwards *dwelt two whole years at Rome, preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching thoſe things, which concern the Lord Jeſus, no man forbidding him.* Acts xxviii. 30. 31.

Some may ſay, that during this ſpace ſeveral of the Apoſtle's friends and fellow-laborers were apprehended, and impriſoned. Which ſeems incon-

(*l*) Eſt autem hoc additum a Paulo, ne putarent Judæi ipſum conſtituiſſe criminari gentem ſuam apud Cæſarem: cum hoc unum potius ageret, ut nullo hoſtium incommodo cauſſam Chriſti et innocentiam ſuam tueretur. *Bez.*

(*m*) A Cæſare miſſus in carcerem, notior familiæ ejus factus, perſecutoris domum Chriſti fecit eccleſiam. *In ep. ad Philem. T.* 4. *p.* 445. *in.*

inconſiſtent with the ſuppoſition of his being committed by the Emperour, with an order for allowing him all the liberty, which he enjoyed. For *Ariſtarchus* is ſpoken of, as his *fellow-priſoner*. Col. iv. 10. and *Epaphras*, Philem. ver. 23. And *Timothie* is ſaid to *have been ſet at liberty*. Hebr. xiii. 23. Who therefore muſt have been confined.

To which I anſwer, that theſe impriſonments of ſome of *Paul*'s friends and fellow-laborers do not at all weaken our ſuppoſition, but confirm it: foraſmuch as *Paul*'s liberty was not abridged, but continued the ſame all along, until he was quite enlarged. Which affords reaſon to think, that the method of his confinement was appointed, and ordered by an authority above controlle. And it is eaſie to conceive, how it came to paſs, that ſome of *Paul*'s friends were impriſoned: when it is conſidered, that he muſt have had many enemies, and ſome of his friends acted imprudently, and there were others, who from envie and ill-will were prompted to behave irregularly, with a view of bringing him and his beſt friends into danger, by expoſing them to general reſentment, and eſpecially the reſentment of men in power. As we learn from Philip. i. 15. . . . 17. And yet it does not appear, that any of *Paul*'s fellow-laborers endured a long impriſonment. It is not unlikely that they were taken up, and impriſoned by ſome inferior officers, to gratify the furie of the common people, who did not dare to keep them long in cuſtodie, nothing material appearing againſt them. As *Jerome* (*n*) obſerves, ſuch frequent ſhort impriſonments and ſpeedy releaſes were common at the firſt riſe of the Chriſtian religion, before *Nero* became an open perſecutor, and before the publication of ſuch edicts, as affected the lives of the followers of *Jeſus*.

All theſe conſiderations cannot but be of great weight, to determine the time of this epiſtle. However there are ſome difficulties, that ought to be taken notice of.

1. Obj. *For I am now ready to be offered up, and the time of my departure is at hand.* 2 *Tim. iv.* 6.

Theſe expreſſions led (*o*) *Euſebius* of *Ceſarea* and (*p*) *Jerome*, who followed him, and (*q*) *Chryſoſtom*, though he did not follow either, to ſay, that this was the laſt epiſtle of St. *Paul*, writ only a ſmall ſpace of time before his martyrdom. And many learned moderns have been of the ſame opinion, as is well known.

But let us attend to *Lightfoot*. "There (*r*) is one paſſage, ſays he, in "this epiſtle, which has cauſed ſome to doubt about the time of it's "writing.

(*n*) Quod autem crebro Paulus in carcere fuerit, et de vinculis liberatus ſit, ipſe in alio loco dicit: *in carceribus frequenter*: de quibus nonnunquam Domini auxilio, crebro ipſis perſecutoribus nihil dignum in eo morte invenientibus dimittebatur. Necdum enim ſuper nomine Chriſtiano ſenatus conſulta præceſſerant: necdum Chriſtianum ſanguinem Neronis gladius dedicarat. Sed pro novitate prædicationis, ſive a Judæis invidentibus, ſive ab his qui ſua videbant idola deſtrui, ad furorem populis concitatis, miſſi in carcerem, rurſum impetu et furore depoſito, laxabantur. . . . id agente Domino, ut in toto orbe nova prædicatio diſſeminaretur. *In Philem. ver.* 22. *T.* 4. *p.* 453.

(*o*) *H. E. l.* 2. *cap.* 22. (*p*) *Quoted Vol. x. p.* 111. *from De V. I. cap. v.*

(*q*) *Quoted likewiſe, before. Vol. x. p.* 232. 233. (*r*) *Vol. i. p.* 324.

" writing. This is what he says iv. 6. *I am now ready to be offered up,* " *and the time of my departure is at hand.* Which would make one think, " that he was now ready to be martyred, and taken away. And it has " made some believe, this was the last epistle that ever he wrote. But " when we compare his own words again, ver. 17. 18. and Philip. i. 25. " and Philem. ver. 22. it maketh past controversie, that he speaketh not " of his sudden martyrdom, but that he is to be understood in some other " sense. . . And indeed the resolution of the difficulty lies open and conspi- " cuous in the very text itself. *Paul* looked upon *Timothie*, as the prime " and choice man, that was to succeed him in the work of the gospel, when " he himself should be dead and gone : as being a young man, not only " of singular qualifications for that work, but of whom there had been " special prophecies to such a purpose. 1 Tim. i. 18. He exhorts him " therefore in this place, to improve all his pains and parts to the utmost, " *to do the work of an Evangelist, to make full proof of his ministrie :* " ch. iv. 5. for that himself could not last long, being now grown old, " and worn out with travail, and beside all that, in bonds at present, and " so in continual danger. Therefore must *Timothie* be fitting himself " daily to take his work, when he is gone."

So *Lightfoot*, and, as it seems to me, very properly. To the like purpose *Estius* upon the same text. Whom (*s*) I transcribe below.

I likewise place below (*t*) a part of *Baronius*'s solution of the same difficulty, which appears to me very sufficient.

That *Paul* had now no certain and prophetic view of suffering martyrdom immediately, is apparent from several things in this epistle : particularly, from his desiring *Timothie* to come to him, and to bring *Mark* with him, *as profitable to him for the ministrie.* He supposed therefore, that he should have an opportunity to employ him in the service of the gospel.

(*s*) Quare quæ hic ab Apostolo dicuntur non ita sunt accipienda, quasi plane sentiat sese jam jam rapiendum ad martyrium : præsertim cum alia quædam ejusdem epistolæ repugnent huic intellectui. . . . Sed tantum significant, ipsum, etsi de tempore mortis et passionis incertum, tamen per carceres et tribunalia parari ad victimam. . . . Quocirca non apparet hæc a Paulo dicta fuisse per revelationem aliquam de instante martyrio sibi factam. . . . Illud etiam considerandum est, Paulum loqui, ut jam senem, et laboribus confectum, qui proinde non multum vitæ tempus sibi reliquum arbitretur. Ac quoniam non dubitat, se martyrio finiendum, idcirco, et de eo tanquam brevi futuro loquitur : *Ego enim*, inquit, *jam delibor*. . . . Sensus et connexio est : Idcirco, cum tam seria obtestatione te discipulum meum officii tui admoneo, quod jam senex sim, et incertus quamdiu futurus superstes. Jam enim tanquam victima Christo destinata, per hos carceres, et gravissimos quos patior adversariorum impetus immolari incipio. *Est. ad 2 Tim. iv.* 6.

(*t*) . . . eo enim sensu hæc putant accipienda esse verba, quasi proxime esset Paulus martyrio coronandus, sicque ab eo spiritu prophetico esse pronunciata. . . Sed dicant velim : Nonne idem ipse Paulus in eadem testatur epistola, sibi Dominum apparuisse, dum in summo illo discrimine versaretur, hortatumque esse, ac fore prædixisse, ut per ipsum in omnes Gentes prædicatio impleretur? Quomodo igitur hæc sibi cohærent, ut instans Pauli consummatio esset, idemque ipse sic a periculo liberandus, in omnes Gentes prædicationem evangelii propagaturus esset? *Et reliqua. Ann.* 59. *n. xiii, xiv.*

goſpel. He likewiſe muſt have hoped to receive, and uſe the things left at *Troas*, which he deſired *Timothie* to bring to him.

Obj. 2. St. *Paul* ſays ch. iv. 18. *And the Lord ſhall deliver me from every evil work, and will preſerve me unto his heavenly kingdom.* By which many have ſuppoſed, that the Apoſtle does not expreſs any hope of being now delivered from death, or the preſent danger, or any other temporal evil, but from ſin, and from all unworthie conduct of his own. So ſay (*u*) *Le Clerc* and (*x*) *Whitby*. *Paul had been delivered out of the mouth of the lion.* But he did not now expect any ſuch deliverance. He only hoped to be preſerved from ſin, and to be brought to God's heavenly kingdom.

But I do not think, that to be St. *Paul*'s meaning. It is inconſiſtent with what he had juſt ſaid: that *the Lord had ſtood by him, and ſtrengthened him, that by him the preaching might be fully known, and that all the Gentils might hear.* Which could not be done preſently. But muſt require ſome time. To me it clearly appears, that the Apoſtle's words expreſs faith in God, and hope of the divine protection in future difficulties and dangers: or, that God would ſtill deliver him, and uphold him in his ſervice, againſt all the deſigns of evil men. And when he had done the work, ſtill remaining for him to do, and fulfilled his teſtimonie to the goſpel, he ſhould be *brought ſafe to God's heavenly kingdom.* Accordingly, he was preſerved for ſome while after this, enjoying, ſo far as we know, as much freedom in preaching the Goſpel, as ever he did, till a period was put to his life by martyrdom. As before obſerved, what the Apoſtle ſays here at ch. iv. 16. . . . 18. much reſembles what is ſaid Acts xviii. 9. . . . 17. And the Apoſtle's circumſtances at *Corinth* and *Rome* were much alike.

Obj. 3. Once more, it may be ſaid, the ſtate of things ſhews, this epiſtle to have been writ many years after the firſt epiſtle to *Timothie*, and when *Paul* was near his death. For he ſays here ch. i. 15. *This thou knoweſt, that all they which are in Aſia be turned away from me. Of whom are Phygellus and Hermogenes.* Which implies, that great corruptions now prevailed in *Aſia*, particularly, in the church of *Epheſus*.

To which I anſwer: that if the *Aſiatics* here ſpoken of, were now at *Rome*, or had been lately there; we are not hereby led to think diſadvantageouſly of the *Chriſtians* at *Epheſus*, and in *Aſia*, in general. That ſuch are the perſons here intended, has been the opinion of many, and is very probable. It was formerly obſerved, that (*y*) *Chryſoſtom* hereby underſtood ſuch as were at *Rome*. *Eſtius*, upon the place, ſays, this was

(*u*) Non de la mort, mais des mauvaiſes actions, qu'il auroit fallu que S. Paul fit pour l'eviter. *Clerc.*

(*x*) Dr. *Whitby*'s note upon ver. 18. is, "If he will deliver him, as *Chryſoſtom* ſays, why does he ſay, *I am offered?* Obſerve therefore his words. He ſays not, he will again deliver me *out of the power of the lion*, but only, that *he will preſerve me from every evil work, and to his heavenly kingdom.* The place of *Chryſoſtom*, which I ſuppoſe to be here referred to, may be ſeen: *on 2 ad Tim. cap. iv. hom. x. Tom. xi. p. 722. Ed. Bened.*

(*y*) *Cl.* 118. *Vol. x. p.* 358.

(z) was the general opinion of the Greek writers. And indeed it is in (*a*) *Oecumenius*, who expreſsly ſays, *that they which are in Aſia* is the ſame, *as they which are of Aſia*. To the like purpoſe *Theophylact*: "They "(*b*) *in Aſia* are ſuch of *Aſia*, as were then at *Rome*." Dr. *Hammond*'s paraphraſe is to this purpoſe: "Thou (*c*) haſt heard, I believe, that in "my affliction, I have been deſerted by all the *Aſiatic* Chriſtians at *Rome*, "excepting only *Oneſiphorus*." So that this interpretation is confirmed by the connexion, it following immediatly afterwards: *The Lord give mercie to the houſe of Oneſiphorus. For he oft refreſhed me, and was not aſhamed of my chain. But when he was at Rome, he ſought me out very diligently, and found me.* Rightly does *Hammond* ſay, that *Timothie* had *heard* of this. It was likely, that before this letter came to *Timothie*'s hands, he might have heard in general, how the Chriſtians at *Rome*, particularly thoſe of *Aſia*, had carried it toward his great maſter, now in bonds. But it ſeems by the Apoſtle's way of ſpeaking, that he thought he gave *Timothie* ſome farther information, eſpecially, when he added: *Of whom are Phygellus and Hermogenes. Beauſobre* was for the late date of this epiſtle. Nevertheleſs he ſuppoſeth (*d*) the Apoſtle to ſpeak of ſome *Aſiatics*, who had been with him at *Rome*, but were returned to their own countrey. Mr. *Moſheim* (*e*) ſpeaks largely to this place. He underſtands hereby ſome *Aſiatics* who had left *Paul*, and were gone home. He thinks, they were guilty of unkindneſſe, and are chargeable with inconſtance: but he does not ſuppoſe, that they forſook the Apoſtle's doctrine, or endeavored to make innovations.

There is no ground therefore to ſuppoſe, that *Paul* here ſpeaks of a general corruption, and defection of the Chriſtians in *Aſia*.

I know not of any other objections, that deſerve conſideration. From what has been argued therefore I conclude, that this epiſtle to *Timothie* was writ at *Rome*, when *Paul* was ſent thither by *Feſtus* in the year 61. For

(z) Porro ſecundum Græcorum expoſitionem, non eſt ſermo de iis, qui Paulo hæc ſcribente in Aſia erant ſed qui ex Aſia Romam venerant. *Eſt. in loc.*

(*a*) Οι ἐν τῇ ἀσίᾳ· τουτέστιν οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἀσίας· *Oecum. in loc. T. 2, p. 261.*

(*b*) Κατέλιπον αὐτὸν οἱ πάντες ἐν τῇ ἀσίᾳ, τουτέστιν οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἀσίας ἐνδεμοῦντες τῇ ῥώμῃ. *Theoph. T. 2. p. 806.*

(*c*) Audiviſti, ut opinor, ab Aſiaticis Chriſtianis, qui erant Romæ, excepto ſolo Oneſiphoro, me deſertum fuiſſe, in mea calamitate. *Hammond. in loc. ex verſione Clerici.*

(*d*) Il y a de l'apparence, que quelques Aſiatiques, qui avoient ſuivi S. Paul à Rome, l'avoient abandonné, et s'en étoient retournez dans leur païs. *Beauſ. upon the place.*

(*e*) Diſceſſerant hi ſine dubio, et in patriam reverterant, quod, Paulo Romæ in vincula conjecto, vitæ ſuæ metuebant, deſperebantque, fore aliquando, ut is libertati reſtitutus itinera, quæ meditabatur, perſequeretur. In hoc vitii eſt aliquid: fratrem enim, et multo magis Dei legatum, cui præſidio et ſolatio eſſe poſſis, in vitæ diſcrimine poſitum, relinquere, animi levis eſt Chriſtianæ diſciplinæ immemoris. Verum nihil habet hæc inconſtantia, ex quo intelligi poſſit, ideo hos homines domum rediiſſe, ut quæ ex Paulo perceperant, dogmata oppugnarent, novaſque res inter Chriſtianos molirentur. *Moſheim. De Reb. Chriſtian. ante Conſtantin. Sec. i. num. lx. in notis.*

For determining the time of the year we may receive assistance, not only from those who are for this early date, but from those likewise, who are for a later date of this epistle.

From *Paul*'s desiring *Timothie* to come to him *before winter*, *Tillemont* (*f*) concludes, that this epistle was writ near the middle of the year. *Witsius* thinks, it (*g*) was writ in the begining of the summer. So likewise (*h*) *Baronius*.

It seems very probable, that *Paul* came to *Rome* about the end of Februarie, or soon after, before April, or at the utmost in the begining of it. But before the writing of this letter several things had passed. His apologie before the Emperour was over. *Onesiphorus* had made the Apostle divers visits. Several of the Apostle's assistants or fellow-laborers had been with him, since his arrival, and had taken directions from him. *Demas* was gone to *Thessalonica*, *Crescens* to *Galatia*, *Titus* to *Dalmatia*. The epistle to the *Ephesians* likewise, I suppose to have been writ before, and if it had not been sent away, it lay ready, at least, to be carried by *Tychicus*, together with this to *Timothie*. If therefore *Paul* came to *Rome* in *March*, this letter might be sent away in May, or the begining of June. The direction, ch. iv. 21. *Do thy diligence to come before winter*, might proceed from tenderness for *Timothie*, the Apostle himself having lately felt the inconveniencies of a winter-voyage. And may also lead us to think, there would be need of *Timothie*'s making dispatch, after the receipt of this letter, lest he should be overtaken by bad weather.

In dating this epistle at the time I have done, I have followed (*i*) *Lightfoot*, (*k*) *Baronius*, (*l*) *Estius*, (*m*) *Hammond*, (*n*) *Witsius*. Who have all well asserted this date. *Witsius*, the last mentioned, has an argument upon the point, which he has all along conducted with great candour, and concluded

(*f*) Il y prie S. Timothée de le venir trouver avant l'hiver. Ainsi ne pouvoit pas estre plustard que vers le milieu de l'année. *S. Paul, art.* 49. *Mem. Tom. i.*

(*g*) Observant, jussisse hac epistola Paulum, ut festinato ad se accederet, et, si fieri posset, ante hiemem, assumto secum Marco. Venit autem Paulus Romam, mense, ut creditur, Februario. Pone, scriptam hanc epistolam esse ineunte æstate, potuit Timotheus cum Marco ante hiemem Romæ esse: ubi fuit, quando illæ scribebantur epistolæ, quibus præfixum illius nomen est: quemadmodum et Marcus ibi fuit, quo tempore scribebatur illa ad Colossenses, et ad Philemonem. Quidquamne probabilius est, quam omnia ista ex mandato Pauli esse facta? *Ubi supra. sect.* 12. *num.* v.

(*h*) Sed et cum illud admonet, ut ante hiemem se Romam conferat: certe, si quis exacte consideret tempus, et locum ipsum, Timotheumque agentem in Asia, ut ejusmodi reddi posset epistola, et ipse Troadem ad sumendam penulam proficisceretur, ac Romam ante hiemem se conferret: plane inveniet, hoc ipso anno, ineunte æstate hanc ad Timotheum scriptam epistolam. *Baron. ann.* 59. *num.* x.

(*i*) *Harmonie of the N. T. in his Works, Vol. i. p.* 324.

(*k*) *Annal.* 59. *num.* x.

(*l*) *Præf. in* 2. *ep. ad Timoth.*

(*m*) *Præf. in* 2. *ep. ad Timoth.*

(*n*) *De Vita et Rebus Pauli Apost. sect. xii. apud Meletem. Leyd. p.* 182. *&c.*

concluded (*o*) with much modeſtie: though to me he ſeems to have removed every difficulty in a very ſatisfactorie manner. And he ſpeaks of *Salmero*, as being of the ſame opinion. And beſides, in the courſe of the argument cites from *Cocceius*, and *Solomon Van Till*, (with whoſe writings I am but little acquainted,) divers obſervations, confirming the ſame opinion. *Cave* likewiſe was of this opinion, when he wrote the Lives of the Apoſtles, and the firſt volume of the Lives of the primitive Fathers, in Engliſh: expreſſing himſelf very clearly, and properly, both in (*p*) the Life of *Paul*, and (*q*) the Life of *Timothie*. But when he wrote his *Hiſtoria Literaria*, he ſpeaks in the article of St. *Paul*, as (*r*) if he had quite changed his mind: though in the article of St. *Peter*, as it ſtill ſtands in the new edition at *Oxford*, he (*s*) ſpeaks exactly as he had done before.

If he altered his mind, I ſuppoſe, it muſt have been in compliance with *Pearſon*, who of late has been followed in this particular by many: who, if they had carefully read the above named authors, might eaſily have diſcerned the ſuperiority of their arguments.

To him (*t*) likewiſe, I ſuppoſe, it muſt be chiefly aſcribed, that by the Apoſtle's *firſt anſwer*, or apologie, many of late have underſtood an apologie made in a ſecond impriſonment at *Rome*. Which, as (*u*) before ſhewn,

(*o*) Mea ſi deſideretur ἐπίκρισις fateor equidem aliquamdiu me in rationum conflictu animi ancipitem hæſiſſe, quæ quibus anteponendæ ſint. Omnibus tamen perpenſis, non diſſimulo, eo me magis propendere, ut ſcriptionem hujus epiſtolæ ad priora Pauli apud Romam vincula referendam eſſe arbitrer. *Ib. ſect.* 12. *num. viii.*

(*p*) "It is not improbable, but that about this time St. *Paul* wrote his ſecond epiſtle to *Timothie*. I know, that *Euſebius*, and the ancients, and moſt moderns after them, will have it written a little before his martyrdom, induced thereto by that paſſage in it, that he was *then ready to be offered, and the time of his departure was at hand*. But, ſurely, it is moſt reaſonable to think, that it was written at his firſt being at *Rome*, and that at his firſt coming there, preſently after his trial before *Nero*. In it he appoints *Timothie* ſhortly to come to him, who accordingly came, and his name is joyned together with the Apoſtle's, in the front of ſeveral epiſtles, to the *Philippians*, *Coloſſians*, and *Philemon*. *Cave's Life of St. Paul, ſect.* 7. *num.* v. *p.* 103. 104.

(*q*) *Life of Timothie. num. vii.*

(*r*) Epiſtolam ſecundam ad Timotheum ſcriptam eſſe Romæ, in prima Pauli captivitate contendit cl. Hammondus. Sed errat omnino vir eruditiſſimus. Quiſquis enim totius epiſtolæ contextum, omneſque hujus temporis circumſtantias ſerio perpenderit, quin ſcripta ſit anno 64. Paullo ante Apoſtoli martyrium, dubitare nequit. *De S. Paulo. Hiſt. Lit. Tom. i. p.* 12.

(*s*) Durante biennali captivitate Paulus inde ſcripſit quatuor vel quinque epiſtolas, ad Coloſſenſes, Epheſios, *Philippenſes et Philemonem*, in quibus nullæ notæ, nulla indicia, unde vel divinando quis aſſequi poſſet, Romæ Petrum tunc fuiſſe. . . In poſteriori ad Timotheum, quam hoc etiam tempore ſcriptam eſſe, maxime eſt probabile. . . . Carcere Romano liberatus, dum adhuc in Italia hæreret, ſcripſit epiſtolam ad Hebræos. *De Petro. H. L. p.* 9.

(*t*) Paulus Romæ [A. D. lxvii.] e carcere in diſcrimen vitæ vocatur ab altero Nerone, et apologiam habet, ſive *defenſionem ſuam*, vel *ſui*, quod in prioribus vinculis factum non eſt: ubi habuit tantum *defenſionem et confirmationem evangelii*, adverſus Judæos ſcilicet. *Annal. Paulin. p.* 24.

(*u*) *See before, p.* 272. . . . 275.

shewn, is contrarie to the general opinion of ancient Christian writers. And indeed appears to me a (*x*) very unlikely meaning. And to him I suppose it to be entirely owing, that (*y*) *Paul*'s lion, whom (*z*) all Christians in general had hitherto understood to be the Emperour *Nero*, has on a sudden dwindled into (*a*) *Elius*, or *Helius*, the Emperour's freed-man and favourite.

Upon the whole, it appears to me very probable, that this second epistle to *Timothie* was writ at *Rome*, when *Paul* was sent thither by *Festus*. And I cannot but think, that this ought to be an allowed, and determined point. Accordingly, I now proceed to mention some observations in the way of corollaries.

1. This second epistle to *Timothie* affords not any argument, that *Peter* was not at *Rome*, when *Paul* came thither a second time, and suffered martyrdom.

Upon these words chap iv. 16. *At my first answer no man stood with me, but all forsook me. Beza* says: "Where (*b*) was *Peter* then if "he was at *Rome?* Did he desert *Paul* in the time of his difficulty?" But the good man adds: "That *Paul*'s general expressions need not to "be understood absolutely without any exception." That is very charitable, and benevolent. But indeed, if *Peter* had then been at *Rome*, he could not have afforded any assistance to his brother Apostle. Nor would *Paul* have expected it of him. For *Peter* himself was an obnoxious person.

(*x*) Eusebe, S. Jerome, S. Chrysostome en quelques endroits, et Theodoret, ont entendu cette premiere defense de son premier voiage. S. Chrysostome s'en eloigne en d'autres endroits, et l'entend d'une premiere comparition de S. Paul devant Neron dans son dernier voiage. Mais l'autre sentiment est plus autorisé, et fondé sur le sens le plus naturel du texte, &c. *Du Pin. Diss. Prelim. P.* 2. *l.* 2. *ch.* 2. §. *viii. p.* 53.

(*y*) In qua defensione tantum erat, et Pauli, et suorum periculum, ut omnes sui eum desererent, et nemo illi adesset. 2 Tim. iv. 16. 17. Sed ereptus est ex ore leonis, nempe Helii Cæsareani. *Ann. Paulin. ibid.*

(*z*) I refer to the collections of *Grotius* upon 2 Tim. iv. 17. whereby it appears to have been common to give such denominations to bad Princes, not to their officers. And I shall transcribe here a curious passage, to which he only refers, shewing, that *Nero*, for his bad temper, was early called a lion. Adde hæc Scholiastis, in Juvenalis, Sat. v. Seneca sub Claudio, quasi conscius adulteriorum Juliæ, Germanici filiæ, in Corsicam relegatus, post triennium revocatus est. Qui etsi magno desiderio Athenas intenderet, ab Agrippina tamen, erudiendo Neroni, in palatium adductus, sævum immanemque natum et sensit cito, et mitigavit, inter familiares solitus dicere; non fore sævo illi leoni, quin, gustato semel hominis sanguine, ingenita redeat sævitia. *Lipsius in notis ad Tacit. Ann. l.* 12. *cap.* 9.

(*a*) Nobis sane non probatur conjectura doctissimi Pearson, qui communis sententiæ pertæsus, Helium Cesareanum designatum fuisse existimat in Annalibus Paulinis. Neronis potius et furor et dignitas, aptâ eâ metaphorâ significatur: quomodo defuncto Tiberio Marsias Agrippæ libertus dixit domino suo: Mortuus est Leo. *Basnag. ann.* 64. *n.* 6.

(*b*) Ubi tum Petrus, si Romæ erat? Num enim quæso Paulum deseruisset? Sed quod in genere dicitur, etsi non temere sic loquitur Paulus, ita tamen accipiendus est, ut aliqui excipi potuerint, sed perpauci. *Bez. in loc.*

5. This ſecond epiſtle to *Timothie* affords not any argument againſt the ſuppoſition, that the epiſtle to the *Hebrews* was writ by St. *Paul* in the year 63. about the time of his being releaſed from his confinement at *Rome*.

Le Clerc, in his French edition of the New Teſtament, in his notes upon Hebr. xiii. 23. ſays: "Nothing (*b*) of that kind happened to *Timothie* during the life of St. *Paul*. If it had, he would not have failed to take notice of it in his ſecond epiſtle to him, writ a very ſhort time before his death. And he would have thence taken occaſion to ſay ſomething to *Timothie*, by way of commendation, and encouragement, or otherwiſe. If then *Timothie* was not impriſoned, during *Paul*'s life; the mention of theſe his bonds, and his releaſe, proves this epiſtle to the *Hebrews* not to have been written, till after *Paul*'s death." *Le Clerc* ſpeaks alſo to the like purpoſe in his (*i*) Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorie. And ſome before *Le Clerc* muſt have been affected with this difficulty. As may be concluded from *Beza*'s notes upon Hebr. xiii. 23.

To which I anſwer, *firſt*, that the original word, rendered by us, *ſet at liberty*, may ſignify (*k*) *ſend abroad on an errand*. But upon that I do not now inſiſt, and therefore ſay, *Secondly*, the epiſtle to the *Hebrews* is now generally ſuppoſed to have been writ by *Paul* in the year 63. ſoon after his releaſe from his impriſonment at *Rome*. And we know, from the epiſtles to the *Philippians*, the *Coloſſians*, and *Philemon*, that *Timothie* was with *Paul* at that time, when his impriſonment was near the period. It is not at all improbable, that *Timothie* might be impriſoned, and ſoon ſet at liberty again: as divers of *Paul*'s fellow-laborers were. But it is unreaſonable to expect, that any notice ſhould be taken of theſe things, in either of the epiſtles to *Timothie*: one of which was writ before *Paul*'s firſt impriſonment, as it is called: and the other ſoon after the beginning of it.

6. There can be no ground from this epiſtle to conclude a ſecond impriſonment of *Paul* at *Rome*. For it was writ in the time of his impriſonment in that city, when he had been ſent thither from *Judea* by *Feſtus*.

7. There may be many other things ſaid upon a ſuppoſition, that this epiſtle was writ in a ſecond impriſonment of *Paul* at *Rome*, in the year 67. or thereabout. All which muſt now fall to the ground.

It is often ſaid, that errour is endleſs And it is certain, that one errour is productive of another. This in particular is ſo. It has occaſioned forced and wrong interpretations of divers texts of this epiſtle, and many

(*b*) Il n'étoit rien arrivé de ſemblable à Timothée, pendant la vie de S. Paul, qui lui écrivit ſa 2 epitre tres peu de tems avant que de mourir, et qui n'auroit pas manqué d'en parler en quelque occaſion. &c. *Notes ſur Hebr. xiii.* 23.

(*i*) Mentio fit Timothei in vincula conjecti et dimiſſi. cap xiii. 23. Quod non contigerat ante poſteriorem ad Timotheum, ubi nulla ejus rei, uti nec in priore, vel minima mentio. Quam tamen Paulus non prætermiſiſſet, ſi quid ſimile contigiſſet, cum ad laudem Timothei, at conſtantiam in eo augendam, multum faceret. Itaque in vincula, poſt conſcriptas demum ad eum epiſtolas, aut etiam poſt mortem Pauli, conjectus fuerit. *H. E. A. D.* 69. *p.* 459.

(*k*) *Vid. Mill. Prolegom. num.* 68. 69.

many falſe and groundleſs ſuppoſitions, ſo contrarie to the truth of hiſtorie. I ſhall take notice of but one more, beſide thoſe, which have been already mentioned. *Tillemont* in his hiſtorie of St. *Paul*'s affairs, in the year 65. ſome while after he had been ſet at liberty from his captivity at *Rome*, ſays: "It (*l*) was, perhaps, at this time, that he ſuffered at *Antioch* in "*Piſidia*, at *Iconium*, and *Lyſtra*, the afflictions, which he mentions in "general, in his ſecond epiſtle to *Timothie*. ch. iii. 11." Which to me appears very abſurd, and I had almoſt ſaid, ridiculous.

I ſhall now mention one obſervation more, of a different kind.

8. We have no reaſon upon the whole to regret St. *Paul*'s impriſonment at *Rome*.

When we read the opinion of that great companie, which had heard *Paul*'s pleading at *Ceſarea*. Acts xxvi. 31. *This man doth nothing worthie of death, or of bonds:* and what *Agrippa* ſaid to *Feſtus*, in the next verſe, *This man might have been ſet at liberty, if he had not appealed to Ceſar:* we may be diſpoſed to wiſh, that appeal had not been made, thinking, that in that caſe he might now have been ſet at liberty. But if we conſider things maturely, we ſhall perceive it to have been neceſſarie. It was indeed prudently made, being the only probable means of his eſcape from the continued perſecutions of the enraged Jews.

But beſide that, there are very many advantages attending it. Which ought to reconcile us to it, and induce us to acknowledge the overruling Providence of God in it. Without that appeal *Paul* would not have been mentioned to *Agrippa*. Nor ſhould we have had that excellent apologie for himſelf, and his doctrine, which he made before *Agrippa*, and *Feſtus*. We ſhould not have had the fine hiſtorie of the Apoſtle's voyage to *Rome*, in which are ſo many affecting incidents. And though he came to *Rome* as a priſoner, he had there a great deal of liberty. *Nor was the word of God bound.* As he was able to ſay in this epiſtle, writ ſoon after his ſettlement at *Rome*. 2 Tim. ii 9. And in his epiſtle to the *Philippians*, i. 12. . . 14. writ afterwards, are theſe remarkable words: *But I would, ye ſhould underſtand, brethren, that the things which have happened unto me, have fallen out rather to the furtherance of the goſpel. So that my bonds in Chriſt are manifeſt in all the palace, and in all other places. And many of the brethren, waxing confident by my bonds, are much more bold to ſpeak the word without fear.* Says St. *Luke: Two whole years Paul dwelt in his own hired houſe, and received all that came in unto him. Preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching thoſe things, which concern the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, with all confidence, no man forbidding him.* Acts xxviii. 30. 31.

Jerome thinks, it (*m*) was a handſome dwelling, in which was a ſpacious

(*l*) *St. Paul. art.* 47. *Mem. Ec. T. i.*

(*m*) *Simul autem et præpara mihi hoſpitium.* Non puto tam divitem fuiſſe Apoſtolum, et tantis ſarcinis onuſtum, ut præparato egeret hoſpitio et non una contentus cellula, breves corporis ſui ſpatio ædes ampliſſimas exiſtimaret. . . Si autem hoc non diſpenſatorie, ſed vere quis exiſtimet imperatum, Apoſtolo magis quam Paulo hoſpitium præparandum eſt. Venturus ad novam civitatem, prædicaturus crucifixum, et inaudita dogmata delaturus, ſciebat ad

cious room, where *Paul* could receive a good deal of companie, and display his apostolical gifts to advantage. So he beforehand wrote to *Philemon, to prepare him a lodging.* ver. 22. Not that he should want many things for his own accommodation. But he wished to have a dwelling in a frequented part of the city of *Colosse*, and large enough to admit conveniently all who were desirous to be informed concerning his doctrine.

Paul had a great desire to go to *Rome*, and testify there the gospel of Christ. He thought, it is likely, that he should there have a good opportunity to propose it to Jews and Gentils, of inquisitive tempers, and distinguished characters. Rom. i. 9. 10. . . . *Without ceasing making mention of you always in my prayers: making request, (if by any means now at length I might have a prosperous journey by the will of God:) to come unto you.* And ver. 14. 16. *I am debtor both to Greeks and Barbarians, to the wise and unwise. So, as much as in me is, I am ready to preach the gospel to you that are at Rome also. For I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ... For it is the power of God unto salvation, . . . to the Jew first, and also to the Greek.* See likewise ch. xv. 28. . . . 32. Well, *Paul*'s desire was fulfilled. He was brought to *Rome:* and although not in the way, and in the circumstances, which himself would have chosen: yet I suppose, that in the end he had good reason to be well satisfied. Indeed, I think, that the time of his abode at *Rome*, must have been, upon the whole, as comfortable, and honourable, and useful, as any period of the like duration, since his conversion to the faith of Christ. He was bound, and was guarded by a soldier. But it needs not to be supposed, that the chain was always upon his hand. And notwithstanding the disgraceful circumstance of his bonds, and the disadvantage of his outward appearance in some respects: such were the dignity and importance of his behaviour, such the superiority of his discourse above that of all other men, and such the works, which God enabled him to perform, as could not but secure him the regard of all serious and discerning men. And (*n*) successe in his work would alleviate all his sufferings. For which reason we also ought to rejoice in them, and on account of the testimonie thereby given to the truth and innocence of the Christian doctrine.

In the introduction to the first part of this work, where our concern was with facts occasionally mentioned in the books of the New Testament, I said: *Here is withall an account of proceedings and sentences of Courts*

ad se plurimos concursuros: et necesse erat, primum, ut domus in celebri esset urbis loco, ad quam facile conveniretur. Deinde ut ab omni importunitate vacua, ut ampla, quæ plurimos caperet audientium: ne proxima spectaculorum locis, ne turpi vicinia detestabilis: postremo, ut in plano potius sita esset, quam in cœnaculo. Quam ob caussam eum existimo etiam Romæ in conducto mansisse biennio. Nec parva, ut reor, erat mansio, ad quam Judæorum turbæ quotidie confluebant. *Hieron. in Philem. ver.* 22. *T.* 4. *p.* 453.

(*n*) Simul autem admirandum de magnanimitate Apostoli, et in Christum mente ferventis. Tenetur in carcere, vinculis stringitur, squalore corporis, carorum separatione, pœnalibus tenebris coarctatur: et non sentit injuriam, non dolore cruciatur, nihil novit aliud, nisi de Christi evangelio cogitare. *Hieron. in Philem. Tom.* 4. *p.* 450. *m.*

Courts of Judicature, in cities of the first rank, and most general resort: and of some discourses made before persons, next under the Roman Emperour, of the highest rank and distinction: Referring to the historie in Acts xxiii. xxiv. xxv. xxvi. But now I should chooſe to say: *And of some discourses made before persons of the highest rank and distinction, not excepting the Roman Emperour himself.* For from what has been just now argued, it appears to be very probable, that *Paul*, when brought to *Rome*, pleaded once, if not twice, before *Nero*. And though those pleadings may have been very short: yet from thence, and from the treatment, which *Paul* had presently afterwards in the Imperial City, ariseth a very forcible argument for the innocence of the Christian doctrine, and it's teachers.

Every one perceives, that St. *Paul*'s pleadings upon the occasions before referred to, in the presence of the Jewish Council at *Jerusalem*, and before *Felix*, and *Festus*, and *Agrippa*, at *Cesarea*, do us great honour. Particularly, in this last mentioned apologie, the doctrine, which *Paul* preached, as received from heaven, was reported to those great personages, and the honourable companie attending them. He lays before them the historie of his life, from his youth up, before he was a Christian, and afterwards. He plainly declares his doctrine, and the zeal, with which he had spread and propagated it every where, among Jews and Gentils, and his unwearied diligence in the cause, in which he was engaged. And in the end all acknowledge, that he did nothing contrarie to the peace of society: and that he might have been set at liberty. But having appealed to the Emperour, it was now requisite, that the cause should be referred to his tribunal, and be finally determined there.

Here therefore is another testimonie to the innocence of *Paul*, and his doctrine. *Festus* the Governour of *Judea*, certainly wrote a letter to the Emperour, giving an account of *Paul*. Of this all may be satisfied, who observe what is said. Acts xxv. 24. . . 27. So *Lysias*, the Tribune, and commanding officer at *Jerusalem*, when he sent *Paul* to *Felix* at *Cesarea*, wrote a letter, containing an account of the prisoner, and the proceedings against him hitherto. Ch. xxiii. 25. . . 30. In like manner now acted *Festus*. Nor can it be imagined, that any Governour should presume to falsify, prevaricate, or disguise, in such a letter. It might be very respectful to the Emperour, and favorable to the prisoner. But there could be nothing but truth. And there must have been all the truth, that was needful to give a just notion of the cause. And yet *Paul* is not condemned, but obtains an order for such a custodie, as leaves him at liberty to *dwell by himself, in his own hired house*, and to receive all who came to him, and to discourse to them of his doctrine. Here he was two years: during which time he had no molestation. And at length he was released. He was all that time in one place. And the place of his abode was well known. He might have been called for at any time. But there were no complaints made against him, or no such, as could induce those in power to change the order first given.

When *Paul* lay bound in the castle of *Antonia* at *Jerusalem*, after he had been brought before the Jewish Council, and his life was in imminent danger; *the night following, the Lord stood by him, and said: Be of good cheer, Paul. For as thou hast testified of me in Jerusalem, so must thou bear*

witnesse also at Rome. Acts xxiii. 11. Which word of our Lord was fully accomplished: as we are assured in the historie, which St. *Luke* has given of the Apostle's going to *Rome*, and dwelling in that city two whole years, and in the epistles, writ by himself, during that period. Which by the divine goodnesse are still preserved to us.

According to the preceding argument, the second epistle to *Timothie* was sent away from *Rome*, about the summer of the year 61. probably, in May, or June.

SECT. XI.

The Epistle to the Philippians.

THERE still remain three epistles of St. *Paul* to be considered by us, which are generally allowed to have been writ during the time of his imprisonment at *Rome*: the epistles to the *Philippians*, the *Colossians*, and *Philemon*. And I shall speak of them in the order, in which they have been just named.

A.D. 62. The epistle to the *Philippians* was writ in the second year of the Apostle's imprisonment. *Timothie*, who had come to him from *Ephesus*, according to his desire, 2 Tim. iv. 9. 21. is joyned with the Apostle in the inscription at the begining of the epistle. It seems to have been writ not long before the end of his two years imprisonment. For he had some hopes of a release. ch. i. 24. 25. *Nevertheless to abide in the flesh, is more needful for you. And having this confidence, I know that I shall abide, and continue with you all, for your furtherance, and joy of faith.* Yea he expresseth hopes of making the *Philippians* a visit. ver. 26. *That your rejoicing may be more abundant in Jesus Christ for me, by my coming to you again.* And ch. ii. 19. *But I trust in the Lord Jesus, to send Timothie shortly unto you . . .* and ver. 23. 24. *Him therefore I hope to send presently, so soon as I shall see, how it will go with me. But I trust in the Lord, that I also myself shall come shortly.* But though he had hopes of obtaining his liberty, he was not yet certain of it. As appears from those words just cited, *so soon as I shall see, how it will go with me:* and from what he says ch. ii. 17. *Yea, if I be offered upon the sacrifice and service of your faith, I joy, and rejoice with you all.* See also ch. i. ver. 20. In the mean time, he sends back to them *Epaphroditus*, who had come to *Rome*, with a kind present from the Christians at *Philippi*, and who had been dangerously sick, but was now recovered. And it is likely, that by him this epistle was carried. So it follows in ver. 25. . . 30 of the second chapter. *Yet I supposed it necessarie, to send to you Epaphroditus, my brother, and companion in labour, but your messenger, and he that ministred to my wants. . . . I have sent him therefore the more carefully: that when ye see him again, ye may rejoice.* Of their kind regard to him he speaks again, ch. iv. 10. . . . 19. In the end of the epistle he sends salutations to the *Philippians* from *the brethren that were with him*, and from *all the saints, chiefly those of Cesar's household.* Who may be supposed to be the Apostle's converts, and the persons, who chiefly contributed to his being set at liberty, and had already given him hopes of it,

and

and may likewiſe have been friendly to him in other reſpects. And at the begining of this epiſtle, ch. i. 13. ſpeaking of the progreſſe of the goſpel, he ſays: *So that my bonds in Chriſt are manifeſt in all the palace, and in all other places.*

The ſalutations in this epiſtle are ſingular, being different from thoſe at the end of the other epiſtles, writ about the ſame time. Firſt it is ſaid: *The brethren which are with me greet you*: intending, as I apprehend, *Mark*, and others, the Apoſtle's fellow-laborers, mentioned by name near the end of the epiſtles to the *Coloſſians*, and *Philemon*, but not ſo mentioned here. Then it is added. *All the ſaints ſalute you:* meaning all the Chriſtians at *Rome*, in general, *chiefly they that are of Ceſar's houſhold.* The kind preſent from the *Philippians*, it is likely, had recommended them to the notice of all at *Rome.* That teſtimonie of reſpect for the Apoſtle was highly pleaſing, and very edifying to the Chriſtians in that city. It ſeems to have been a handſome ſum. And it may be reckoned probable, that the collections made for the Apoſtle at *Rome*, and the contributions brought in from abroad, were all put into one bank, and lodged in the hands of ſome perſon, or perſons of good credit, and ſubſtance. Poſſibly, there was now a ſuperfluity. For St. *Paul* ſays to theſe *Philippians: I have all, and abound. I am full.* If there was any thing ſuperfluous, beyond what was requiſite for his maintenance at *Rome*, it would be of uſe for defraying the expences of the journeys, which he had in view. And this may be one reaſon, why this epiſtle is inſcribed *to all the ſaints, which are at Philippi, with the Biſhops and Deacons.* For there muſt have been ſuch officers in many of the churches, to which the Apoſtle ſent letters, though they are not mentioned. But the Biſhops and Deacons at *Philippi* had encouraged the contributions made for the Apoſtle, and had aſſiſted in conveying them to him. And therefore they could not be omitted.

St. *Paul* came to *Rome*, as I ſuppoſe, in the ſpring of the year 61. *There he dwelled two whole years in his own hired houſe.* Acts xxviii. 30. Conſequently, his captivity ended in the ſpring of the year 63.

Hereby I am led to think, that this epiſtle to the *Philippians* was writ in the year 62. It was carried by *Epaphroditus.* Some time after he was gone, I ſuppoſe, (as (*o*) does *Mill* likewiſe,) that St. *Paul* ſent *Timothie* to *Philippi*, agreeably to his deſign, mentioned ch. ii. 19. . . 23. And when he wrote the epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, in the ſpring of the year 63. he was in expectation of *Timothie*'s return to him. Hebr. xiii. 23. According to this computation, the epiſtle to the *Philippians* was writ, and ſent away, in the year 62. and ſome while before the end of it.

(*o*) De viſendis enim Philippenſibus, ubi primum e carcere evaſerit, omnino cogitat. . . . Et quidem paullo poſt miſſas haſce literas libertatem adeptus, Timotheum in Macedoniam miſit, uti liquet ex Hebr. xiii. 23. &c. *Mill. Prol. num.* 68.

witnesse also at Rome. Acts xxiii. 11. Which word of our Lord was fully accomplished: as we are assured in the historie, which St. *Luke* has given of the Apostle's going to *Rome*, and dwelling in that city two whole years, and in the epistles, writ by himself, during that period. Which by the divine goodnesse are still preserved to us.

According to the preceding argument, the second epistle to *Timothie* was sent away from *Rome*, about the summer of the year 61. probably, in May, or June.

SECT. XI.

The Epistle to the Philippians.

THERE still remain three epistles of St. *Paul* to be considered by us, which are generally allowed to have been writ during the time of his imprisonment at *Rome*: the epistles to the *Philippians*, the *Colossians*, and *Philemon*. And I shall speak of them in the order, in which they have been just named.

A.D. 62. The epistle to the *Philippians* was writ in the second year of the Apostle's imprisonment. *Timothie*, who had come to him from *Ephesus*, according to his desire, 2 Tim. iv. 9. 21. is joyned with the Apostle in the inscription at the begining of the epistle. It seems to have been writ not long before the end of his two years imprisonment. For he had some hopes of a release. ch. i. 24. 25. *Nevertheless to abide in the flesh, is more needful for you. And having this confidence, I know that I shall abide, and continue with you all, for your furtherance, and joy of faith.* Yea he expresseth hopes of making the *Philippians* a visit. ver. 26. *That your rejoicing may be more abundant in Jesus Christ for me, by my coming to you again.* And ch. ii. 19. *But I trust in the Lord Jesus, to send Timothie shortly unto you . . .* and ver. 23. 24. *Him therefore I hope to send presently, so soon as I shall see, how it will go with me. But I trust in the Lord, that I also myself shall come shortly.* But though he had hopes of obtaining his liberty, he was not yet certain of it. As appears from those words just cited, *so soon as I shall see, how it will go with me:* and from what he says ch. ii. 17. *Yea, if I be offered upon the sacrifice and service of your faith, I joy, and rejoice with you all.* See also ch. i. ver. 20. In the mean time, he sends back to them *Epaphroditus*, who had come to *Rome*, with a kind present from the Christians at *Philippi*, and who had been dangerously sick, but was now recovered. And it is likely, that by him this epistle was carried. So it follows in ver. 25. . . 30 of the second chapter. *Yet I supposed it necessarie, to send to you Epaphroditus, my brother, and companion in labour, but your messenger, and he that ministred to my wants. . . . I have sent him therefore the more carefully: that when ye see him again, ye may rejoice.* Of their kind regard to him he speaks again, ch. iv. 10. . . . 19. In the end of the epistle he sends salutations to the *Philippians* from *the brethren that were with him*, and from *all the saints, chiefly those of Cesar's household.* Who may be supposed to be the Apostle's converts, and the persons, who chiefly contributed to his being set at liberty, and had already given him hopes of it,

and

and may likewiſe have been friendly to him in other reſpects. And at the begining of this epiſtle, ch. i. 13. ſpeaking of the progreſſe of the goſpel, he ſays: *So that my bonds in Chriſt are manifeſt in all the palace, and in all other places.*

The ſalutations in this epiſtle are ſingular, being different from thoſe at the end of the other epiſtles, writ about the ſame time. Firſt it is ſaid: *The brethren which are with me greet you*: intending, as I apprehend, *Mark*, and others, the Apoſtle's fellow-laborers, mentioned by name near the end of the epiſtles to the *Coloſſians*, and *Philemon*, but not ſo mentioned here. Then it is added. *All the ſaints ſalute you:* meaning all the Chriſtians at *Rome*, in general, *chiefly they that are of Ceſar's houſhold.* The kind preſent from the *Philippians*, it is likely, had recommended them to the notice of all at *Rome*. That teſtimonie of reſpect for the Apoſtle was highly pleaſing, and very edifying to the Chriſtians in that city. It ſeems to have been a handſome ſum. And it may be reckoned probable, that the collections made for the Apoſtle at *Rome*, and the contributions brought in from abroad, were all put into one bank, and lodged in the hands of ſome perſon, or perſons of good credit, and ſubſtance. Poſſibly, there was now a ſuperfluity. For St. *Paul* ſays to theſe *Philippians: I have all, and abound. I am full.* If there was any thing ſuperfluous, beyond what was requiſite for his maintenance at *Rome*, it would be of uſe for defraying the expences of the journeys, which he had in view. And this may be one reaſon, why this epiſtle is inſcribed *to all the ſaints, which are at Philippi, with the Biſhops and Deacons.* For there muſt have been ſuch officers in many of the churches, to which the Apoſtle ſent letters, though they are not mentioned. But the Biſhops and Deacons at *Philippi* had encouraged the contributions made for the Apoſtle, and had aſſiſted in conveying them to him. And therefore they could not be omitted.

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(*o*) De viſendis enim Philippenſibus, ubi primum e carcere evaſerit, omnino cogitat. . . . Et quidem paullo poſt miſſas haſce literas libertatem adeptus, Timotheum in Macedoniam miſit, uti liquet ex Hebr. xiii. 23. &c. *Mill. Prol. num.* 68.

SECT. XII.

The Epiſtle to the Coloſſians.

A. D. 62. THE epiſtles to the *Coloſſians*, and *Philemon*, were ſent away together. *Chryſoſtom*, as (*p*) formerly obſerved, thought, that the epiſtle to *Philemon* was firſt writ. That he concluded from Col. iv. 7. . . . 9. However, I ſhall firſt ſpeak of the epiſtle to the *Coloſſians*, according to the order, in which the epiſtles lye in our volume of the New Teſtament.

The epiſtle to the *Coloſſians* was carried by *Tychicus* and *Oneſimus*, as we perceive from ch. iv. 7. . . . 9. *All my eſtate ſhall Tychicus declare unto you. . . . Whom I have ſent unto you for the ſame purpoſe, that he might know your eſtate, and comfort your hearts: with Oneſimus, a faithfull and beloved brother, who is one of you. They ſhall make known unto you all things* (which are done) *here.*

Theſe two letters, as before ſaid, were ſent away at the ſame time. But it is likely, that the letter to *Philemon* was firſt delivered. For till *Oneſimus* had been received by his maſter, he could not be a fit perſon, to joyn in delivering a letter to the church of *Coloſſe*.

Timothie joyns with the Apoſtle at the begining in the ſalutation *to the ſaints and faithful brethren in Chriſt, which are at Coloſſe*. Near the end of the epiſtle are ſalutations from *Ariſtarchus*, ſaid by the Apoſtle to be his *fellow-priſoner*, from *Mark*, *Jeſus called Juſtus*, *Epaphras*, *Luke the beloved Phyſician*, and *Demas*.

It might have been expected, that this letter ſhould be carried by *Epaphras*, who had come to the Apoſtle at *Rome* from *Coloſſe*. ch. i. 7. 8. But he was now the Apoſtle's *fellow priſoner*, as is ſaid, Philem. ver. 23. However he and *Ariſtarchus* may have been ſet at liberty about the ſame time with St. *Paul*. Such things were frequent in the early days of the goſpel, and before *Nero* became a perſecutor, according to an obſervation of *Jerome* in his Commentarie upon the epiſtle to *Philemon*, ver. 22. cited by us (*q*) not long ago.

As *Timothie* joyns with the Apoſtle in the ſalutation at the begining of this epiſtle, he was ſtill at *Rome*, and not yet ſent away to *Philippi*. I therefore conclude, that this epiſtle was writ about the ſame time with that to the *Philippians*, in the year 62. and ſome while before the end of it.

(*p*) *See ch.* 118. *Vol. x. p.* 332.
(*q*) *See before, p.* 279.

SECT.

SECT. XIII.

The Epiſtle to Philemon.

PHILEMON was a citizen of *Coloſſe*, in *Phrygia*.

Paul (*r*) writes this epiſtle to him in behalf of *Oneſimus*, a ſlave, who had robbed his maſter, and run away. *A. D.* 62. Him *Paul* had converted to the Chriſtian faith at *Rome*, during his bonds, which are ſeveral times mentioned in this epiſtle.

Timothie is joyned with *Paul* in the ſalutations at the begining of the epiſtle. At ver. 23. and 24. the Apoſtle ſends ſalutations from *Epaphras*, then his *fellow-priſoner*: from *Mark*, whom *Timothie* had brought with him to *Rome*, according to *Paul*'s deſire. 2 Tim. iv. 11. from *Luke* and *Ariſtarchus*, who had accompanied the Apoſtle in his voyage from *Judea* to *Rome*, and had continued with him ever ſince: and from *Demas*, who had departed from the Apoſtle for a while, but was now returned. Compare 2 Tim. iv. 10.

From ver. 19. it is argued by (*s*) *Jerome*, as well as by ſome learned Commentators of late times, that the whole of this epiſtle was ſent in the Apoſtle's own hand-writing.

St. *Paul* had now good hopes of obtaining his liberty. For he ſays at ver. 22. *But withall prepare me alſo a lodging. For I truſt, that through your prayers I ſhall be given unto you.* Nevertheleſs, as *Timothie* joyns with the Apoſtle in the ſalutations, at the begining of the epiſtle, I think, it was not yet fully determined. For *Paul* ſays to the *Philippians*, ii. 23. that *he hoped to ſend him to them preſently, ſo ſoon as he ſhould ſee, how it would go with him.* As *Timothie* was ſtill at *Rome*, and not ſent away to *Philippi*; it may be argued, that the Apoſtle did not yet certainly know the ſucceſſe of the attempts made uſe of by his friends to procure his liberty. I therefore conclude, that this epiſtle was writ about the ſame time with that to the *Philippians*, in the year 62. and ſome while before the end of it.

Theſe three epiſtles, to the *Philippians*, the *Coloſſians*, and *Philemon*, are alſo placed by *Mill* (*t*) in the year 62.

I will now add a few obſervations concerning the epiſtle to *Philemon*.

Philemon's ſtation is not certainly known. *Grotius* thought, he (*u*) dwelt at *Epheſus*, and was one of the Elders of that church. *Beauſobre* in

(*r*) Totum autem, pro quo rogat, illud eſt: Oneſimus, ſervus Philemonis, fugam furto cumulans, quædam rei domeſticæ compilarat. Hic pergens in Italiam, ne a proximo facilius poſſet apprehendi, pecuniam domini per luxuriam prodegerat. &c. *Hieron. in Philem. T.* 4. *p.* 449. *Vid. et Theodoreti argum. in ep. ad Philem. T.* 3. *p.* 516.

(*s*) Quod dicit, tale eſt. Quod Oneſimus furto rapuit, ego me ſpondeo redditurum. Cujus ſponſionis epiſtola hæc et manus teſtis eſt propria. Quam non ſolito more dictavi, ſed mea manu ipſe conſcripſi. *Hier. ib. p.* 452.

(*t*) *Vid. Prolegom. num.* 68. . . . 70. *et* 80. . . . 82.

(*u*) *Philemoni dilecto.*] Videtur habitaſſe Epheſi, ubi Oneſimus poſteà epiſcopatu

in his notes upon the firſt verſe of this epiſtle ſpeaks of *Philemon*, as (*x*) one of the Paſtours of the church of *Coloſſe*.

To me it appears evident, that *Philemon* was an inhabitant of *Coloſſe*. For his ſervant, *Oneſimus*, is recommended by St. *Paul* to the church in that city, and ſaid to be *one of them*. iv. 7. And the Chriſtians at *Coloſſe* are required by the Apoſtle to *ſay to Archippus, Take heed to the miniſtrie, which thou haſt received*. ver. 17. Which *Archippus* is ſaluted in the epiſtle to *Philemon*. ver. 2.

Theodoret expreſsly ſays, that (*y*) *Philemon* was a citizen of *Coloſſe*, and that the houſe, in which he dwelt, was ſtill remaining there. *Theophylact* (*z*) calls him a *Phrygian*. *Jerome* likewiſe ſays, he (*a*) was of *Coloſſe*. But he beſtows ſo many words, to make it out, that we may be led to think, there were ſome in his time, who diſputed it.

Philemon, therefore, was a *Coloſſian*. But whether he was an Elder there, or only a private Chriſtian, in good circumſtances, is not ſo certain. The inſcription is, . . . *unto Philemon, our dearly beloved, and fellow-laborer*. Which laſt expreſſion is ambiguous. It may imply, that *Philemon* was an Elder in the church of *Coloſſe*. Or no more may be intended thereby, than in general, that *Philemon* was ſome way uſefull in helping forward the goſpel. In the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions (*b*) *Philemon* is ſaid to have been ordained Biſhop of *Coloſſe* by the Apoſtles. But their teſtimonie is of very little weight. I do not perceive *Jerome* to ſay expreſsly, that (*c*) *Philemon* was Biſhop, or Elder at *Coloſſe*. Perhaps he was not poſitive about it in his own mind. The Author of the Commentarie upon thirteen of St. *Paul*'s epiſtles, by ſome reckoned to be *Hilarie*,

copatu functus eſt, ut et Ignatii literæ, et alii ſcriptores tradunt. . . . *Et adjutori meo*] id eſt uni Preſbyterorum illorum, qui Ephen plures erant. Act. xx. 17. *Grot. in Philem. ver.* 1.

(*x*) Il paroit par là, que Philemon étoit un des Paſteurs de l'égliſe de Coloſſes. *Beauſ.*

(*y*) Πόλιν δὲ εἶχε τὰς κολασσάς. Καὶ ἡ οἰκία δὲ αὐτοῦ μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος μεμένηκε. *Theod. arg. ep. ad Philem. T.* 3. *p.* 516.

(*z*) *Theoph. ep. ad Philem. T.* 2. *p.* 861.

(*a*) Si autem Philemon, ad quem hæc epiſtola ſcribitur, Oneſimi dominus eſt . . . et ad Coloſſenſes refertur, quod ex iis ſit, ratio nos ipſa et ordo deducit, quod et Philemon Coloſſenſis ſit, et eo tempore communem ad omnem eccleſiam Oneſimus epiſtolam tulerit, quo privatas et ſui commendatrices ad dominum literas ſumſerat. Eſt et aliud indicium, quod in hac eadem epiſtola et Archippus nominatur: cui hic cum Philemone ſcribitur: *Dicite*, inquit, *Archippo: Vide miniſterium quod accepiſti a Domino, ut illud impleas* . . . Ex quo puto, aut Epiſcopum fuiſſe Coloſſenſis eccleſiæ, cui admonetur ſtudioſe et diligenter præeſſe, ut evangelii prædicatorem. Aut ſi ita non eſt, illud mihi impræſentiarum ſufficit, quod et Philemon, et Archippus, et Oneſimus ipſe, qui literas perferebat, fuerint Coloſſenſes. &c. *Comm. in Philem. T.* 4. *p.* 445.

(*b*) *Conſt. Ap. l.* 7. *cap.* 46.

(*c*) Scribunt igitur Paulus et Timotheus Philemoni cariſſimo et cooperatori: qui ideo cariſſimus dictus eſt, quod in eodem Chriſti opere verſetur. *In ep. ad Philem. p.* 446.

Hilarie, Deacon of *Rome*, says, that (*d*) *Philemon* had no eccleſiaſtical dignity, but was one of the laity. And *Oecumenius*, in his prologue to the ſecond epiſtle of St. *John*, formerly (*e*) cited, appears alſo to have thought *Philemon* to be a man in private ſtation.

Perhaps ſome have been the rather unwilling to allow, that *Philemon* was a Biſhop, or Elder, becauſe he had a wife, whoſe name was *Apphia*, and becauſe he was a man of ſubſtance, who had one ſlave at leaſt, if not more. Nevertheleſs we have juſt obſerved two learned men, of very good judgement, *Grotius* and *Beauſobre*, who were not much ſwayed by thoſe conſiderations. One of whom thought *Philemon* to have been an Elder in the church of *Epheſus*: the other, one of the Paſtours of the church of *Coloſſe*. To them I can now add (*f*) Dr. *Doddridge*.

However, as the thing is of no great importance, ſo I muſt acknowledge, that it is not very eaſie to be decided. St. *Paul*'s expreſſion, *fellow-laborer*, as before obſerved, is ambiguous. His manner of addreſſe, which is very earneſt, farther induces me to heſitate. If *Philemon* had been an Elder, he muſt have known his duty. And could not have needed ſo preſſing an exhortation to receive a penitent, and him one of his familie.

Oneſimus, unqueſtionably, was received by the church of *Coloſſe*, as a good Chriſtian, upon the Apoſtle's recommendation. It is as reaſonable to think, that *Philemon* was reconciled to him: and, probably, gave him his freedom. In the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions (*g*) he is ſaid to have been Biſhop of *Beroea* in *Macedonia*. When *Ignatius* wrote his epiſtle to the *Epheſians*, about the year 107. their Biſhop's name was *Oneſimus*. And *Grotius* (*h*) thought him to be the ſame, for whom *Paul* interceded with *Philemon*. But that (*i*) is not certain.

SECT. XIV.

The Epiſtle to the Hebrews.

I SHALL inquire, 1. to whom it was writ. 2. in what language. 3. by whom. 4. the time and place of writing it.

I. In the firſt place let us conſider, to whom this epiſtle was writ. *A. D.* 63.

To whom ſent.

Sir *Iſaac Newton* thought "That (*k*) this epiſtle was writ to Jewiſh believers, who left *Jeruſalem* about the time that the war broke out, and went into *Aſia*." According to this account,

(*d*) Philemon nulla erat eccleſiaſticæ ordinationis præditus dignitate, ſed vir laudabilis, unus ex plebe. &c. *Proleg. in ep. ad Philem.*

(*e*) *See p.* 120.

(*f*) *See his preface to Philemon. p.* 585. *and his Paraphraſe of the firſt verſe. p.* 589. *of the Family-Expoſitor. Vol. v.*

(*g*) *Lib.* 7. *cap.* 46.

(*h*) *See before note* (*u*) *p.* 295.

(*i*) *Vid. Baſnag. Ann.* 60. *num. xxvii.*

(*k*) "The epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, ſince it mentions *Timothy*, as related to "the

account, the epiſtle could not be writ, till ſome while after the breaking out of the war in *Judæa*, in the year 66. But it will be difficult to ſhew, that *Paul*, whom Sir *Iſaac* allows to be the writer, lived ſo long. Not now to mention any thing elſe.

Dr. *Wall* was inclined to the ſame opinion, or ſomewhat not very different. "I (*l*) agree, ſays he, that the epiſtle was writ to *Hebrews*, that "is, to the *Hebrew* Chriſtians of ſome place. But for the place or country, I think, they were rather the *Hebrew* Chriſtians of *Aſia*, (*Epheſus*, "*Miletus*, and thereabout,) *Macedonia*, *Greece*, &c. where St. *Paul* had "ſpent moſt of his time, than that they were thoſe of *Jeruſalem*, &c."

The late Mr. *Wetſtein* conjectured, that (*m*) the epiſtle was writ by *Paul* to the Jewiſh believers at *Rome*, ſoon after he had been releaſed from his confinement in that city. Which conjecture, I believe, will be followed by very few. And as it has no ancient authority, and is deſtitute of all appearance of probability; I ſuppoſe, it need not to be confuted.

Lightfoot thought, "That (*n*) this epiſtle was ſent by *Paul* to the believing Jews of *Judæa*, a people, ſays he, that had been much engaged "to him, for his care of their poor, getting collections for them all along "in his travels." He adds: "It is not to be doubted indeed, that he "intendeth the diſcourſe and matter of this epiſtle to the Jews throughout their diſperſion.—Yet does he endorſe it, and ſend it chiefly to "the *Hebrews*, or the Jews of *Judæa*, the principal part of the circumciſion, as the propereſt centre, to which to direct it, and from whence "it might be beſt diffuſed in time to the whole circumference of the diſperſion."

Whitby, in his preface to the epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, is of the ſame opinion, and argues much after the ſame manner with *Lightfoot*.

So likewiſe (*o*) *Mill*, (*p*) *Pearſon*, (*q*) *Lewis Cappell*, and *Beza* in his preface to this epiſtle, and the editors of the French N. T. at *Berlin*, in their general preface to St. *Paul's* epiſtles, and in their preface to this epiſtle in particular. Of this Mr. *Hallett* had no doubt, who in his Synopſis of the epiſtle ſays: "This epiſtle was particularly deſigned for the "*Hebrew*

"the *Hebrews*, muſt be written to them, after their flight into *Aſia*: where "*Timothy* was Biſhop, and by conſequence after the war was begun." *Newton's Obſervations upon the Apoc. of St. John. ch. i. p.* 244.

(*l*) *Critical Notes upon the N. T. p.* 317. 318.

(*m*) Si conjecturæ locus eſt, exiſtimaverim potius ad Judæos qui Romæ degebant, et Chriſto nomen dederant, ſcriptam fuiſſe: quo admiſſo, facile intelligitur, qui factum, tum ut Paulus, qui Româ quidem, ſed non Italiâ, excedere juſſus erat, brevi ſe rediturum ſperaret, tum ut Itali Romanos ſalutarent. *Wetſten. N. T. Tom.* 2. *p.* 386. 387.

(*n*) *Harmonie of the N. T. Vol. i. p.* 340.

(*o*) Per Hebræos autem iſtos potiſſimum fideles Hieroſolymitanos intelligit, apud quos ante duos annos verſatus fuerat. Hinc illud, ἵνα ἀποκαταςαθῶ ὑμῖν. cap. xiii. 19. *Mill. Proleg. num.* 83.

(*p*) *Annal. Paulin. p.* 20. 21.

(*q*) Ex quibus conjicere licet, hanc epiſtolam a Paulo ſub finem priorum vinculorum Româ ſcriptum fuiſſe ad Hieroſolymitanos Judæos, qui in Chriſtum crediderant. *L. Capp. Hiſt. Ap. p.* 80.

Hebrew Christians, that dwelt in one certain place, and was sent thither, as appears from the Apostle's saying, ch. xiii. 19. 23. *I beseech you the rather to do this, that I may be restored to you the sooner. . . . I will see you.* And what particular place can this be supposed to be, but *Judea?* There the Christians were continually persecuted by the unbelieving Jews, as we read in the Acts of the Apostles, and as St. *Paul* takes notice 1 Thess. ii. 14. Hebr. x. 32. . . . 36. xii. 4. 5. By these persecutions the *Hebrew* Christians were tempted to apostatise from Christianity, and to think, there was strength in the arguments urged by the persecutors in favour of Judaism. The Apostle therefore sets himself to guard against both these dangers." And what follows.

This appears to me to be the most probable opinion.

For 1. It is the opinion of the ancient Christian writers, who received this epistle.

It may be taken for granted, that this was the opinion of (*r*) *Clement* of *Alexandria*, and (*s*) *Jerome*, and (*t*) *Euthalius*, who supposed this epistle to have been first written in *Hebrew*, and afterwards translated into *Greek*. It may be allowed to have been also the opinion of many others, who quote this epistle, as writ to *Hebrews*, when they say nothing to the contrarie. Nor do I recollect any ancients, who say it was writ to Jews living out of *Judea*.

Chrysostom says, that (*u*) the epistle was sent to the believing Jews of *Palestine*. And supposeth, that the Apostle afterwards made them a visit. *Theodoret* (*x*) in his preface to the epistle, allows it to be sent to the same Jews. And *Theophylact* (*y*) in his argument of the epistle expresly says, as *Chrysostom*, that it was sent to the Jews of *Palestine*. So that this (*b*) was the general opinion of the ancients.

2. There are in the epistle many things especially suitable to the believers in *Judea*. Which must lead us to think, it was writ to them. I shall select divers such passages.

1.) Hebr. i. 2. . . . *has in these last days spoken unto us by his Son.*

2.) Ch. iv. 2. *For unto us was the gospel preached, as well as to them.*

3.) Ch. ii. 1. . . . 4. *Therefore we ought to give the more earnest heed to the things, that we have heard . . . how then shall we escape, if we neglect so great salvation, which at the first began to be spoken by the Lord, and was confirmed unto us by them that heard him: God also bearing them witnesse with signs and wonders, and with divers miracles, and gifts of the Holy Ghost.*

Does

(*r*) *Ap. Euseb. H. E. l.* 6. *cap.* 14.

(*s*) Scripserat ut Hebræus Hebræis Hebraice, id est, suo eloquio disertissime. *De V. I. cap.* 5.

(*t*) *Argum. ep. ad Hebr. ap. sac. p.* 670.

(*u*) Πῶ δὲ ὅτιν ἐπιστέλλει; Ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις καὶ παλαιστίνη. . . . Δύο μὲν οὖν ἔτη ἐπύησεν ῥώμη δεθεμένος· εἶτα ἐφείθη, εἶτα εἰς τὰς σπανίας ἦλθεν. εἶτα εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ἦλθεν, ὅτε καὶ Ἰουδαίους εἶδε. Καὶ τότε πάλιν ἦλθεν εἰς ῥώμην, ὅτε καὶ ὑπὸ νέρωνος ἀνηρέθη. *Pr. in ep. ad Hebr. T.* 12. *p.* 2.

(*x*) *Vid. Theodoret. argum. ep. ad Hebr.*

(*y*) Τοῖς ἐν παλαιστίνῃ δὲ καὶ Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐπιστέλλει. *Theophyl. arg. ep. ad Hebr. p.* 872.

(*b*) *Voyez la pref. de Beausobre sur l'epistre aux Hebr. num. xxxviii.*

Does not that exhortation, and the reaſon, with which it is ſupported peculiarly ſuit the believers of *Judea*, where Chriſt himſelf firſt taught and then his diſciples after him, confirming their teſtimonie with very numerous and conſpicuous miracles?

4.) The people, to whom this epiſtle is ſent, were well acquainted with our Saviour's ſufferings, as they of *Judea* muſt have been. This appears in ch. i. 3. ii. 9. 18. v. 7. 8. ix. 14. 28. x. 11. xii. 2. xiii. 12.

5.) Ch. v. 12. *For when ye ought to be teachers of others*, and what follows, is moſt properly underſtood of *Chriſtians* in *Jeruſalem*, and *Judea*, to whom the goſpel was firſt preached.

6.) What is ſaid ch. vi. 4. . . . 6. and x. 26. . . 29. is moſt properly applicable to apoſtates in *Judea*.

7.) X. 32. . . 34. *But call to remembrance the former days, in which after ye were illuminated, ye endured a great fight of afflictions* . . to the end of ver. 34. This leads us to the church of *Jeruſalem*, which had ſuffered much, long before the writing of this epiſtle, even very ſoon after they had received the knowledge of the truth. Comp. Acts viii. 1. ix. 1. 2. xi. 19. and 1 Theſſ. ii. 14. *Grotius* (*i*) ſuppoſed as much.

8.) Thoſe exhortations, ch. xiii. 13. 14. muſt have been very ſuitable to the caſe of the Jews of *Jeruſalem*, at the ſuppoſed time of writing this epiſtle, a few years before the war in that countrey broke out.

9.) The regard ſhewn in this epiſtle to the rulers of the church, or churches, to which it is ſent, is very remarkable. They are mentioned twice or thrice: firſt in ch. xiii. 7. *Remember your rulers, who have ſpoken unto you the word of God: whoſe faith imitate, conſidering the end of their converſation.* Theſe were dead, as (*k*) *Grotius* obſerves. And *Theodoret*'s note is to this purpoſe: "He (*l*) intends the ſaints that were dead, "*Stephen* the proto-martyr, *James* the brother of *John*, and *James* called "the Juſt. And there were many others, who were taken off by the "Jewiſh rage. Conſider theſe, ſays he, and obſerving their example, "imitate their faith." Then again, at ver. 17. *Obey them that have the rule over you, and ſubmit yourſelves. For they watch for your ſouls.* . . . And once more ver. 24. *Salute all them that have the rule over you, and all the ſaints.* Upon which *Theodoret* ſays: "This (*m*) way of ſpeaking in-"timates, that their rulers did not need ſuch inſtruction. For which "reaſon he did not write to them, but to their diſciples." This is a fine obſervation. And *Whitby* upon that verſe, ſays: "Hence it ſeems evident, that this epiſtle was not ſent to the Biſhops or rulers of the church, but to the whole church, or the laity." And it may deſerve to be conſidered,

(*i*) Poſt Stephani mortem vehementer vexati fuere illi in Judæa Chriſtiani, ut videre eſt Act. xi. 19. 1 Theſſ. ii. 14. *Grot. ad Hebr. x.* 34.

(*k*) Loquitur autem de iis, qui jam obierant, ut oſtendunt ſequentia. *Qui vobis locuti ſunt verbum Dei:* nempe in diverſis oppidis: forte etiam diverſis temporibus, cum mortuis alii ſucceſſerint. *Id. ad Hebr. xiii.* 7.

(*l*) *In ep. ad Hebr. cap. xiii. Tom.* 3. *p.* 459. *D.*

(*m*) Αινίττεται ὁ λόγος, ὡς οἱ προϊστάμενοι αὐτῶν τοιαύτης διδασκαλίας ἐκ ἔχειν ἔσαν· οὐ δὴ χάριν ἐκ ἐκείνοις ἐπίστειλεν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μαθηταῖς. *Ibid. p.* 462. *D.*

here whether this repeated notice of the rulers among them does not afford ground to believe, that some of the Apostles were still in *Judea?* Whether there be sufficient reason to believe that, or not, I think these notices very proper and suitable to the state of the Jewish believers in *Judea*. For I am persuaded, that not only *James*, and all the other Apostles, had exactly the same doctrine with *Paul:* but that all the Elders likewise, and all the understanding men among the Jewish believers, embraced the same doctrine. They were, as I apprehend, the multitude only, πλῆθος, plebs, or the men of lower rank among them, who were attached to the peculiarities of the Mosaic law, and the customs of their ancestors. This may be argued from what *James* and the Elders at *Jerusalem* say to *Paul*. Acts xxi. 20. . . . 22. *Thou seest, brother, how many thousands of Jews there are that believe. And they are all zealous of the law. . . . What is it therefore? The multitude must needs come together.* . . . It is hence evident, that the zeal for the law, which prevailed in the minds of many, was not approved by *James*, or the Elders. That being the case, these recommendations of a regard for their Rulers, whether Apostles, or Elders, were very proper in an epistle sent to the believers in *Judea*.

For these reasons I think, that this epistle was sent to the Jewish believers at *Jerusalem*, and in *Judea*.

But there are objections, which must be considered.

1. Obj. Ch. vi. 10. *God is not unrighteous, to forget your work and labour of love . . . in that ye have ministered to the saints, and do minister.* Upon which Dr. *Wall* (*n*) remarks: "Here again we are put upon "thinking, to what church, or what Christians, this is said. For as to "those of *Jerusalem*, we read much in *Paul*'s former letters, of their poverty, and of their being ministred to by the Gentil Christians of *Galatia*, *Macedonia*, *Corinth:* and in the Acts, by the *Antiochians:* but "no where of their ministring to other saints. If it is of them that St. "*Paul* speaks this, it must be meant of their ministring to their own "poor. For that they were famous at first, when their rich men sold "their lands, and brought the money to the Apostles, and they had all "things in common, and none lacked. But in the time since that, they "were very poor, and were relieved by other churches." The late Mr. *Wetstein*, whose (*o*) words I place below, argued much after the same manner with Dr. *Wall*. This objection, perhaps, might be strengthened from Hebr. xiii. 2. *Be not forgetful to entertain strangers.* And from. ver. 16. *To do good, and to communicate, forget not.*

Answ. But the poverty of the Jews in *Judea*, and the contributions of the Gentil churches for their relief, are no reason, why such admonitions as these should not be sent to them. They are properly directed to all Christians that they may be induced to exert themselves to the utmost. The Gentil churches, among whom St. *Paul* made collections

(*n*) *Critical Notes upon the N. T. p.* 306.

(*o*) Secundo non possunt intelligi, qui Hierosolymis degebant. Hi enim pauperiores erant, et opus habebant, ut eorum inopia ab aliis ecclesiis sublevaretur. . . Iis vero, ad quos hæc epistola scripta est, commendatur beneficentia. xiii. 16. vi. 10. Erant ergo tales, non qui stipem accipere, sed qui dare debebant, solebantque. *Wetst. ubi supr. p.* 368. *fin.*

tions for the ſaints in *Judea*, were not rich. As he ſays. 1 Cor. i. 26. *For ye know your calling, brethren . . . not many mighty, not many noble, are called.* . . . And of the churches in *Macedonia*, he ſays. 2 Cor. viii. 2. . . . *How that in a great trial of affliction, the abundance of their joy, and their deep poverty, had abounded unto the riches of their liberality.* In like manner there might be inſtances of liberality to the diſtreſſed among the believers in *Judea*. There is a very fine example recorded. Acts ix. 36. . . . 39. Nor was there ever any city or countrey in the world, to whom that exhortation, *be not forgetful to entertain ſtrangers*, or *be not unmindfull of hoſpitality*, τῆς φιλοξενιας μὴ ἐπιλανθάνεσθε, could be more properly given, than *Jeruſalem*, and *Judea*. For the people there muſt have been much accuſtomed to it at their feſtivals, when there was a great reſort thither from all countreys. And the writer of an epiſtle to the Chriſtian inhabitants of *Jeruſalem* and *Judea* would naturally think of ſuch an admonition: being deſirous, that they ſhould not fall ſhort of others in that reſpect. And we may here not unfitly recollect the hiſtorie of St. *Paul*'s going to *Jeruſalem*, and how he, and his fellow-travellers were entertained at *Cæſarea*, in the houſe of *Philip* the Evangeliſt, and at *Jeruſalem*, in the houſe of *Mnaſon*, an old diſciple. As related Acts xxi. 8. . . . 16.

2. Obj. Upon ch. xiii. 18. 19. the ſame (*p*) Dr. *Wall* ſays: "One "would think, that *Paul* ſhould have prayed and purpoſed to go any "whither, rather than to *Jeruſalem*, where he had been ſo uſed: and "where he fell into that five years impriſonment, from which he was "but juſt now delivered." To the like purpoſe alſo (*q*) Mr. *Wetſtein*.

But there is not any improbability, that *Paul* might now deſire to ſee his countreymen in *Judea*: if he might go thither with ſafety, as I think he might. Almoſt three years had now paſſed, ſince he left *Judea*. And his trial, or apologie, had been over two years. And he was now ſet at liberty by the Emperour himſelf. No man, not very preſumptuous, would admit a thought of diſturbing him. However, I ſuppoſe, that the Apoſtle would behave diſcreetly: ſo as to give no needleſs provocation to any, and that he would ſtay but a ſhort time in *Judea*, and then go to *Epheſus*. There have been men of good ſenſe, who have ſuppoſed, that *Paul* went to *Jeruſalem* about this time, particularly *Chryſoſtom* (*r*) among the ancients, and (*s*) divers moderns, one of whom is (*t*) *Pearſon*.

3. Obj. "St. (*u*) *Peter*'s epiſtles were written to the *Hebrew* Chriſ-"tians, ſcattered in *Aſia*, and *Pontus*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Bithynia*. "St. *Paul* muſt have written an epiſtle to thoſe *Hebrew* Chriſtians, to "whom St. *Peter* writes his two epiſtles. For St. *Peter*, 2 ep. iii. 15. "cites to them what *Paul had written unto them*. No epiſtle of *Paul* "was

(*p*) *As before. p.* 316. (*q*) *Ubi ſupra. p.* 386.

(*r*) *See before. p.* 299.

(*s*) *Lud. Cappell. Hiſt. Apoſt. p.* 39. *Lenfant et Beauſobre Pref. generale ſur les epitres de St. Paul. num. lv.*

(*t*) Paulus e Creta cum Timotheo in Judæam navigat. Heb. xiii. 23. *Annal. Paulin. p.* 21. *A. Chr.* 64.

(*u*) *Wall, as before. p.* 318. 319.

" was written to *Hebrews*, particularly, but this. So that theſe muſt be " the *Hebrews* of the above named countreys."

To which I anſwer, that St. *Peter*'s epiſtles were not ſent to Jews, but to Gentils, or to all Chriſtians in general, in the places above mentioned, as will be clearly ſhewn hereafter. When St. *Peter* ſays, *as Paul has written unto you*, he may intend *Paul*'s epiſtle to the *Galatians*, and (*x*) ſome other epiſtles, writ to Gentils. If he refers at all to this epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, it is comprehended under that expreſſion ver. 16. *as alſo in all his epiſtles.*

4. Obj. This epiſtle to the *Hebrews* ſeems to have been writ in *Greek*. But if it had been ſent to the Jewiſh believers in *Judea*, it would have been writ in *Hebrew*.

To which I anſwer, that allowing the epiſtle to have been writ in *Greek*, it might be ſent to the believers in *Judea*. If St. *Paul* wrote to the Jewiſh believers in *Paleſtine*, he intended the epiſtle for general uſe, for all Chriſtians, whether of Jewiſh or Gentil original. Many (*y*) of the Jews in *Judea* underſtood *Greek*. Few of the Jews out of *Judea* underſtood *Hebrew*. The *Greek* language was almoſt univerſal, and therefore generally uſed. All St. *Paul*'s epiſtles are in *Greek*, even that to the *Romans*. And are not both St. *Peter*'s epiſtles in *Greek?* and St. *John*'s, and St. *Jude*'s? Yea, did not St. *James* likewiſe write in *Greek*, who is ſuppoſed to have reſided at *Jeruſalem*, from the time of our Lord's aſcenſion to the time of his own death? His epiſtle is inſcribed *to the twelve tribes, ſcattered abroad.* But I preſume, that they of the twelve tribes, who dwelt in *Judea*, are not excluded by him, but intended. Nor could he be unwilling, that his epiſtle ſhould be read and underſtood by thoſe, who were his ſpecial charge. The epiſtle writ by *Barnabas*, a *Levite*, or aſcribed to him, was writ in *Greek*. Not now to mention any other Jewiſh writers, who have uſed the *Greek* language.

In what language it was writ.

II. Thus we are unawares brought to the inquiry, in what language this epiſtle was writ. For there have been doubts about it among both ancients and moderns. So that we are obliged to take ſome particular notice of this point. But I ſhould have deferred the conſideration of it, till we had obſerved the writer of the epiſtle, if the juſt mentioned objection had not brought this inquiry in our way in this place.

And it may be recollected, that (*z*) I formerly alleged divers learned and

(*x*) Videtur reſpicere Petrus ad Rom. ii. 4. ubi de Dei *longanimitate* ſimilia habet his quæ docet hic Petrus: dicereque ad Aſiaticos ſcriptam epiſtolam, quæ ad Romanos data, eo quod epiſtolæ Pauli, quanquam ad ſingulas eccleſias, et homines ſingulos, miſſæ, omnium Chriſtianorum illius ævi communes jure haberentur. *Cleric. H. E. A.* 69. *p.* 459.

(*y*) Ils n'ont point eu d'autre raiſon de croire, que S. Paul avoit écrit en Hebreu, que celle qu'il écrivoit à des Hebreux. Or cette raiſon, toute vraiſemblable qu'elle paroit, n'eſt point convaincante, parcequ'il eſt certain, que la langue Grecque étoit entenduë dans la Judée, quoiqu'elle ne fût pas la langue vulgaire. Tous les auteurs du nouveau Teſtament ont écrit en Grec, bien qu'ils écriviſſent pour tous les fideles, ſoit Hebreux, ſoit Gentils. *Beauſ. Preſ. ſur l'epitre aux Hebreux. num. xv.*

(*z*) *See Vol. viii. p.* 189. . . . 191.

and judicious moderns, who have been of opinion, that *Greek*, and not *Hebrew*, was the original language of this epiſtle. To them I now add ſeveral others: (*a*) *James Cappell*, (*b*) *S. Baſnage*, (*c*) *Mill* in his Prolegomena to the New Teſtament, and (*d*) the late Mr. *Wetſtein*, and alſo (*e*) *Spanheim* in his Diſſertation concerning the author of this epiſtle, which well deſerves to be conſulted. One argument for this, both of (*f*) *Spanheim*, and (*g*) *Wetſtein*, is taken from the *Greek* paronomaſias in the epiſtle, or the frequent concurrence of *Greek* words of like ſound. Which ſeems to be an argument, not eaſie to be anſwered.

Some ancient Chriſtian writers were of opinion, that the epiſtle to the *Hebrews* was writ in the *Hebrew* language, and (*h*) tranſlated into *Greek* by *Luke*, or *Clement* of *Rome*. *Jerome* (*i*) in particular ſeems to have ſuppoſed, that this epiſtle was writ in *Hebrew*. And *Origen* alſo is ſometimes reckoned among thoſe, who were of this opinion. But I think, I have ſhewn it to be probable, that (*k*) he thought it was writ in *Greek*. It ſeems likewiſe, that they muſt have been of the ſame opinion, who conſidered the elegance of the *Greek* language of this epiſtle as an objection againſt it's having been writ by St. *Paul*. For if the *Greek* epiſtle had been ſuppoſed to be a tranſlation, the ſuperior elegance of the ſtile of this epiſtle above that of the other epiſtles of *Paul* could have afforded no objection againſt his being the author of it.

Indeed

(*a*) *Jacob. Cappell, obſervat. in ep. ad Hebr.* §. *ii. et iii.*

(*b*) *Ann.* 61. *num. vi.*

(*c*) Et ſane magis adhuc futilis eſt eorum ſententia, qui hanc epiſtolam Paulo quidem Hebraice ſcriptam volunt ab alio autem aliquo traductam fuiſſe in ſermonem Græcum. Nihil enim clarius atque evidentius, quam eam lingua Græca primitus conceptam fuiſſe. &c. *Prolegom. num.* 95. . . . 98.

(*d*) Ad hæc obſervamus, 1. epiſtolam ad Hebræos, quæ nunc Græce exſtat, non eſt interpretis, ſed ipſius auctoris. Qui putant ad Hebræos non aliter quam Hebraice, ſcribi debuiſſe, manifeſto falluntur. Omnes enim novi fœderis libri, etiam Matthæi, ut ad ipſum vidimus, lingua Græca ſcripti ſunt. Hanc linguam plerique Judæi norant. *Wetſten. T. Gr. T.* 2. *p.* 385.

(*e*) *Spanh. De Auctore epiſt. ad Hebr. Part.* 3. *cap. ii. Tom.* 2. *p.* 245. . . . 252.

(*f*) Nono, decretorium fere argumentum eſt a Græcorum idiotiſmis, hac in epiſtola paſſim conſpicuis. Pauca hæc de multis. Auctor cap. v. verſu 8. elegantem adhibet παρωνομασίαν. Scil. Ἔμαθεν ἀφ' ὧν ἔπαθε, qualem Hebraiſmus non ferebat. Græci contra mire ſibi in talibus placent. &c. *Spanh. ubi ſupr. n. xii. p.* 249.

(*g*) Porro manifeſtæ reperiuntur paronomaſiæ, et ὁμοιοτέλευτα, quæ ſi in aliam linguam convertantur, pereunt. Hebr. v. 8. . . . et ver. 14. καλῶτε καὶ κακῶ. vii. 3. ἀπάτωρ, ἀμήτωρ, xi. ἐπρίσθησαν, ἐπειράσθησαν. xi. 10. βρώμασι καὶ πόμασι. xiii. 14. μένουσαν καὶ μέλλουσαν. Talia auctor potius ſectatur quam interpres. *Wetſt. ib. p.* 385.

(*h*) *See ch. ii. Vol. i. p.* 56. *ch.* 22. *Vol. ii p.* 474. 492. *and Vol. viii. p.* 146. 147. 149.

(*i*) *Ch.* 114. *vol. x. p.* 113.

(*k*) *See ch.* 38. *Vol. iii. p.* 259. 260. *and vol. viii. p.* 189.

Indeed the ancients, as *Beauſobre* ſaid (*l*) formerly, had no other reaſon to believe, that St. *Paul* wrote in *Hebrew*, but that he wrote to the *Hebrews*. So likewiſe ſays (*m*) *Cappellus*. The title deceived them. And becauſe it was writ to *Hebrews*, they concluded it was writ in *Hebrew*. For none of the ancients appear to have ſeen a copie of this epiſtle in that language.

III. I now proceed to the third inquirie, who is the writer of this epiſtle. And many things offer in favour of the Apoſtle *Paul*. *Who was the Writer.*

1. It is aſcribed to him by many of the ancients.

Here I think myſelf obliged briefly to recollect the teſtimonies of ancient Authors, which have been produced at large in the preceding volumes. And I ſhall rank them under two heads: firſt the teſtimonies of writers who uſed the *Greek* tongue, then the teſtimonies of thoſe who lived in that part of the Roman Empire, where the *Latin* was the vulgar language.

There are ſome paſſages (*n*) in the epiſtles of *Ignatius*, about the year 107. which may be thought by ſome to contain alluſions to the epiſtle to the *Hebrews*. This epiſtle ſeems to be referred to by (*o*) *Polycarp* Biſhop of *Smyrna*, in his epiſtle, writ to the *Philippians* in the year 108. and (*p*) in the Relation of his Martyrdom, writ about the middle of the ſecond centurie. This epiſtle is often quoted as *Paul*'s by (*r*) *Clement* of Alexandria, about the year 194. It is received, and quoted as *Paul*'s by (*s*) *Origen*, about 230. It was alſo received as the Apoſtle's by (*t*) *Dionyſius* Bp. of *Alexandria* in 247. It is plainly referred to by (*u*) *Theognoſtus*, of *Alexandria*, about 282. It appears to have been received by (*x*) *Methodius*, about 292. by (*y*) *Pamphilus*, about 294. and by (*z*) *Archelaus*, Bp. in *Meſopotamia*, at the begining of the fourth centurie, by (*a*) the *Manicheans* in the fourth, and (*b*) by the *Paulicians*, in the ſeventh centurie. It was received, and aſcribed to *Paul* by (*c*) *Alexander*, Bp. of *Alexandria*, in the year 313. and by (*d*) the *Arians* in the fourth centurie. *Euſebius*, Biſhop of *Ceſarea*, about 315. ſays, *there* (*e*) *are fourteen epiſtles of Paul, manifeſt and well known: but yet there are ſome, who reject that to the Hebrews, alleging in behalf of their opinion, that it was not received by the church of Rome, as a writing of Paul.* It is often quoted by *Euſebius* himſelf,

(*l*) Vol. viii. p. 190. See likewiſe here p. 303, note (*y*).

(*m*) Qui volunt hanc epiſtolam Hebraice ſcriptam, hos decepit titulus. Cum enim ad Hebræos ſcribebatur, Hebraice quoque ſcribi debuiſſe ſunt opinati. Sed meminiſſe debuerant, etiam Hieroſolymis magnum fuiſſe linguæ Græcæ uſum. Cis Hieroſolymam pauciſſimi Judæi aliter quam Græce loquebantur. *Jac. Capp. Obſervat. in Nov. Teſtam. p.* 109.

(*n*) See Vol. i. p. 174. . . . 176.
(*o*) See Vol. i. p. 213. 214.
(*p*) P. 223.
(*r*) Vol. ii. p. 474. and 503. 504.
(*s*) Vol. iii. p. 237. 249. 250.
(*t*) Vol. iv. p. 663. and 735.
(*u*) Vol. v. p. 162. . . . 164.
(*x*) Vol. v. p. 258. . . 261.
(*y*) Vol. v. p. 326.
(*z*) Vol. vi. 14.
(*a*) Vol. vi. p. 336.
(*b*) P. 428. . . 432.
(*c*) Vol. vii. p. 250.
(*d*) P. 280. . . 282.
(*e*) Vol. viii. p. 100. 101. See alſo p. 110.

(*f*) himſelf, as *Paul*'s, and ſacred ſcripture. This epiſtle was received by (*g*) *Athanaſius*, without any heſitation. In his enumeration of St. *Paul*'s fourteen epiſtles, this is placed next after the two to the *Theſſalonians*, and before the epiſtles to *Timothie*, *Titus*, and *Philemon*. The ſame order is obſerved (*h*) in the Synopſis of Scripture aſcribed to him. This epiſtle is received as *Paul*'s by (*i*) *Adamantius* author of a Dialogue againſt the *Marcionites* in 330. and by (*k*) *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem*, in 348. by (*l*) the council of *Laodicea*, in 363. Where St. *Paul*'s epiſtles are enumerated in the ſame order, as in *Athanaſius*, juſt taken notice of. This epiſtle is alſo received as *Paul*'s by (*m*) *Epiphanius*, about 368. by (*n*) the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions, about the end of the fourth centurie, by (*o*) *Bazil*, about 370. by (*p*) *Gregorie Nazianzen*, in 370. by *Amphilochius* (*q*) alſo. But he ſays, it was not received by all, as *Paul*'s. It was received by (*s*) *Gregorie Nyſſen*, about 371. by (*t*) *Didymus* of *Alexandria* about the ſame time, by (*u*) *Ephraim* the *Syrian*, in 370. and by (*x*) the churches of *Syria*, by (*y*) *Diadore* of *Tarſus* in 378. by (*z*) *Hierax*, a learned *Egyptian*, about the year 302. by (*a*) *Serapion*, Biſhop of *Thmuis*, in *Egypt*, about 347. by (*b*) *Titus*, Bp. of *Boſtra*, in *Arabia*, about 362. by (*c*) *Theodore*, Bp. of *Mopſueſtia*, in *Cilicia*, about the year 394. by (*d*) *Chryſoſtom*, at the year 398. by (*e*) *Severian*, Bp. of *Gabala*, in *Syria*, 401. by (*f*) *Victor* of *Antioch*, about 401. by (*g*) *Palladius*, author of a Life of *Chryſoſtom*, about 408. by (*h*) *Iſidore* of *Peluſium*, about 412. by (*i*) *Cyril*, Bp. of *Alexandria*, in 412. by (*k*) *Theodoret*, at 423. by (*l*) *Eutherius*, Bp. of *Tyana*, in *Cappadocia*, in 431. by (*m*) *Socrates*, the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorian, about 440. by (*n*) *Euthalius*, in *Egypt*, about 458. and, probably, by (*o*) *Dionyſius*, falſely called the *Areopagite*, by (*p*) the Author of the Quæſtiones et Reſponſiones, commonly aſcribed to *Juſtin Martyr*, but rather writ in the fifth centurie. It is in (*q*) the *Alexandrian* manuſcript, about the year 500. and (*r*) in the Stichometrie of *Nicephorus*, about 806. is received as *Paul*'s by (*s*) *Coſmas* of *Alexandria*, about 535. by (*t*) *Leontius* of *Conſtantinople*, about 610. by (*u*) *John Damaſcen* in 730. by (*x*) *Photius*, about 858. by (*y*) *Oecumenius*, about the year 950. and by (*z*) *Theophylact* in 1070. I ſhall not go any lower.

I ſhall

(*f*) Vol. viii. p. 147. . . . 150. (*g*) Vol. viii. p. 227. and 232. (*h*) P. 243. . . 245. (*i*) P. 256. (*k*) Vol. viii. p. 270. 271. and 273. (*l*) P. 292. 293. (*m*) Vol. viii. p. 304. and 308. (*n*) P. 394. (*o*) Vol. ix. p. 113. 114. (*p*) P. 133. (*q*) Vol. ix. p. 147. 148. (*s*) P. 156. (*t*) P. 173. (*u*) Vol. ix. p. 191. (*x*) P. 217. 218. (*y*) P. 352. (*z*) See Vol. vi. p. 83. (*a*) The ſame. p. 45. (*b*) Vol. vi. p. 51. and 336. (*c*) Vol. ix. p. 395. 396. (*d*) Vol. x. p. 312. 335. (*e*) Vol. xi. p. 3. (*f*) Vol. xi. p. 38. (*g*) P. 60. (*h*) P. 69. (*i*) P. 75. (*k*) Vol. xi. p. 80. 84. (*l*) P. 123. (*m*) P. 452. (*n*) Vol. xi. p. 212. (*o*) Vol. xi. p. 219. 220. (*p*) See Vol. i. p. 262. the 2d ed. (*q*) Vol. xi. p. 240. (*r*) P. 249. (*s*) Vol. xi. p. 269. (*t*) P. 383. (*u*) P. 393. (*x*) P. 401. (*y*) P. 410. (*z*) P. 418.

I ſhall now rehearſe ſuch authors, as lived in that part of the Roman Empire, where the *Latin* was the vulgar tongue.

Here in the firſt place offers *Clement* in his epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, writ about the year 96. or as ſome others ſay, about the year 70. For though he wrote in *Greek*, we rank him among *Latin* authors, becauſe he was Biſhop of *Rome*. In his epiſtle (*a*) are divers paſſages generally ſuppoſed to contain alluſions, or references to the epiſtle to the *Hebrews*. *Irenaeus*, Bp. of *Lyons*, about 178. as we are aſſured by *Euſebius*, alleged (*b*) ſome paſſages out of this epiſtle, in a work now loſt. Nevertheleſs, it does not appear that he received it, as St. *Paul*'s. By *Tertullian*, Preſbyter of *Carthage*, about the year 200. this (*c*) epiſtle is aſcribed to *Barnabas*. *Caius*, about 212. ſuppoſed to have been Preſbyter in the church of *Rome*, reckoning (*d*) up the epiſtles of St. *Paul*, mentioned thirteen only, omitting that to the *Hebrews*. Here I place *Hippolitus*, who flouriſhed about 220. But it is not certainly known, where he was Biſhop, whether at *Porto* in *Italie*, or at ſome place in the Eaſt. We have ſeen evidences, that (*e*) he did not receive the epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, as St. *Paul*'s. And perhaps, that may afford an argument, that though he wrote in *Greek*, he lived where the *Latin* tongue prevailed. This epiſtle is (*f*) not quoted by *Cyprian*, Biſhop of *Carthage*, about 248. and afterwards. Nor does it appear to have been received by (*g*) *Novatus*, otherwiſe called *Novatian*, Preſbyter of *Rome*, about 251. Nevertheleſs it was in after times received (*h*) by his followers. It may be thought by ſome, that this epiſtle is referred to by (*i*) *Arnobius*, about 306. and (*k*) *Lactantius*, about the ſame time. It is plainly quoted by (*l*) another *Arnobius*, in the fifth centurie. It was received, as *Paul*'s, by (*m*) Hilarie, of *Poictiers*, about 354. and (*n*) by *Lucifer*, Bp. of *Cagliari*, in *Sardinia*, about the ſame time, and by (*o*) his followers. It was alſo received, as *Paul*'s, by (*p*) *C. M. Victorinus*. Whether (*q*) it was received by *Optatus*, of *Milevi*, in *Africa*, about 370. is doubtful. It was received as *Paul*'s by (*r*) *Ambroſe*, Bp. of *Milan*, about 374. by (*s*) the *Priſcillianiſts*, about 378. About the year 380. was publiſhed a Commentarie upon thirteen epiſtles of *Paul* only, (*t*) aſcribed to *Hilarie*, Deacon of *Rome*. It was received as *Paul*'s by (*u*) *Philaſter*, Bp. of *Brescia* in *Italie*, about 380. But he takes notice, that it was not then received by all. His ſucceſſor *Gaudentius*, about 387. quotes this (*x*) epiſtle as *Paul*'s. It is alſo readily received as *Paul*'s by (*y*) *Jerome*, about 392. And he ſays, it was generally

(*a*) Thoſe paſſages are alleged, with remarks. Vol. i. p. 87. . . . 95. firſt ed. p. 85. . . . . 94. 2d ed. And ſee p. 103. firſt ed. p. 101. 2d ed.

(*b*) See Vol. i. 368. . . . 372. and p. 381. (*c*) See Vol. ii. p. 606. . . 612.
(*d*) See Vol. iii. p. 24. . . . 31. (*e*) See Vol. iii. p. 86. 88. 110.
(*f*) See Vol. iv. p. 821. 828. and p. 853. (*g*) See Vol. v. 93. . . . 98.
(*h*) The ſame, p. 97. and 105. 106. (*i*) See Vol. vii. p. 52.
(*k*) P. 185. . . 188. (*l*) Vol. vii. p. 56. (*m*) Vol. viii. p. 283.
(*n*) Vol. ix. p. 42. (*o*) P. 45. and 47. (*p*) P. 59.
(*q*) See Vol. ix. p. 235. 236. (*r*) P. 249. 250. (*s*) P. 325. . . 328.
(*t*) P. 361. (*u*) P. 373. . . 376. (*x*) P. 379.
(*y*) Vol. x. p. 76. 112. 113. and 119.

rally received by the *Greeks*, and the Chriſtians in the Eaſt, but not by all the *Latins*. It was received as *Paul*'s by (*z*) *Rufin* in 397. It is alſo in (*a*) the catalogue of the third council of *Carthage*, in 397. It is frequently quoted by (*b*) *Auguſtin*, as St. *Paul*'s. In one place (*c*) he ſays, "It is doubtful authority with ſome. But he was inclined to follow "the opinion of the churches in the Eaſt, who received it among "the canonical ſcriptures." It was received as *Paul*'s, by (*d*) *Chromatius*, Bp. of *Aquileia*, in *Italie*, about 401. by (*e*) *Innocent*, Bp. of *Rome*, about 402. by (*f*) *Paulinus*, Bp. of *Nola* in *Italie*, about 403. *Pelagius* (*g*) about 405. wrote a Commentarie upon thirteen epiſtles of St. *Paul*, omitting that to the *Hebrews*. Nevertheleſs it was received by (*h*) his followers. It was received by (*i*) *Caſſian*, about 424. by (*k*) *Proſper* of *Aquitain*, about 434. and by (*l*) the Authors of the works aſcribed to him: by (*m*) *Eucherius*, Bp. of *Lyons*, in 434. by (*n*) *Sedulius*, about 818. by (*o*) *Leo*, Bp. of *Rome*, in 440. by (*q*) *Salvian*, Preſbyter of *Marſeilles*, about 440. by (*r*) *Gelaſius*, Bp. of *Rome*. about 496. by (*s*) *Facundus*, an *African* Biſhop, about 540. by (*t*) *Junilius*, an *African* Biſhop, about 556. by (*u*) *Caſſiodorius* in 556. by (*x*) the Author of the imperfect Work upon St. *Matthew*, about 560. by (*y*) *Gregorie*, Bp. of *Rome*, about 590. by (*z*) *Iſidore*, of *Seville*, about 596. and by (*a*) *Bede*, about 701. or the begining of the eighth centurie.

It may be now needful to make a few remarks.

It is evident that this epiſtle was generally received in ancient times, by thoſe Chriſtians who uſed the *Greek* language, and lived in the Eaſtern part of the Roman Empire. I forbear to inſiſt here on the ſeeming references in *Ignatius* and *Polycarp*. But *Clement* of *Alexandria*, before the end of the ſecond centurie, received this epiſtle as *Paul*'s, and quotes it as ſuch frequently, without any doubt, or heſitation. And had a tradition from ſome before him, concerning the reaſon, why the Apoſtle did not prefix his name to this, as he did to his other epiſtles.

Concerning the *Latin* writers it is obvious to remark, that this epiſtle is not expreſsly quoted, as *Paul*'s, by any of them in the firſt three centuries. However, it was known to *Irenæus*, and *Tertullian*, as we have ſeen, and poſſibly to others alſo. It is generally ſuppoſed, that there are divers alluſions and references to this epiſtle, in the epiſtle of *Clement* of *Rome*, writ to the *Corinthians*. However, I formerly mentioned (*b*) two learned men, who did not think that a clear point. I have ſince met with another of the ſame mind, whoſe words I place (*) below. And I muſt

(*z*) P. 186. (*a*) P. 194. (*b*) Vol. x. p. 211. 239. . . 247.
(*c*) P. 244. (*d*) Vol. xi. p. 25. (*e*) P. 39. (*f*) P. 44.
(*g*) P. 47. (*h*) P. 49. (*i*) P. 114. (*k*) P. 132.
(*l*) P. 136. . . 138. (*m*) P. 169. (*n*) P. 179. 183. (*o*) Vol. xi. p. 190.
(*q*) P. 199. (*r*) P. 225. (*s*) P. 285. (*t*) P. 297.
(*u*) P. 305. . . 308. and 311. (*x*) P. 330. 331.. (*y*) P. 349. 350.
(*z*) P. 365. . . 369. (*a*) P. 386.
(*b*) See Vol. i. p. 93. 2d ed. p. 95. firſt edit.

(*) Sed quis dubitaret, quin ex epiſtola ad Hebræos multa habeat, cum Euſebius illud diſerte annotat . . ? Nec tamen illud tam exploratum eſt.

muſt likewiſe refer to a conſideration, formerly (*c*) propoſed: that the little notice taken of this epiſtle by *Latin* writers in the ſecond and third centuries: and *Euſebius* (*d*) and *Jerome* (*e*) aſſuring us, that by many of the Romans in their time, this epiſtle was not received: ſeem to weaken this ſuppoſition, that *Clement* had often alluded to this epiſtle. For if the church of *Rome*, in his time, had owned it for an epiſtle of *Paul*; it is not eaſie to conceive, how any *Latin* Chriſtians afterwards ſhould have rejected it, or doubted of it's authority.

However, it is manifeſt, that it was received as an epiſtle of St. *Paul* by many *Latin* writers, in the fourth, fifth, and following centuries.

The reaſons of doubting about the genuinneſſe of this epiſtle, probably, were the want of a name at the begining, and the difference of argument, or ſubject matter, and of ſtile, from the commonly received epiſtles of the Apoſtle, as is intimated by (*f*) *Jerome*. Whether they are ſufficient reaſons for rejecting this epiſtle, will be conſidered in the courſe of our argument.

2. There is nothing in the epiſtle itſelf, that renders it impoſſible, or unlikely to be his.

For the epiſtle appears to have been writ before the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem:* as was of old obſerved by (*g*) *Chryſoſtom*, and (*h*) *Theodoret*, and has been argued alſo by many (*i*) moderns. That the temple was ſtill ſtanding, and ſacrifices there offered, may be inferred from ch. viii. 4. *For if he were on earth, he ſhould not be a Prieſt: ſeeing there are Prieſts, that offer according to the law:* and from ch. xiii. 10. *We have an altar, whereof they have no right to eat, which ſerve the tabernacle.* Moreover, if (*k*) the temple had been deſtroyed, and the worſhip there aboliſhed; the writer would not have failed to take ſome notice of it, in ſupport of his argument, and for abating the too great attachment of many to the rites

Phraſium et ſententiarum æqualitas, ex qua illud unice derivandum eſt, (nam nuſquam a Clemente citatur,) non eſt adeo perfecta et frequens, non adeo ſingularis, ut ex Ep. ad Hebræos eas repetitas eſſe, inde evincatur. *Herman. Venem. Diſſ. ii. de Tit. ep. ad Epheſ. num. viii. p.* 343.

(*c*) *See Vol. i. p.* 103. *firſt ed. p.* 101. *2d ed.*

(*d*) *Vid. Euſeb. H. E. l.* 3. *c.* 3. *p.* 72. *B. C. and in this work, Vol. viii. p.* 101.

(*e*) *See Vol. x. p.* 120. *and* 122.

(*f*) *See Vol. x. p.* 112.

(*g*) *Vid. Chryſoſt. Pr. in ep. ad Hebr. T.* 12. *p.* 4. *C. D.*

(*h*) *Theod. in Hebr. xiii.* 9. 10.

(*i*) Quærentibus, quo tempore, et unde ſcripta ſit epiſtola ad Hebræos, nihil eſt quod reſpondeamus, niſi ſcriptam fuiſſe, cum Judæi adhuc gloriarentur templo Jeroſolymitano, et ſacerdotio Moſaico: de quibus ubique loquitur ſcriptor, ut etiamnum ſtantibus. *Cleric. Hiſt. Ec. an.* 69. *p.* 461.

(*k*) Quia nata hæc epiſtola, ſtante templo et Levitico ſacerdotio. . . . Hebr. viii. 4. Neque alias neceſſe fuit declamare in ſacrificiorum uſum, et praxin ſacerdotii, penitus eo templi et urbis et reipublicæ everſione ſublato. Neque maxime omnium prægnans argumentum Judæis confundendis, et coërcendis pſeudo-apoſtolis, ab ipſa jactura cultûs, et Hieroſolymitanæ ſedis reſtitutionis ſpe nulla amplius affulgente prætermiſiſſet. *Spanhem. ubi ſupra. P.* 2. *cap. vi. p.* 3. *T. i. p.* 229.

rites of the Mosaic institution. To this purpose speaks *Spanheim* in a passage which I have transcribed below. And in like manner another learned Commentator, to (*l*) whom I refer. It is also probable, that (*m*) those words, ch. iii. 13. *While it is called to day*, refer to the patience, which God yet continued to exercise toward the Jewish nation. He seems to have had in view the approaching desolation of *Jerusalem*, which would put an end to that *to day*, and finish the time which God gave to the Jews, as a nation, to *hear his voice*. And *Lightfoot* (*n*) argues from ch. xii. 4. *Ye have not yet resisted unto blood:* that the epistle was writ before the war in *Judea* was begun.

Indeed those words have been the ground of an objection against this epistle having been sent to the believing Jews in *Judea*, because there had been already several martyrdoms in that country. That difficulty I would now remove. And I have received from a learned friend the following observation, which may be of use. "It seems to me, says he, "that (*o*) the Apostle here, as well as in the preceding context, alludes "to the Grecian games or exercises: and he signifies, that they, to "whom he writes, had not been called out to the most dangerous com-"bats, and had not run the immediate hazard of their lives. Which, "I suppose, might be said of them as a body, or church." And I shall transfer hither Mr. *Beausobre*'s note upon this place. "There had been "Martyrs in *Judea*, as *Stephen*, and the two *James*. But for the most "part the Jews did not put the Christians to death, for want of power. "They were imprisoned, and scourged. See Acts v. 40. and here "xiii. 3. And they endured reproaches, and the losse of their substance. "ch. x. 32. . . . 34. These were the sufferings, which they had met "with. The Apostle therefore here indirectly reproves the *Hebrews*, "that though God treated them with more indulgence than he had "done his people in former times, and even than his own Son, they ne-"vertheless wavered in their profession of the Gospel. See ver. 12."

3. There are divers exhortations in this epistle, much resembling some in the acknowledged epistles of St. *Paul*.

1.) Heb. xii. 3. . . *Lest* (*p*) *ye be wearied, and faint in your mind.* Gal. vi. 9. *And* (*q*) *let us not be wearie in well-doing, for in due season we shall reap if we faint not.* And see 2 Thess. iii. 13. and Eph. iii. 13.

2.) Heb. xii. 14. *Follow* (*r*) *peace with all men, and holinesse, without which no man shall see the Lord.* An exhortation very suitable to *Paul*, and to the Jewish believers in *Judea:* admonishing them not to impose the rituals of the law upon others, that is, the Gentil believers, and to maintain friendship with them, though they did not embrace the law. It has also a resemblance with Rom. xii. 18. But the words of the original are different.

3.) Hebr.

(*l*) *See Beausobre's preface to the epistle to the Hebrews.*
(*m*) *The same.*
(*n*) *Harmon. of the N. T. Vol. i. p.* 339.
(*o*) . . . πρὸς τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἀνταγωνιζόμενοι.
(*p*) . . . ἵνα μὴ κάμητε, ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐκλυόμενοι.
(*q*) Τὸ δὲ καλὸν ποιοῦντες μὴ ἐκκακῶμεν. Καιρῷ γὰρ ἰδίῳ θερισομεν, μὴ ἐκλυόμενοι.
(*r*) Εἰρήνην διώκετε μετὰ πάντων, καὶ τὸν ἁγιασμόν.

3.) Hebr. xiii. 1. *Let brotherly love continue:* and what follows to the end of ver. 3. Then at ver. 4. *Marriage is honorable. But fornicators and adulterers God will judge.* Here is an agreement with Eph. v. 2. 3. *And walk in love, as Chriſt alſo has loved us. . . . But fornication, and all uncleanneſſe, and covetouſneſſe, let it not be once named among you. . . For this ye know, that no fornicator, nor unclean perſon, nor covetous man, . . . has any inheritance in the kingdom of God.*

4.) Ch. xii. 16. *But (s) to do good, and to communicate, forget not. For with ſuch ſacrifices God is well pleaſed.* That exhortation is very ſuitable to *Paul*'s doctrine, and has an agreement with what he ſays elſewhere: as Philipp. iv. 18.—*An odour of a ſweet ſmell, a ſacrifice, acceptable, well pleaſing to God.* Moreover, as is obſerved (*t*) by *Grotius* upon this text, the word *communicate*, or *communion*, is found in a like ſenſe in the Acts, and in other epiſtles of St. *Paul*. See Acts ii. 42. Rom. xv. 26. 2 Cor. viii. 4. ix. 13.

4. In the next place I obſerve ſome inſtances of agreement in the ſtile, or phraſes, of the epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, and the acknowledged epiſtles of *Paul*.

1.) Hebr. ii. 4. *God (u) alſo bearing them witneſſe with ſigns, and wonders, and divers miracles, and gifts of the Holy Ghoſt.*

Signs and wonders, together, ſeldom occur in other books of the New Teſtament. But they are found ſeveral times in the Acts, and St. *Paul*'s epiſtles. The phraſe is in Matth. xxiv. 14. and Mark xiii. 2. and once likewiſe in St. *John*'s Goſpel. iv. 48. But it is ſeveral times in the Acts: ch. ii. 19. iv. 30. . . . 43. v. 12. vi. 8. viii. 13. xiv. 3. xv. 12. The moſt remarkable are theſe, where there are three different words. Acts ii. 22. . . . *A man approved of God among you by (x) miracles, and wonders, and ſigns.* Rom. xv. 19. . . . *Through (y) mighty ſigns and wonders, by the power of the ſpirit of God.* 2 Cor. xii. 12. . . . *(z) In ſigns, and wonders, and mighty deeds.* 2 Theſſ. ii. 9. *(a) With all power, and ſigns, and lying wonders.*

2.) Ch. ii. 14. . . . *That through death he might deſtroy him that had the power of death.* The word καταργέω, or καταργέομαι, is, I think, no where uſed in the New Teſtament, except in Luke xiii. 7. and St. *Paul*'s epiſtles, where it is ſeveral times: and is ſometimes uſed in a ſenſe reſembling this place, particularly, 2 Tim. i. 10. *Who has aboliſhed death:* καταργήσαντος μὲν θάνατον. And 1 Cor. xv. 26. Compare Dr. *Doddridge*'s Family Expoſitor. Vol. IV. upon 1 Cor. xv. 24.

3.) Ch. iii. 1. . . . *Holy brethren, partakers of the heavenly calling:* Philip. iii. 14. *The prize of the high calling of God in Chriſt Jeſus.* 2 Tim. i. 19. . . *Who has called us with an holy calling.*

4.) Ch.

(*s*) Τῆς δὲ εὐποιΐας καὶ κοινωνίας μὴ ἐπιλανθάνεσθε.

(*t*) Κοινωνίας vox refertur ad pecunias, et ea, quæ pecuniis comparantur. Vide Act. ii. 42. Rom. xv. 26. 2 Cor. viii. 4. ix. 13. *Grot. in. Hebr. xiii.* 16.

(*u*) Συνεπιμαρτυροῦντος τοῦ θεοῦ σημείοις δὲ τέρασι, καὶ ποικίλαις δυνάμεσι, καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου μερισμοῖς.

(*x*) . . . δυνάμεσι, καὶ τέρασι, καὶ σημείοις.

(*y*) . . . ἐν δυνάμει σημείων καὶ τεράτων, ἐν δυνάμει πνεύματος θεοῦ.

(*z*) . . . ἐν σημείοις, καὶ τέρασι, καὶ δυνάμεσι.

(*a*) . . . ἐν πάσῃ δυνάμει, καὶ σημείοις, καὶ τέρασι ψεύδους.

4.) Ch. v. 12. . . *And are become ſuch as have need of milk, and not of ſtrong meat.* 2 Cor. iii. 2. *I have fed you with milk, and not with meat.* However, in the original, there is no great agreement in the words: except that in both places *milk* is uſed for the firſt rudiments of the Chriſtian doctrine.

5.) Ch. viii. 1. . . *Who is ſet on the right hand of the throne of the majeſty on high.* Eph. i. 21. . . *And ſet him at his own right hand in the heavenly places.*

6.) Ch. viii. 6. ix. 15. and xii. 24. Jeſus Chriſt is ſtiled *mediator.* So likewiſe in Gal. iii. 19. 20. 1 Tim. ii. 5. and in no other books of the New Teſtament.

7.) Ch. viii. 5. *Who ſerve unto the example, and ſhadow, of heavenly things. . . καὶ σκιᾷ . . τῶν ἐπουρανίων.* x. 1. *For the law having a ſhadow of good things to come, and not the very image of the things.* Σκιὰν ἔχων . . τῶν μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν, ἐκ αυτὴν τὴν εἰκόνα τῶν πραγμάτων. Col. ii. 17. *Which are a ſhadow of things to come. But the body is of Chriſt.* Ἅ ἐστι σκιὰ τῶν μελλόντων· τὸ δὲ σῶμα τῦ χριστῦ.

8.) Ch. x. 33. *Whilſt ye were made a gazing-ſtock,* or ſpectacle, *both by reproaches and afflictions.* ὀνειδισμῶις τε καὶ θλίψεσι θεατριζόμενοι. 1 Cor. iv. 9. *For we are made a ſpectacle unto the world. . . ὅτι θέατρον ἐγενήθημεν τῷ κόσμῳ.*

9. St. *Paul,* in (*b*) his acknowledged epiſtles, often alludes to the exerciſes and games, which were then very reputable, and frequent in *Greece,* and other parts of the Roman Empire. There are divers ſuch alluſions in this epiſtle, which have alſo great elegance. So ch. vi. 18. *Who have fled for refuge, to* (*c*) *lay hold of the hope ſet before us,* or the reward of eternal life, propoſed to animate and encourage us. And ch. xii. 1. *Wherefore ſeeing we alſo* (*d*) *are compaſſed about with ſo great a cloud of witneſſes, let* (*e*) *us lay aſide every weight, and the ſin which does ſo eaſily beſet*

(*b*) *See* 1 *Cor. ix.* 24. . . . 26. 1 *Tim. vi.* 12. 2 *Tim. ii.* 5. *and iv.* 7. 8.

(*c*) Κρατῆσαι τῆς προκειμένης ἐλπίδος: *ad obtinendam ſpem propoſitam,* ſc. vitam eternam. Elegantiſſima metaphora eſt vocis προκειμένης, e veterum certaminum ratione ducta. Proprie enim προκεῖσθαι dicuntur τὰ ἆθλα, ſc. præmia certaminis, quæ publice proponuntur in propatulo, ut eorum adſpectus, certaque eorum adipiſcendorum ſpes, certaturos alacriores redderet ad certamen ineundum, victoriamque reportandam: ut interpretabamur ſupra ad 2 Tim. iv. 8. τὸ ἀπόκεῖσθαι, quod eandem ſignificationem obtinet. *J. Tob. Krebſii Obſervat. in N. T. e Joſepho. p.* 377.

Ego vero puto φέυγειν accipi pro συντόνως τρέχειν, et ſumtam tranſlationem a gymnicis ludis: quo ſpectant etiam vocabula κραῖῆσαι, καταπετάσματος, et προδρόμυ. *Bez. in loc.*

(*d*) *See Mr. Hallett upon the place. note* (*u*).

(*e*) Ογκον ἀποθέμενοι πάντα· *deponentes omne pondus.* Tota hæc oratio tranſlatitia eſt: quaſi nobis in ſtadio non ſine magnis difficultatibus currendum: qua tranſlatione ſæpe utitur Paulus. In primis igitur monet, ut ὄγκον abjiciamus, quo vocabulo craſſa omnis et tarda moles ſignificatur. *Bez. in loc.*

A ſtadio ſumta ſimilitudo: Ibi qui curſuri ſunt, omnia quæ oneri eſſe poſſunt deponunt. &c. *Grot. in loc.*

And ſee Hallett, as before, note (*w*).

ſet us, and (*f*) *let us run with patience the race that is ſet before us.* ver. 2. *Looking unto Jeſus, who* (*g*) *for the joy that was ſet before him, endured the croſſe.* And ver. 3. *Leſt* (*h*) *ye be wearied, and faint in your minds.* And ver. 12. *Wherefore* (*i*) *liſt up the hands that hang down, and the feeble knees.*

All theſe texts ſeem to contain alluſions to the celebrated exerciſes and games of thoſe times. And under each of them I have referred to, or tranſcribed the notes of ſome learned critics and commentators, tending to illuſtrate them. And to theſe may be added, if I miſtake not, the place before (*k*) taken notice of, ch. xii. 4. *Ye have not yet reſiſted unto blood, ſtriving* (*l*) *againſt ſin.*

10.) Ch. xiii. 9. *Be not carried about with divers and ſtrange doctrines.* Διδαχαῖς ποικίλαις καὶ ξέναις μὴ περιφέρεσθε. Eph. iv. 14. *That we henceforth be no more children, toſſed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine. . . .* κλυδωνιζόμενοι, καὶ περιφερόμενοι παντὶ ἀνέμῳ τῆς διδασκαλίας.

11.) Ch. xiii. 10. *We have an altar, whereof they have no right to eat.* 1 Cor. ix. 13. *And they that wait at the altar, are partakers with the altar?* And ch. x. 18. *Are not they which eat of the ſacrifices, partakers of the altar?*

12.) Ch. xiii. 20. 21. *Now the God of peace . . . make you perfect.* Which is a title of the Deity, no where found in the New Teſtament, but in St. *Paul*'s epiſtles. And in them it is ſeveral times, and near the concluſion, as here. So Rom. xv. 33. *Now the God of peace be with you all.* See likewiſe ch. xvi. 20. and Philip. iv. 9. And 1 Theſſ. v. 23. *And the very God of peace ſanctify you wholly.* And 2 Cor. xiii. 11. *And the God of love and peace be with you.*

5. The concluſion of this epiſtle has a remarkable agreement with the concluſions of St. *Paul*'s epiſtles, in ſeveral reſpects.

1.) He

(*f*) Τρέχωμεν τὸν προκείμενον ἡμῖν τὸν ἀγῶνα, Loquendi ratio eſt agoniſtica, et petita a curſoribus, qui ſtadium abſolvunt. De voce πρόκειμαι ſatis multa afferebamus ſupra cap. vi. 18. . . . Senſus autem Apoſtoli eſt: *Curramus in ſtadio, nobis propoſito ad currendum:* voce ἀγὼν pro loco, ſc. ſtadio ſumta. *Krebſ. ubi ſupra. p.* 390.

(*g*) Ος ἀντὶ τῆς προκειμένης χαρᾶς. κ. λ. *Vid. Krebſ. ib. p.* 390.

(*h*) Ινα μὴ κάμητε, ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν ἐκλυόμενοι. . . . . Hæc duo verba a palæſtra et ab athletis deſumta ſunt, qui proprie dicuntur κάμνειν, et ψυχαῖς ἐκλύεσθαι, cum corporis viribus debilitati et fracti, omnique ſpe vincendi abjectâ, victas manus dent adverſario. . . . Neque dubium eſt, quin Apoſtolus eo reſpexerit. *Id. ib.*

(*i*) Διὸ τὰς παρειμένας χεῖρας καὶ τὰ παραλελυμένα γόνατα ἀνορθώσατε. Quemadmodum Paulus ſæpiſſime delectatur loquendi formulis ex re palæſtrica petitis; ita dubium non eſt, quin hic quoque reſpexiſſe eo videatur. Athletis enim et luctatoribus tribuuntur παρειμέναι χεῖρες et παραλελυμένα γόνατα, cum luctando ita defatigati, viribuſque fracti ſunt, ut neque manus neque pedes officio ſuo fungi poſſint, ipſique adeo victos ſe eſſe fateri cogantur. *Id. ib. p.* 392.

(*k*) *See here, p.* 310.

(*l*) Πρὸς τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἀνταγωνιζόμενοι.

1.) He here deſires the Chriſtians, to whom he is writing, to pray for h m. ch. xiii. 18. *Pray for us.* So Rom. xv. 30. Eph. vi. 18. 19. Col. iv. 3. 1 Theſſ. v. 25. 2 Theſſ. iii. 1.

2.) It is added in the ſame ver. 18. *For we truſt, we have a good conſcience, in all things willing to live honeſtly.* Which may well come from *Paul*, ſome of the Jewiſh believers not being well affected to him, or being even offended with him. So ſays (*m*) *Theodoret* upon this place, and *Chryſoſtom* (*n*) to the like purpoſe, very largely. To which might be added ver. 22. *And I beſeech you, brethren, to ſuffer the word of exhortation.* It is alſo obſervable, that St. *Paul* makes a like profeſſion of his ſincerity, in pleading againſt the Jews, before *Felix.* Acts xxiv. 16.

3.) Having deſired the prayers of theſe Chriſtians for himſelf, he prays for them. ch. xiii. 20. 21. *Now the God of peace . . . make you perfect . . . through Jeſus Chriſt. To whom be glorie for ever and ever. Amen.* So Rom. xv. 30. . . . 32. having aſked their prayers for him, he adds ver. 33. *Now the God of peace be with you all. Amen.* Compare Eph. vi. 19. . . . 23. and 1 Theſſ. v. 23. and 2 Theſſ. iii. 16.

4.) Ch. xiii. 24. *Salute all them that have the rule over you, and all the ſaints. They of Italie ſalute you.* The like ſalutations are in divers of St. *Paul*'s epiſtles. Rom. xvi. 1 Cor. xvi. 19. . . . 21. 2 Cor. xiii. 13. Philip. iv. 21. 22. Not to refer to any more.

5.) The valedictorie benediction at the end is that, which *Paul* had made the token of the genuinneſſe of his epiſtles. 2 Theſſ. iii. 18. So here ch. xiii. 25. *Grace* (*o*) *be with you all. Amen.* Indeed, ſometimes it is *the grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt be with you.* But at other times it is more contracted. So Col. iv. 18 *Grace be with you.* 1 Tim. vi. 21. *Grace be with thee.* See likewiſe Eph. vi. 24. 2. Tim. iv. 22. Tit. iii. 15. The ſame obſervation is in (*p*) *Theodoret.*

6. The circumſtances of the epiſtle lead us to the Apoſtle *Paul.*

1.) Ch. xiii. 24. *They of Italie ſalute you.* The writer therefore was then in *Italie.* Whither we know *Paul* was ſent a priſoner, and where he reſided two years. Acts xxviii. Where alſo he wrote ſeveral epiſtles, ſtill remaining.

2.) Ver. 19. He deſires them *the rather to pray for him, that he might be reſtored to them the ſooner. Paul* had been brought from *Judea* to *Rome.* And he was willing to go thither again, where he had been ſeveral times. And though the original words are not the ſame, there is an agreement between this and Philem. ver. 22. *I truſt, that through your prayers I ſhall*

(*m*) Διαβέβληντο ἀυτοῖς, ὡς τἀναντία τῷ νόμῳ κηρύττων. Διδάσκει τοίνυν ἀυτους, ὡς ἐκ ἄλλης τῆς χάριν τὸτο ποιεῖ, ἀλλὰ τῷ θείῳ λόγῳ πειθόμενος. Διὰ τὸτο κὴ τὴν συνείδησιν εἰς μαρτυρίαν ἐκαλεσε. *Theod. in Hebr. xiii.* 18. *T.* 3. *p.* 461.

(*n*) *In Hebr. xiii. hom.* 34. *Tom. xii. p.* 313. 314.

(*o*) Et hoc ad exemplum Pauli. Eph. vi. 24. Col. iv. 18. 1 Tim. vi. 21. 2 Tim. iv. 22. Tit. iii. 15. Qui alibi explicat, quæ ſit illa gratia, nempe Chriſti. *Grot. in Hebr. xiii.* 25.

(*p*) Τὸ σύνηθες ἀκροτέλευτιον τίθεικε, τὴν τῆς χάριτος μετουσίαν. *Theod. in. loc. T.* 3. *p.* 462.

shall be given to you. This particular is one of the arguments of *Euthalius*, that (*q*) this epistle is *Paul*'s, and writ to the Jews of *Palestine*.

3.) Ver. 23. *Know ye, that our brother Timothie is set at liberty. With whom, if he come shortly, I will see you.* *Timothie* was with *Paul*, during his imprisonment at *Rome*. As is allowed by all. For he is expresly mentioned at the begining of the epistles to the *Philippians*, *Colossians*, *Philemon*, writ when he was in bonds. He is mentioned again Philip. ii. 19. When the Apostle writes to *Timothie*, he calls him *his son*, or *dearly beloved son*. 1 Tim. i. 2. 2 Tim. i. 2. But when he mentions him to others, he calls him *brother*. 2 Cor. i. 1. Col. i. 1. 1 Thess. iii. 2. In like manner *Titus*. Comp. Tit. i. 4. and 2 Cor. ii. 13.

This mention of *Timothie* has led many, not only moderns, but ancients likewise, to think of *Paul*, as writer of the epistle, particularly, (*r*) *Euthalius*. And undoubtedly, many others have been confirmed in that supposition by this circumstance.

The original word, ἀπολελυμένον, is ambiguous, being capable of two senses: one of which is that of our translation, *set at liberty*, that is, from imprisonment: the other is dismissed, *sent abroad on an errand*. In this last sense it was understood by *Euthalius*. Who in the place just cited says, "That scarcely any one can be thought of, beside *Paul*, who would send *Timothie* abroad upon any service of the Gospel." And indeed this passage doth put us in mind of what *Paul* says to the *Philippians*, ch. ii. 19. *But I trust in the Lord Jesus, to send Timothie shortly unto you, that I also may be of good comfort, when I know your state. Him therefore I hope to send presently, so soon as I shall see how it will go with me. But I trust in the Lord, that I also myself shall come shortly.* ver. 23. 24. Which induced *Beausobre* to say in the preface to this epistle: "The (*s*) sacred au-
"thor concludes with asking the prayers of the *Hebrews*, xiii. 19. *That*
"*he may be restored to them.* These words intimate, that he was still
"prisoner, but that he hoped to be set at liberty. Therefore he adds
"in the 23. ver. that he intended to come and see them with *Timothie*,
"as soon as he should be returned. If this explication be right, this
"epistle was writ at *Rome* some time after the epistle to the *Philippians*,
"and since the departure of *Timothie* for *Macedonia*."

Thus we are brought to the time of this epistle. Nevertheless before I proceed to speak distinctly to that, I would conclude the argument concerning the writer of it.

All these considerations, just mentioned, added to the testimonie of many ancient writers, make out an argument of great weight, (though not decisive and demonstrative,) that the Apostle *Paul* is the writer of this epistle.

It

(*q*) Μαρτυρεῖται δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἑξῆς ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ὑπάρχουσα παύλου, τῷ γεγραφέναι, ὅτι καὶ τοῖς δεσμοῖς μου συνεπαθήσατε, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ λέγειν, περισσότερον ἔυχεσθε, ἵνα τάχιον ἀποκατασταθῶ ὑμῖν. *Euthal. ap. Zacagn. p.* 670.

(*r*) Καὶ ἐκ τοῦ λέγειν, γινώσκετε τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν τιμόθεον ἀπολελυμένον . . . . οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἂν, δοκιμάζειν εἰς διακονίαν τιμόθεον, εἰ μὴ παῦλος, κ. λ. *Euthal. ib. p.* 671.

(*s*) *Preface sur l'épitre aux Hebreux. n.* 37. *p.* 429.

It ſhould be obſerved, I have hitherto declined the uſe of two arguments, often inſiſted upon in diſcourſing of this point.

One of which is the teſtimonie of St. *Peter*: 2 ep. iii. 15. 16. This I have omitted, becauſe I am not ſatisfied, that he and the author of this epiſtle write to the ſame perſons. Nor does it appear certain to me, that St. *Peter* there takes any particular notice of this (*t*) epiſtle, as one of *Paul*'s. However as many learned men look upon that paſſage of St. *Peter*, as a full teſtimonie to *Paul*'s being the writer of this epiſtle; I ſhall refer to ſeveral, or tranſcribe below, a part at leaſt of what they ſay: particularly (*u*) *Mill*, (*x*) *Spanheim*, and (*y*) *Baſnage*.

The other argument omitted by me is that taken from Hebr. x. 34. *For he had compaſſion of me in my bonds.* On this inſiſt (*z*) *Spanheim*, (*a*) *Mill*, and (*b*) *Baſnage*, to prove, that this epiſtle was writ by *Paul*. But Mr. *James Peirce* tranſlates the words thus: *For ye ſympathized with thoſe who were in bonds.* And in his notes ſays: "Were it certain, that "the common is the true reading of the place, there would be little "room left to doubt of the epiſtle's being writ by St. *Paul*. But the "*Alexandrian*, and other manuſcripts, of the beſt note, read here δεσμίοις "inſtead

(*t*) Says Mr. *Hallett*, Introduction, p. 21. "Some learned men have at- "tempted to prove this point from what St. *Peter* ſays. 2. Pet. iii. 15. 16. "If it could be proved, that he ſpeaks of the epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, the "teſtimonie of this Apoſtle would fully determine the diſpute. But as I "do not think, it can be certainly proved, that he ſpeaks of this epiſtle, "without proving that St. *Paul* was the author of it, I cannot argue from "this paſſage. Thoſe on the other ſide go upon the ſuppoſition, that St. "*Peter*'s epiſtles were written to the *Hebrews*, or *Jews*. But it ſeems to me "abundantly more natural to ſuppoſe, that they were written to Gentil "Chriſtians, if we conſider many paſſages of the epiſtles themſelves."

(*u*) Et quidem epiſtolam hanc eam ipſam fuiſſe, quam ad Hebræos Chriſtianos miſerat Apoſtolus noſter, diſertis verbis D. Petri conſtat. Ep. 2. cap. iii. 15. &c. *Mill. Proleg. num.* 86. . . . 91.

(*x*) *Vid. Spanhem. Diſſ. de Auct. ep. ad Hebr. Part. i. cap. ii. . . v.*

(*y*) Hebræis Paulum ſcripſiſſe, planum eſt ex poſteriore Petri: *Paulus pro ſibi data ſapientia ſcripſit vobis.* Hebræos enim adibat ſcripto Petrus circumciſionis Apoſtolus. Quænam autem Pauli ad Hebræos ſcripta epiſtola, ſi noſtra non eſt? . . Ipſa igitur eſt, quæ omnium in manibus verſatur atque oculis. *Baſn. ann.* 61. *num. iv.*

(*z*) Prima eſto circumſtantia *vinculorum* illa mentio. Capite x. ver. 34. . . . Conſtat enim, ſoli Paulo, et fere ſemper, veniſſe hoc in uſu. Et quas omnes ex Italia tranſmiſit epiſtolas, vinculorum ſuorum mentione quaſi diſtinxit. *Spanh. ib. P.* 2. *cap.* 4.

(*a*) Auctorem habet hæc epiſtola, ſi qua uſquam alia, D. Paulum. Alloquitur Auctor Hebræos iſtos, velut ipſius in carcere memores, ejuſque vinculis συμπαθήσαντας. Iſta Apoſtolo noſtro congruere, nemo non videt. Hieroſolyma ipſe duos ante annos eleemoſynas eccleſiarum detulerat, ubi ab univerſa illic eccleſia benigne exceptus erat, toto tempore, quo Cæſareæ manſit incarceratus. *Mill. Prol. num.* 85.

(*b*) A manu catenata epiſtolam in Italia exaratam fuiſſe, cernimus et videmus: *vinculis meis mecum affecti ſuiſtis.* Barnabam vero aut Lucam compedibus in Italia fuiſſe detentos, veterum in monimentis ne minimâ quidem literâ invenimus. *Baſnag. Ann.* 61. *num. iv.*

" inſtead of δεσμοῖς μου. And the ſame is confirmed by ancient verſions." And that this is the truer reading, may be ſeen in *Bengelius*, *Wetſtein*, and *Mill* himſelf: though in his argument concerning the author of the epiſtle, he has been pleaſed to argue from the common reading. If *Paul* here referred to his bonds, I ſhould think, he intended his impriſonment in *Judea*, as *Mill* thought, not at *Rome*, as *Baſnage* does, in the place juſt cited. I make no doubt, but that the Hebrew believers in *Judea* afforded St. *Paul* relief and comfort, whilſt he lay priſoner at *Cæſarea*. But as I do not here diſcern any plain reference to that, I do not form any argument from this text, in behalf of the writer of the epiſtle.

I ſay no more by way of argument. But there are objections, which ought to be conſidered.

1. Obj. Hebr. ii. 3. *How ſhall we eſcape, if we neglect ſo great ſalvation, which at the firſt began to be ſpoken by the Lord, and was confirmed unto us by them that heard him?*

Hence it has been argued, that the writer of this epiſtle placeth himſelf with thoſe, who had received the doctrine of the goſpel from Chriſt's Apoſtles. But *Paul* had it from Chriſt himſelf, as he ſays at large in the firſt chapter of the epiſtle to the *Galatians*. This has been thought by (*c*) *Grotius*, and (*d*) *Le Clerc*, a good reaſon, why *Paul* ſhould not be eſteemed the writer of this epiſtle.

To which I anſwer, that it is not uncommon for *Paul* to joyn himſelf with thoſe, to whom he is writing, and to ſay *us*, where he might ſay *you*: eſpecially when he ſays any thing that is humbling, and that might be thought diſagreeable. So Col. i. 12. 13. *Giving thanks to the Father, who. . . has delivered us from the power of darkneſſe. . . .* This I take to be a plain inſtance. To which might be added, according to the judgement of ſome Commentators, Eph. ii. 3. and Tit. iii. 3. The note of *Grotius* upon this laſt cited text may be obſerved. And now I tranſcribe below (*e*) the anſwer of Mr. *Wetſtein* to this objection. Which is in the main agreeable to what I have juſt ſaid.

I would

(*c*) Præterea Paulo hanc epiſtolam abjudicat, quod hujus ſcriptor ſe iis annumeret, qui non a Chriſto, ſed ab ejus diſcipulis, notitiam evangelii acceperit. cap. ii. 3. Cum contra Paulus auctoritatem ſibi addat inde, quod hanc notitiam a Chriſto ipſo acceperit. *Grot. Pr. in ep. ad Hebr.*

(*d*) Videtur et ſcriptor epiſtolæ ad Hebræos cap. ii. 3. &c. eorum numero cenſeri velle, qui evangelium acceperant ab iis, a quibus auditus erat ipſe Chriſtus. . . Quod in Paulum non quadrat, qui evangelium ab ipſo Jeſu Chriſto et Deo accepiſſe ſe, non falſo gloriatur. Gal. i. *Cleric. H. E. A. D.* 69. *p.* 459.

(*e*) Hebr. ii. 3. Paulus ſe iis annumerat, qui notitiam evangelii a diſcipulis Chriſti acceperunt: cum tamen ad Galatas non ſemel teſtetur, glorieturque, ſe non ab hominibus, ſed ab ipſo Chriſto fuiſſe inſtitutum, Gal. i. 1. 12. 17. ii. 6. Ratio diſcriminis ex modo dictis manifeſta eſt. In epiſtola ad Galatas id agit, ut auctoritatem ſuam adſtruat: hic autem, ubi de ſupplicio deſertoribus impendente loquitur, ut minus ingrata eſſet comminatio atque admonitio, ſeipſum illis annumerat comm. 1. Δεῖ ἡμᾶς προσέχειν τοῖς ἀκουσθεῖσιν, μή ποτε παραῤῥυῶμεν. . . πῶς ἡμεῖς ἐκφευξόμεθα. . . Poſtquam igitur ita cœpiſſet, conſequens erat, ut in eadem figura pergeret, ſcriberetque πῶς σωτηρίας. . . ἡμᾶς ἰδιεκαίωσεν. Ita Eph. ii. 3. Col. i. 12. 13. Tit. iii. 3. ubi

I would alſo obſerve, that there is another inſtance in this epiſtle, much reſembling the text, upon which the preſent objection is founded. Hebr. xii. 1. . . . *Wherefore . . . let us lay aſide every weight, and the ſin which does ſo eaſily beſet us. . . .* And this way of writing is ſuitable to *Paul*'s ſtile and method in his acknowledged epiſtles.

Secondly, I would farther add, if it might not be eſteemed too prolix: that in divers other places we find *Paul*, when he aſſerts the reſurrection of Jeſus Chriſt, inſiſting alſo upon the teſtimonie of the other Apoſtles, and likewiſe of other diſciples. Thus, preaching at *Antioch* in *Piſidia*, Acts xiii. 30. 31. *But God raiſed him from the dead. And he was ſeen many days of them, which came up with him from Galilee to Jeruſalem, who are his witneſſes unto the people.* And alſo 1 Cor. xv. at the beginning. Which I ſhall recite largely, as full to the point. *Moreover, brethren, I declare unto you the goſpel, which I preached unto you, which alſo ye have received. . . . By which alſo ye are ſaved, if ye keep in memorie what I preached unto you. . . . For I delivered unto you firſt of all, how that Chriſt died for our ſins, according to the ſcriptures: and that he was buried, and that he roſe again the third day, according to the ſcriptures: and that he was ſeen of Cephas, then of the twelve. After that he was ſeen of James, then of all the Apoſtles. And laſt of all he was ſeen of me.*

And this context, perhaps, will juſtify me in proceeding ſomewhat farther. When St. *Paul* ſays 2 Tim. ii. 8. *Remember, that Jeſus Chriſt . . . was raiſed from the dead, according to my goſpel:* he intends, as I apprehend, to lead *Timothie* to recollect the goſpel, that had been preached by him in ſuch and ſuch circumſtances, confirmed by miracles wrought by him, and agreeable to the prophecies of the ancient ſcriptures, and the teſtimonie of the other Apoſtles, and diſciples of Chriſt. As he alſo ſays at ver. 2. of the ſame chapter: *The things that thou haſt heard of me among many witneſſes:* literally, *by many witneſſes:* that is confirmed by many witneſſes. And he may be ſuppoſed to intend not only (*f*) the Prophets, which is *Grotius*'s interpretation, but likewiſe the teſtimonie of all the Apoſtles of Chriſt, and of many others, to which he had appealed in his preaching.

Upon the whole, it ſeems to me, that the expreſſion of this text is highly becoming the Apoſtle *Paul*, eſpecially, ſuppoſing him to be here writing to the believers of *Jeruſalem* and *Judea*. And indeed, as before ſhewn, the begining of this ſecond chapter of the epiſtle to the *Hebrews* affords, in my opinion, an argument of no ſmall force, that they are the Chriſtians to whom it is ſent.

2. Obj. Another objection againſt this epiſtle being St. *Paul*'s is, that it is ſuppoſed to have in it an elegance ſuperior to that of his other writings. This has been judged by *Grotius*, and *Le Clerc*, who were formerly (*g*) quoted, ſufficient to ſhew, that it was not writ by *Paul*.

In

3. ubi gentium peccata, et pœnam imminentem deſcribit, et ſeipſum illis annumerat. *J. J. Wetſten. N. T. Tom.* 2. *p.* 384.

(*f*) Multis adductis teſtibus prophetis, qui hæc prædixerant. Hebr. xii. 1. *Grot. in.* 2 *Tim. i.* 2.

(*g*) *See p.* 9.

In order to judge the better of this, it may be of use to recollect what we have already seen in divers ancient writers, relating to this point.

Eusebius has a passage of *Clement* of *Alexandria*, from his Institutions, at large cited by us (*b*) formerly; where *Clement* says: "That (*i*) the 'epistle to the *Hebrews* is *Paul*'s, and that it was writ to the *Hebrews* 'in the *Hebrew* language: and that *Luke* having carefully translated it, 'published it for the use of the *Greeks*. Which is the reason of that 'conformity of stile, which is found in this epistle and the Acts of the 'Apostles."

The opinion of *Origen* in his homilies upon this epistle as cited by *Eusebius*, and by us (*k*) from him, is, "*that the stile of the epistle to the* '*Hebrews has not the Apostle's rudeness of speech . . . but as to the texture* '*of it, is elegant Greek: as every one will allow, who is able to judge of the* 'differences of stiles. Again, he says: *The sentiments of the epistle are ad-*'*mirable, and not inferior to the acknowledged writings of the Apostle. This* '*will be assented to by every one, who reads the writings of the Apostle with* 'attention. Afterwards he adds: *If I was to speak my opinion, I should* 'say, *that the sentiments are the Apostle's, but the language and composition* 'another's, *who committed to writing the Apostle's sense, and as it were re-*'*duced into commentaries the things spoken by his master.*" And what follows.

Eusebius (*l*) himself speaking of *Clement*'s epistle to the *Corinthians*, says: "*Paul* having writ to the *Hebrews* in their own language, some think, 'that the Evangelist *Luke*, others, that this very *Clement*, translated it 'into *Greek*. Which last is the most likely, there being a great resem-'blance between the stile of the epistle of *Clement*, and the epistle to the 'Hebrews. Nor are the sentiments of those two writings very diffe-'rent." This passage has been already twice quoted by us: once in the chapter of *Clement* (*m*) Bp. of *Rome*, and again in that (*n*) of *Eusebius*.

Philaster, Bishop of *Brescia*, about 380. as formerly quoted, says: 'There (*o*) are some, who do not allow the epistle to the *Hebrews* to 'be *Paul*'s: but say, it is either an epistle of the Apostle *Barnabas*, or 'of *Clement* Bp. of *Rome*. But some say it is an epistle of *Luke* the E-'vangelist. . . Moreover, some reject it, as more eloquent than the 'Apostle's other writings."

Jerome, about 392. in his article of St. *Paul* in the book of Illustrious Men, as (*p*) before cited also, says: "The epistle, called to the *He-*'*brews*, is not thought to be his, because of the difference of the argu-'ment, and stile: but either *Barnabas*'s, as *Tertullian* thought; or the "Evangelist

(*b*) B. i. ch. 22. Vol. i. p. 471. or 474.

(*i*) Καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἑβραίους ἐπιστολὴν παύλου μὲν εἶναι φησὶ, γεγράφθαι δὲ ἑβραίοις ἑβραϊκῇ φωνῇ· λουκᾶν δὲ φιλοτιμως αὐτὴν μεθερμηνευσαντα, ἐκδοῦναι τοῖς ἕλλησιν. κ. τ. λ. ap. Euseb. H. E. l. 6. c. 14. in.

(*k*) Ch. 38. Vol. iii. p. 237. from Euseb. H. E. l. 6. cap. 25.

(*l*) H. E. l. 3. cap. 38. (*m*) Ch. ii. Vol. i. p. 56.

(*n*) Ch. 72. Vol. viii. p. 146. (*o*) Vol. ix. p. 374. 375.

(*p*) See ch. 114. Vol. x. p. 112.

" Evangeliſt *Luke*'s, according to ſome others: or *Clement*'s, Biſhop of " *Rome:* who, as ſome think, being much with him, clothed and a- " dorned *Paul*'s ſenſe in his own language. . . . Moreover he wrote " as a *Hebrew* to *Hebrews* in pure *Hebrew*, it being his own language. " Whence it came to paſs, that being tranſlated it has more elegance in " the *Greek*, than his other epiſtles."

I need not allege here any more teſtimonies relating to this matter. We ſufficiently perceive by what has been ſaid, that many ancient Chriſtians ſuppoſed the *Greek* of this epiſtle to have a ſuperior elegance to the received epiſtles of St. *Paul*. And to ſome of them the *Greek* was their native language. And others, as *Jerome*, though *Latins*, may be ſuppoſed to have been good judges in this matter.

Some learned men of late times, as *Grotius*, and *Le Clerc*, have thought this to be an inſuperable objection. Of this opinion likewiſe was (*q*) *Jacob Tollius*. Who in his notes upon *Longinus*, of the Sublime, has celebrated the ſublimity of this epiſtle, and particularly the elegance of the begining of it. Which alone he thinks ſufficient to ſhew, that it is not *Paul*'s. Others allow the fine contexture of the ſtile of this epiſtle. But do not ſee that conſequence. Theſe are obliged to account for it. Which they do ſeveral ways.

Mr. *Wetſtein*, who allows, that the epiſtle is St. *Paul*'s, and that it was writ in *Greek*, thinks, that (*r*) *Paul* having now lived two years at *Rome*, may have emproved his *Greek* ſtile. But in anſwer to that it may be ſaid, that we have ſeveral epiſtles of *Paul*, writ near the end of his impriſonment at *Rome*, in which we perceive his uſual ſtile.

Again, Mr. *Wetſtein* adds: " That (*s*) this is a learned epiſtle, and may have been compoſed with more care, and exactneſſe, than letters writ to friends, or to churches, whoſe urgent neceſſities obliged him to write in haſte." But neither will this, I believe, be ſufficient to account for the difference of ſtile in this, and the epiſtles, received as *Paul*'s. For no care and attention will on a ſudden enable a man to alter his uſual ſtile, in a remarkable manner.

It remains therefore, as ſeems to me, that if the epiſtle be *Paul*'s, and was originally writ in *Greek*, as we ſuppoſe, the Apoſtle muſt have had

(*q*) Ejuſmodi σημειμὲς, καὶ ἀναπαύσεις ſtatim in initio eloquentiſſimæ, et neſcio annon omnem gentilium ſcriptorum ſublimitatem ſuperantis, certe adæquantis epiſtolæ ad Hebræos reperias: quam vel hoc uno Pauli non eſſe probaverim. Sed ſunt ἀναπάυσεις illæ non deorſum ruentis orationis, verum contra ea in cœlum aſcendentis σημειμόι. Ita vero incipit: Πολυμερῶς, καὶ πολυτρόπως, πάλαι ὁ θεὸς λαλήσας τοῖς πατράσιν. κ. λ. Ubi tres conſequentes ſunt poſiti Pæones quarti cum ſyllaba poſt ſingulas remanente, velut ad ſubſiſtendum, dum ita in cœlum ad Deum velut gradibus ſcriptor adſcendit. *Jo. Tollius ad Longin. de Sublim. §. 39. not. 22.*

(*r*) Potuit Paulus aliter ſcribere, cum eſſet in Græcia, aliter poſtea, cum in Italiam tranſlatus ex uſu frequentiori linguæ Græcæ, et Hebraiſmos vitare, et facilius ſcribere didiciſſet. *Wetſten. N. T. Tom. 2. p. 385.*

(*s*) Potuit hanc epiſtolam, quæ erudita eſt, longiori meditatione elaboraſſe, cum alias ad familiares amicos, vel ad eccleſias, ubi neceſſitas urgebat, feſtinantius effudiſſet. *Ibid.*

had some assistance in composing it. So that we are led to the judgement of *Origen*, which appears to be as ingenious, and probable, as any. "The sentiments are the Apostle's, but the language and composition of some one else: who committed to writing the Apostle's sense, and as it were reduced into commentaries the things spoken by his master." According to this account, the epistle is St. *Paul*'s, as to the thoughts and matter, but the words are another's. *Jerome*, as may be remembered, said, *He wrote as a Hebrew to Hebrews in pure Hebrew, it being his own language. Whence it came to pass, that being translated, it has more elegance in the Greek, than his other epistles.* My conjecture, which is not very different, if I may be allowed to mention it, is, that St. *Paul* dictated the epistle in *Hebrew*, and another, who was a great master of the *Greek* language, immediately wrote down the Apostle's sentiments in his own elegant *Greek*. But who this assistant of the Apostle was, is altogether unknown.

The ancients, beside *Paul*, have mentioned *Barnabas*, *Luke*, and *Clement*, as writers, or translators of this epistle. But I do not know, that there is any remarkable agreement between the stile of the epistle to the *Hebrews*, and the stile of the epistle commonly ascribed to *Barnabas*. The (*t*) stile of *Clement*, in his epistle to the *Corinthians*, is verbose and prolix. St. *Luke* (*u*) may have some words, which are in the epistle to the *Hebrews*. But that does not make out the same stile. This epistle, as *Origen* said, *as to the texture of the stile, is elegant Greek.* But that kind of *texture* appears not in *Luke*, so far as I can perceive. There may be more art and labour in the writings of *Luke*, than in those of the other Evangelists: but not much more elegance, that I can discern. This epistle to the *Hebrews* (*x*) is bright and elegant from the begining to the end. And surpasseth as much the stile of St. *Luke*, as it does the stile of St. *Paul* in his acknowledged epistles. In short, this is an admirable epistle, but singular in sentiments and language: somewhat different in both respects from all the other writings in the New Testament. And whose is the language, as seems to me, is altogether unknown: whether that of *Zenas*, or *Apollos*, or some other of the Apostle *Paul*'s assistants, and fellow-laborers.

3. Obj. There still remains one objection more against this epistle being writ by St. *Paul*. Which is the want of his name. For to all the thirteen epistles, received as his, he prefixeth his name, and generally calleth himself Apostle.

This objection has been obvious in all ages. And the omission has been differently accounted for by the ancients, who received this epistle as a genuine writing of St. *Paul*.

Clement

(*t*) Clement est diffus. . . . &c. *Beauf. Pref. sur l'epistre aux Hebreux.* num. *vii.*

(*u*) Lucam autem hujus epistolæ scriptorem ostendunt etiam vocabula et loquendi genera quædam Lucæ velut propria. *Grot. Præf. in ep. ad Hebr.*

(*x*) Tout le monde reconnoit de l'eloquence et de l'elevation dans l'epistre aux Hebreux. *Beauf. Ibid.*

Clement of *Alexandria*, in his Institutions, as cited by us (*y*) formerly, from *Eusebius*, speaks to this purpose: "The epistle to the *Hebrews*, he "says, is *Paul's*. But he did not make use of that inscription, *Paul "the Apostle*. Of which he assigns this reason. Writing to the *He-* "*brews*, who had conceived a prejudice against him, and were suspicious "of him, he wisely declined setting his name at the begining, lest he "should offend them. He also mentions this tradition: Forasmuch as "the Lord was sent as the Apostle of Almighty God to the Hebrews, "*Paul*, out of modestie, does not stile himself the Apostle of the He- "brews: both out of respect to the Lord, and that being preacher and "Apostle of the Gentils, he over and above wrote to the Hebrews."

Jerome also speaks to this purpose: "That (*z*) *Paul* might decline putting his name in the inscription, on account of the *Hebrews* being offended with him." So in the article of St. *Paul*, in his book of Illustrious Men. In his Commentarie upon the begining of the epistle to the *Galatians*, he assigns another reason: "That (*a*) *Paul* declined to stile himself Apostle at the begining of the epistle to the *Hebrews*, becaufe he should afterwards call Christ *the High Priest, and Apostle of our profession*." See ch. iii. 1.

Theodoret says, that *Paul* was especially the Apostle of the Gentils. For which he allegeth, Gal. ii. 9. and Rom. xi. 13. "Therefore (*b*) "writing to the *Hebrews*, who were not entrusted to his care, he "barely delivered the doctrine of the gospel, without assuming any cha- "racter of authority. For they were the charge of the other Apo- "stles."

I need not quote any others. Which would be only a repetition of the same or like reasons.

All these reasons may not be reckoned equally good. And, perhaps, none of them are sufficient, and adequate to the purpose. But though we should not be able to assign a good reason, why *Paul* omitted his name; the epistle, nevertheless, may be his. For (*c*) there may have been a good reason for it, though we are not able to find it out. It is the work of a masterly hand. Who for some reason omitted

(*y*) *Vol. ii. p.* 474.

(*z*) Vel certe quia Paulus scribebat ad Hebræos, et propter invidiam sui apud eos nominis titulum in principio salutationis amputaverat. *De V. I. cap. v.*

(*a*) Et in epistola ad Hebræos propterea Paulum solita consuetudine nec nomen suum, nec Apostoli vocabulum præposuisse, quia de Christo erat dicturus: *Habentes ergo Principem Sacerdotum, et Apostolum confessionis, Jesum:* nec fuisse congruum, ut ubi Christus Apostolus dicendus erat, ibi etiam Paulus Apostolus poneretur. *In ep. ad Gal. cap. i. T.* 4. *p.* 225. *in.*

(*b*) Ἑβραίοις δὲ γράφων, ὧν οὐκ ἐπιχειρίσθη τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, γυμνὴν τῶν ἀξιωμάτων εἰκότως τὴν διδασκαλίαν παρεσήνεγκεν· ὑπὸ γὰρ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων ἀποστόλων προμήθειαν ἔπιπτεν. *Theod. in Hebr. T.* 3. *p.* 392.

(*c*) Verum est, Paulum omnibus aliis epistolis, si hanc excipias, et nomen suum præposuisse, et titulos addidisse, quibus sibi autoritatem conciliaret. Nec tamen inde consequitur, hanc, de qua agimus, Pauli non esse. Aut enim dicendum erit, nullius esse, quia nomen nullum præfixum est: aut si aliu quis contra morem receptum nomen suum reticere potuit, idem æquo jur etiam Paulo licuit. *Wetsten. N. T. Tom.* 2. *p.* 384. *med.*

omitted his name. *Paul* might have a reaſon for ſuch ſilence, as well as another.

Lightfoot (*d*) ſays: "*Paul*'s not affixing his name to this, as "he had done to his other epiſtles, does no more deny it to be "his, than the firſt epiſtle of *John* is denied to be *John*'s upon that "account."

Tillemont ſays: "Poſſibly (*e*) *Paul* conſidered it as a book, rather than "a letter: ſince he makes an excuſe for it's brevity. ch. xiii. 22. "For indeed it is ſhort for a book, but long for a letter." The ſame thought is in (*f*) *Eſtius*. This may induce us to recollect an obſervation of *Chryſoſtom* to the like purpoſe, formerly (*g*) taken notice of.

It is, I think, obſervable, that there is not at the begining of this epiſtle any ſalutation. As there is no name of the writer, ſo neither is there any deſcription of the people to whom it is ſent. It appears from the concluſion, that it was ſent to ſome people, in a certain place. And, undoubtedly, they to whom it was ſent, and by whom it was received, knew very well, from whom it came. Nevertheleſs there might be reaſons for omitting an inſcription, and a ſalutation, at the begining. This might ariſe from the circumſtances of things. There might be danger of offence in ſending at that time a long letter to Jews in *Judea*. And this omiſſion might be in part owing to a regard for the bearer, who too is not named. The only perſon named throughout the epiſtle is *Timothie*. Nor was he at that time preſent with the writer.

Indeed I imagine, that the two great objections againſt this being a genuine epiſtle of the Apoſtle: the elegance of the ſtile, and the want of a name, and inſcription: are both owing to ſome particular circumſtances of the writer, and the people, to whom it was ſent. The people, to whom it was ſent, are plainly Jews in *Judea*: and the writer, very probably, is *Paul*. Whoſe circumſtances at the breaking up of his confinement at *Rome*, and his ſetting out upon a new journey, might be attended with ſome peculiar embaraſſments, which obliged him to act differently from his uſual method.

The Time and Place of Writing.

IV. Thus we are brought to the fourth and laſt part of our inquirie concerning this epiſtle, the time and place of writing it.

Mill was of opinion, that (*h*) this epiſtle was writ by *Paul* in the year 63. in ſome part of *Italie*, ſoon after he had been releaſed from his impriſonment at *Rome*. Mr. *Wetſtein* (*i*) appears to have been of the ſame opinion. *Tillemont* (*k*) likewiſe placeth this epiſtle in the year 63. immediatly

(*d*) *See his Works. Vol. i. p.* 339.

(*e*) *S. Paul. art.* 46. *Mem. T. i.*

(*f*) Sed poſt hæc omnia, an vera ratio omiſſæ ſalutationis eſt, quod hæc epiſtola ſcripta eſt per modum libri, non per modum epiſtolæ? Unde in fine dicit: *Etenim perpaucis ſcripſi vobis.* Quod de epiſtola non erat dicturus, cum ſit epiſtola prolixa. *Eſt. de Auct. Ep. ad Hebr. p.* 893.

(*g*) *See Vol. x. p.* 322.

(*h*) Interea, mox ut e carcere evaſit Apoſtolus, receſſit in ulteriorem aliquam Italiæ partem, ibique ſcripſit epiſtolam ad Hebræos. *Prolg. num.* 83.

(*i*) *Weiſt. N. T. Tom. 2. p.* 387. *in.* (*k*) *S. Paul. art.* 46.

mediatly after the Apoſtle's being ſet at liberty. Who, as he ſays, was ſtill at *Rome*, or at leſt in *Italie*. *Baſnage* (*l*) ſpeaks of this epiſtle at the year 61. and ſuppoſeth it to be writ, during the Apoſtle's impriſonment. For he afterwards ſpeaks of the epiſtle to the *Epheſians*, and ſays, it (*m*) was the laſt letter, which the Apoſtle wrote during the time of his bonds. *Lenfant* and *Beauſobre*, in their general preface to St *Paul*'s epiſtles, obſerve, "that (*n*) in the ſubſcription at the end of the epiſtle it is ſaid to "have been writ from *Italie*. The only ground of which, as they add, is "what is ſaid ch. xiii. 24. *They of Italie ſalute you.* This has made "ſome think, that the Apoſtle wrote to the *Hebrews*, after he had been "ſet at liberty, and when he was got into that part of *Italie*, which bor-"ders upon *Sicilie*, and in ancient times was called *Italie*. Neverthe-"leſs there is reaſon to doubt of this. When he requeſts the prayers of "the *Hebrews*, that *he might be reſtored to them the ſooner*, he intimates, "that he was not yet ſet at liberty." Accordingly, they place this epiſtle in the year 62.

There is not any great difference in any of theſe opinions concerning the time, or place of this epiſtle: all ſuppoſing, that it was writ by the Apoſtle, either at *Rome*, or in *Italie*, near the end of his impriſonment at *Rome*, or ſoon after it was over, before he removed to any other countrey.

I cannot perceive, why it may not be allowed to have been writ at *Rome*. St. *Paul*'s firſt epiſtle to the *Corinthians* was writ at *Epheſus*. Nevertheleſs he ſays ch. xvi. 19. *The churches of Aſia ſalute you.* So now he might ſend ſalutations from the Chriſtians of *Italie*, not excluding, but including thoſe at *Rome*, together with the reſt throughout that countrey.

The argument of *Lenfant* and *Beauſobre*, that *Paul* was not yet ſet at liberty, becauſe he requeſted the prayers of the *Hebrews*, *that he might be reſtored to them the ſooner*, appears not to me of any weight. Though *Paul* was no longer a priſoner, he might requeſt the prayers of thoſe to whom he was writing, that he might have a proſperous journey to them whom he was deſirous to viſit: and that all impediments of his intended journey might be removed. And many ſuch there might be, though he was no longer under confinement. *Paul* was not a priſoner, when he wrote the epiſtle to the *Romans*. Yet he was very fervent in his prayers to God, that he might have a proſperous journey, and come to them. ch. i. 10.

For determining the time of this epiſtle, it may be obſerved, that when the Apoſtle wrote the epiſtles to the *Philippians*, the *Coloſſians*, and *Philemon*, he had hopes of deliverance. At the writing of all thoſe epiſtles *Timothie* was preſent with him. But now he was abſent, as plainly appears from ch. xiii. 23. This leads us to think, that this epiſtle was writ after them. And it is not unlikely, that the Apoſtle had now obtained that liberty, which he expected, when they were writ.

Moreover

(*l*) *Ann.* 61. *num.* ii. . . . vi.

(*m*) Epiſtolarum omnium, quas primis in vinculis exaravit Apoſtolus, ea quæ ad Epheſios, ultima eſſe videtur. *Ibid. num.* vii.

(*n*) *Pref. gen. ſur les epiſtres de S. Paul. num.* lii.

Moreover in the epistle to the *Philippians* he speaks of sending *Timothie* to them, ch. ii. 19 . . 23. *But I trust in the Lord Jesus, to send Timothie shortly unto you, that I also may be of good comfort, when I know your state.* *Timothie* therefore, if sent, was to come back to the Apostle. *Him therefore I hope to send presently, so soon as I shall see, how it will go with me.* It is probable, that *Timothie* did go to the *Philippians*, soon after writing the above mentioned epistles, the Apostle having gained good assurance of being quite released from his confinement. And this epistle to the *Hebrews* was writ, during the time of that absence. For it is said Hebr. xiii. 23. *Know ye, that our brother Timothie is set at liberty. With whom, if he come shortly, I will see you. . . Know ye, that our brother Timothie is set at liberty:* or *has been sent abroad.* The (*o*) word is capable of that meaning. And it is a better, and more likely meaning, because it suits the coherence. And I suppose, that *Timothie* did soon come to the Apostle, and that they both sailed to *Judea*, and after that went to *Ephesus:* where *Timothie* was left, to reside with his peculiar charge.

Thus this epistle was writ at *Rome*, or in *Italie*, soon after that *Paul* had been released from his confinement at *Rome*, in the begining of the year 63.

And I suppose it to be the last written of all St. *Paul*'s epistles, which have come down to us, or that we have any knowledge of.

Who was the bearer of it, is not known. At the end of the epistle, in some manuscripts, is a subscription to this purpose: *that it was carried from Italie by Timothie.* But that subscription is esteemed of no authority by all learned men in general, *Beza*, in particular. I put below (*p*) a part of what he says. It is inconsistent with what is said of *Timothie* ch. xiii. 23. *Timothie* was to accompany the writer. The epistle was sent before.

CHAP XIII.

That the epistle, inscribed to the Ephesians, was writ to them.

THE epistle to the *Ephesians* is one of the acknowledged epistles of St. *Paul.* There never was any doubt among Christians, who was the writer. But there has been, especially of late, a dispute concerning the persons, to whom it was sent: some thinking, that

(*o*) Et quidem paullo post missas hasce [*ad Philippenses*] literas, libertatem adeptus, Timotheum in Macedoniam misit, uti liquet ex Hebr. xiii. 23. . . Neque enim verbis istis significatum vult Apostolus, Timotheum tum temporis, secum una vinculis liberatum fuisse, sed a se ob certa negotia fuisse dimissum. *Mill. Proleg. num.* 68.

(*p*) Puto igitur hanc subscriptionem non satis considerate adscriptam fuisse a quopiam, qui occasionem ex eo arripuerit, quod Timothei et Italorum mentio facta fuerat. Nam etiam et in Claromontano codice, et in Syra interpretatione non extat. *Bez. ad cap. xiii. in fin.*

that the common inſcription is falſe, and that this is either a general epiſtle, or that it was ſent to the *Laodiceans*. Of this opinion is (*a*) *Mill*, in his Prolegomena to the New Teſtament, who has had many followers. Some of whom muſt be here mentioned by me. Mr. *James Peirce* (*b*) who likewiſe ſpeaks of Mr. *Whiſton*, as of the ſame opinion. The (*c*) Author of a Latin Letter or Diſſertation in the third volume of Mr. *La Roche*'s Literarie Journal, publiſhed in the year 1731. That Letter is anonymous. But the writer is *Artemonius*, otherwiſe *Samuel Crellius*, author of Initium Evangelii S. Joannis Apoſtoli reſtitutum. This I was aſſured of by Mr. *La Roche*, the editor. *W. Wall* in his critical Notes upon the New Teſtament. Dr. *Benſon* (*d*). The author of a letter at the end of the ſecond volume of Dr. *Benſon*'s Hiſtorie of the firſt planting the Chriſtian Religion. Which learned Author has alſo ſince publiſhed a Poſtſcript to that letter, which is at the end of the third volume of the ſame work of Dr. *Benſon*. The unknown Author of an edition of the New Teſtament, in *Greek* and *Engliſh*, in two volumes octavo, publiſhed at *London* in 1729. *Campegius Vitringa*, the ſon, Profeſſor of Divinity in the Univerſity of *Franequer*, wrote a Diſſertation on the ſame ſide of the queſtion. And not having therein finiſhed his deſign, his ſucceſſor, Mr. *Venema*, added another Diſſertation, both together making more than one hundred and thirty pages in (*e*) quarto. Laſtly, Mr. J. J. *Wetſtein* in his notes upon the begining of this epiſtle. Who alſo has put a mark under the text, ſhewing *Laodicea* to be, in his opinion, the right reading, inſtead of *Epheſus*. I here mention no more. But perhaps ſome others may be taken notice of hereafter.

The common reading however has been defended by (*f*) ſeveral. I mention

(*a*) Quidni igitur ſcripta fuerit ad Laodicenſes? *Proleg. num.* 74. *vid. ib. num.* 71. . . 79. *et num.* 237.

(*b*) *See an Advertiſement at the end of his Paraphraſe upon the Ep. to the Philippians. p.* 114. *&c.*

(*c*) *See La Roche's Literary Journal for April, May, and June.* 1731. *Vol.* 3. *p.* 165. . . 183. *Et Conf. Artemonii Initium Evangel. S. Joan. reſtitutum. p.* 212. *edit. Londini.* 1726.

(*d*) *See Dr. Benſon's Hiſtorie of the firſt planting the Chriſtian Religion. Vol. ii. p.* 270—276. *firſt ed. p.* 290——297. *2d ed.*

(*e*) Diſſertat. de genuino titulo epiſtolæ D. Pauli, quæ vulgo inſcribitur ad Epheſios. Ap. Campeg. Vitring. Fil. Diſſ. Sacr. Franequeræ. 1731. p. 247—379.

(*f*) *Vid. J. C. Wolf. Curæ in N. T. T.* 4. *p.* 1—13. I may be allowed likewiſe to take notice of a Commentarie upon the epiſtle to the *Epheſians*, publiſhed in the Dutch language, by *Peter Dinant*, a learned Miniſter at *Rotterdam*, in the year 1721. Of which an honourable account is given in the Bibliotheca Bremenſis, where we are aſſured, Ampla operi præmiſit Prolegomena, in quibus primo loco Apoſtolum Paulum vere epiſtolæ ad Epheſios ſcriptorem eſſe demonſtrat.——Agit deinde de Epheſo, ejuſque, cum Apoſtolus hanc epiſtolam conſcriberet, ſtatu: de Dianæ cultu.——Hinc refutat Grotium, qui Marcionem ſecutus non ad Epheſios, ſed Laodicenſes ſcriptam hanc epiſtolam credidit. Sententia quoque Uſſerii, qui non ad ſolos Epheſios, ſed plures eccleſias deſtinatam, adeoque pro encyclica habendam putat, examinatur, ac rejicitur. *Bibliotheca, Hiſt. Phil. Theolog. Claſſis quintæ Faſc. tertius. p.* 533. 534. *Bremæ* 1721.

mention two authors of great note. One is *Le Clerc* (*g*) in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorie, whoſe words I have placed below. He had ſeen *Mill*'s argument, and ſlighted it. He thought, that few would be moved by it. However, he briefly conſiders, and anſwers the principal objections, taken from Eph. i. 15. iii. 2. and 4. As for any other arguments, he ſays, they are of too little moment to be oppoſed to the general conſent of Chriſtian writers. So that, ſays he, there is no reaſon, why we ſhould doubt, whether this epiſtle was writ to the *Epheſians*.

The other writer is *Whitby*, in his preface to this epiſtle. A part of which I chearfully tranſcribe here. "That this epiſtle to the *Epheſians* "was indeed written by St. *Paul*, and directed to them, and not to "any other church, we cannot doubt, if we believe either the epiſtle, or "*Paul* himſelf. For, *firſt*, it begins thus: *Paul an Apoſtle of Jeſus Chriſt* "*to the ſaints which are at Epheſus* And in this reading all the verſions, "and all the manuſcripts agree. *Secondly*, in the cloſe of the epiſtle he "ſpeaks thus to them: *That you may know my affairs, and how I do, Ty-* "*chicus, a beloved brother, and faithful miniſter in the Lord, ſhall make* "*known unto you all things. Whom I have ſent unto you for the ſame pur-* "*poſe*. . . . Ch. vi. 21. 22. And in the ſecond epiſtle to *Timothie* he "ſays: *Tychicus have I ſent to Epheſus*, 2 Tim. iv. 12 Moreover, *third-* "*ly*, all antiquity agrees, that this epiſtle was writ by *Paul* to the *Ephe-* "*ſians*." And what follows.

Thoſe arguments appear to me a ſufficient defenſe of the preſent reading. Nevertheleſs the other opinion, contrarie to *Le Clerc*'s expectation, has of late much prevailed: as appears from the number of the patrons of it, above named. And as the arguments of thoſe two learned men, whoſe writings are well known, have not been judged ſatisfactorie; there can be little reaſon to expect, that any thing ſaid by me ſhould be of much weight. And indeed, it has ſometimes happened, that certain opinions have had a run, and it has been in vain to oppoſe them: though afterwards they have fallen of themſelves, being unſupported by any good evidence.

However,

(*g*) Poſtea ſcripſit epiſtolam ad Epheſios, quam viri quidam docti [Joan. Millius, in Prolegom. ad N. T. cujus conjectura paucis credo probabitur:] ſuſpicantur ad Laodicenos datam, ſed ſine ullo ſat firmo argumento. Volunt quidem in hac epiſtola quædam eſſe, quæ Epheſiis non conveniunt, ut cum cap. i. 15. Paulus ſe *audiſſe fidem et caritatem* Epheſiorum ait, quas ipſe per ſe norat, non ex auditu. Sed nihil vetat, quin Romæ audiverit, Epheſios conſtanter eas virtutes coluiſſe, ex quo ipſe eos viderat, eoque in hiſce verbis reſpexerit. Similiter, et quæ habet cap. iii. 2. *Si tamen audiſtis diſpenſationem gratiæ Dei, quæ data eſt mihi in vobis*, in Epheſios optime quadrant, ſi ita intelligantur, ut *ſi*, Græce εἴγε, non ſit dubitantis, ſed adfirmantis, et ſignificet *quandoquidem*, ut cap. iv. 21. et alibi. Ejuſdem cap. iii. 4. ait Paulus poſſe eos, ad quos ſcribit, *legentes intelligere prudentiam ejus in myſterio Chriſti*: quam non tam lectione eorum, quæ in hac epiſtola antecefſerunt, quam ex præſentis ſermonibus intellexerant Epheſii. Sed nihil nos cogit eo confugere. Nam revera poterat hoc intelligi, vel ex iis quæ ſuperioribus capitibus leguntur. Alia argumenta, leviora multo, et omnium Chriſtianorum conſenſui oppoſita, non adtingam. Quare an ad Epheſios ſcripta ſit hæc epiſtola, nihil eſt cur dubitemus *Cleric. H. E. Ann.* 62. *num.* viii.

However, as a fair occaſion offers, I ſhall enlarge upon the arguments juſt mentioned, in favour of the preſent reading in our Bibles. After which I will particularly conſider the objections brought againſt it.

1. The preſent reading at the begining of this epiſtle, *to the ſaints which are at Epheſus, and to the faithful in Chriſt Jeſus*, is the reading of all *Greek* manuſcripts, and of all ancient verſions, the *Latin*, *Syriac*, *Perſic*, *Arabic*, *Ethiopic*, and all other. It is altogether inconceivable, how there ſhould have been ſuch a general concurrence in this reading, if it had not been the original inſcription of the epiſtle.

2. It may be argued from the epiſtle itſelf, that it was writ to the *Epheſians*.

Says the Apoſtle here ch. ii. 19. . . . 22. *Now therefore ye are fellow citizens with the ſaints, and of the houſhold of God. And are built upon the foundation of the Apoſtles, and Prophets, Jeſus Chriſt himſelf being the chief corner ſtone. In whom all the building fitly framed together, groweth unto an holy temple in the Lord. In whom you alſo are builded together for an habitation of God through the Spirit.* It has been obſerved that (*h*) St. *Paul* frequently accommodates his ſtile to the perſons, to whom he is writing. In the firſt epiſtle to *Timothie*, ſent to him at *Epheſus*, he uſeth the architect-ſtile. So, particularly, ch. ii. 15. In like manner here the Apoſtle may be well ſuppoſed to allude to the magnificent temple of *Diana*, on account of which the people of *Epheſus* much valued themſelves, as appears from Acts xix. 27. 28. 34. 35.

I might, perhaps, refer likewiſe to ch. iii. 18. but forbear, it being an obſcure text.

And that the epiſtle was ſent, not to ſtrangers, but to Chriſtians, with whom the Apoſtle was well acquainted, I ſuppoſe to be certain from internal characters. But the ſhewing that is deferred till by and by.

3. That this epiſtle was ſent to the church at *Epheſus*, we are aſſured by the teſtimonie of all catholic Chriſtians in all paſt ages.

This we can now ſay with confidence, having examined the principal Chriſtian writers from the firſt ages to the begining of the twelfth centurie. In all which ſpace of time there appears not one, who had any doubt about it.

The teſtimonie of ſome of theſe is eſpecially remarkable, on account of their early age, or their learning, or ſome other conſiderations.

One of them, remarkable for his early age, is *Ignatius*, who was Biſhop of *Antioch* in the later part of the firſt, and the begining of the ſecond centurie, and ſuffered martyrdom at *Rome* in the year 107. or, as ſome think, in 116. In a letter of his to the *Epheſians*, writ at *Smyrna*, as he was going from *Antioch* to *Rome*, he ſays: "Ye (*i*) are the companions "in the myſteries of the goſpel of *Paul*, the ſanctified, the Martyr, [or "highly commended,] deſervedly moſt happy, at whoſe feet may I be "found, when I ſhall have attained unto God, who throughout all his "epiſtle makes mention of you in Chriſt Jeſus."

He

(*h*) *See Dr. Benſon upon* 1 *Tim. iii.* 15.

(*i*) Παύλε συμύσαι τῆ ἁγιασμένε, τῆ μεμαρτυρημένε, ἀξιομακαριςῆ . . . ὃς ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιςολῇ μνημονέυει ὑμῶν ἐν χριςῷ ἰησᾶ. *Ignat. ep. ad Eph. cap. xii.*

He plainly means the epiſtle of *Paul* to the *Epheſians*, in which the Apoſtle commends thoſe Chriſtians, and never blames them.

So I wrote in the firſt edition, in 1734, when I collected the paſſages of *Ignatius*, bearing teſtimonie to the Books of the New Teſtament. Afterwards, in 1735, was publiſhed the letter above mentioned at the end of the firſt edition of Dr. *Benſon*'s Hiſtory of the firſt planting the Chriſtian religion. Which occaſioned my adding a note upon that quotation from *Ignatius*, at p. 154. . . 156. of the ſecond edition of the firſt volume of this work, in 1748.

"The learned writer of that letter, inſtead of μνημονεύει ὑμῶν would read μνονεύω ὑμῶν: meaning, that *Ignatius* himſelf mentioned the *Epheſians* in every epiſtle. In anſwer to which I ſaid, that conjecture appears to be without foundation: foraſmuch as in all the editions of *Ignatius*'s epiſtles the verb is in the third perſon: not only in the Greek of the ſmaller epiſtles, which I tranſlate, but alſo in the old Latin verſion of the ſame ſmall epiſtles. Qui in omni epiſtola memoriam fecit veſtri in Jeſu Chriſto. So likewiſe in the Greek interpolated epiſtles, and in the Latin verſion of the ſame. There is therefore no various reading. And a new one ought not to be admitted, unleſs the ſenſe ſhould require it. Which it does not appear to do here. For *Ignatius* is extolling the *Epheſians*. And one part of their glorie is, that the Apoſtle throughout his epiſtle to them had treated them in an honourable manner."

So I wrote in the note juſt referred to. And though that learned writer has been ſince pleaſed to publiſh a poſtſcript to his letter, he has not produced any manuſcript, or verſion of this epiſtle of *Ignatius*, where the verb is found in the firſt perſon.

However, in order to ſupport his propoſed reading he excepts to our interpreting the word μνημονεύω, of an honourable mention. In anſwer to which I did in the ſame note produce proof of the word's being uſed ſometimes for an honourable, or affectionate mention or remembrance. And the noun μνημόσυνον, is evidently thrice uſed in the New Teſtament for an honourable memorial. Matt. xxvi. 13. Mark xiv. 9. Acts x. 4. Of theſe examples I have been reminded by a learned friend.

That learned author excepts likewiſe to our interpretation of ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ, *throughout all his epiſtle*, and would tranſlate, *who make mention of you in every epiſtle*: that is, as he underſtands it, *Ignatius* tells the *Epheſians*, to whom he is writing, that he made mention of them in every one of his epiſtles. In anſwer to which I ſaid in the above mentioned note, that *Pearſon* had well defended the interpretation, for which we contend. And I alleged a part of the note of *Cotelerius* upon this paſſage of *Ignatius*. But by ſome means *Valeſius* is printed there, inſtead of *Cotelerius*. I now tranſcribe that note of *Cotelerius* at length. Fruſtra ſunt, et Andabatarum more digladiantur viri literati, non videntes, πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ eſſe *in tota epiſtola*, ad Epheſios nimirum ſcripta, qua eos laudat valde, ac ſemper commendat, ut fuit ab Hieronymo obſervatum. And I ſhall place here two inſtances of the uſe of the word πᾶς, which appear to me altogether ſimilar, and therefore to the purpoſe. One taken from the fifth chapter of *Ignatius*'s epiſtle to the *Epheſians*, where he ſays; "If the prayer of one or two be of ſuch force, how much more that

that of the Biſhop, and the whole church." καὶ πάσης ἐκκλησίας. The other is in St. *Paul*'s epiſtles to the *Epheſians*. ch. ii. 21. *In whom all the building*, or the whole building, *fitly framed together, groweth unto an holy temple to God.* Ἐν ᾧ πᾶσα οἰκοδομὴ κ. λ.

Indeed, *Ignatius* has mentioned the *Epheſians* in every one of his epiſtles, except that to *Polycarp*. But it is very unlikely, that this ſhould be his meaning here. He is extolling the *Epheſians*, as companions of *Paul* in the myſteries of the goſpel, and the like. To ſay to them preſently afterwards, and in the ſame period, that *he made mention of them in every one of his epiſtles*, would have an appearance of much vanity: with which, I think, *Ignatius* was never charged. And at the ſame time it would be very flat and inſipid. Moreover, it is obſervable, that this is not one of the laſt epiſtles, which *Ignatius* wrote. But, according to the order, in which they are mentioned (*k*) by *Euſebius*, it is the very firſt of his ſeven epiſtles.

There is therefore no reaſon, why we ſhould heſitate to admit the ſenſe, in which this place has been generally underſtood by learned men.

We alſo find this ſenſe in ſome ancient writers. *Jerome* obſerves, that (*l*) when the Apoſtle wrote to the *Corinthians*, he had occaſion to blame them for fornication, and for ſtrifes and contentions: but there is no fault found by him in the *Epheſians*. To the like purpoſe *Primaſius* in (*m*) the preface to his Commentarie upon St. *Paul*'s epiſtles, and (*n*) in his argument of the epiſtle to the *Epheſians*, in particular.

So that either thoſe ancient writers underſtood *Ignatius*, as we do. Or elſe, they were led by the epiſtle itſelf to form the ſame idea of it, that we ſuppoſe him to have had.

What *Ignatius* means by the Apoſtle's *mentioning*, or *being mindfull of the Epheſians throughout all his epiſtle to them*, is happily explained by Bp. *Pearſon*. Whoſe (*o*) words I ſhall tranſcribe below, as his work is not in

(*k*) *Vid. Euſeb. H. E. l.* 3. *cap.* 36. *and this work, Vol. i. p.* 147. 148.

(*l*) Corinthii, in quibus audiebatur fornicatio qualis nec inter gentes, lacte paſcuntur, quia necdum poterant ſolidum cibum capere. Epheſii autem, in quibus nullum crimen arguitur, ab ipſo Domino cœleſti veſcuntur pane, et ſacramentum quod a ſeculis abſconditum fuerat agnoſcunt. *Ep. ad Marcell. t.* 2. *p.* 628. *ed. Martiam.* . . animadvertat magnam inter Corinthios et Epheſios eſſe diſtantiam. Illis quaſi parvulis atque lactentibus ſcribitur: in quibus erant diſſenſiones, et ſchiſmata, et audiebatur fornicatio qualis ne inter gentes quidem. . . . Epheſii vero, apud quos fecit triennium, et omnia eis Chriſti aperuit ſacramenta, aliter erudiuntur, &c. *In ep. ad Epheſ. cap. v. T. iv. P. i. p.* 389. 390.

(*m*) Epheſii ſane nulla reprehenſione, ſed multa ſunt laude digni, quia fidem apoſtolicam ſervaverunt. *Primaſ. Præf. ad Comm. in S. Pauli Ep. ap. Bibl. P. P. T. x. p.* 144. *H.*

(*n*) Epheſii ſunt Aſiani. Hi accepto verbo veritatis perſtiterunt in fide. Hos conlaudat Apoſtolus, ſcribens eis Roma a carcere. *Argum. ep. ad Eph. ib. p.* 217. *A.*

(*o*) . . . quæ ſcripſit S. Ignatius, S. Paulum *in tota epiſtola, memoriam eorum facere in Jeſu Chriſto.* Hæc a martyre non otioſe aut frigide, ſed vere, imo ſignanter et vigilanter dicta ſunt. Tota enim epiſtola ad Epheſios ſcripta ipſos Epheſios, eorumque honorem et curam maxime ſpectat, et ſumme honorificam eorum memoriam ad poſteros tranſmittit. In aliis epiſtolis Apoſto- lus

in every body's hands. Indeed this is a proper character of this epiſtle, as may be eaſily perceived. Nor did any of the ancients for that reaſon heſitate to allow, that it was ſent to the church at *Epheſus*.

I hope, that I have now juſtified the preſent reading, and common interpretation of this paſſage of *Ignatius*.

The learned writer, with whom I have been arguing, concludes his poſtſcript in this manner. "Should what has been offered, not prove "ſatisfactory, the difficulty will ſtill remain, how to reconcile the preſent "reading, in *Ignatius*, with Dr. *Mill*'s reaſons againſt St. *Paul*'s epiſtle "being written to the *Epheſians*. . . . The moſt plauſible ſolution of "which ſeems to be that in Mr. *Locke*. . . ." And what there follows to the end.

I think, we ſhould chearfully accept of Mr. *Locke*'s, or any other reaſonable ſolution of the difficulty, if there be any. This, ſo far as I am able to judge, is better, than to attempt the alteration of a paſſage in an ancient author, without the authority of any manuſcript: when there is nothing in the coherence, that neceſſarily requires it. And much better, than to alter a text of an epiſtle of the New Teſtament, contrarie to the authoritie of all manuſcripts, and the concurring teſtimonie of all ancient Chriſtian writers.

Beſide that paſſage, there are in *Ignatius*'s epiſtle to the *Epheſians*, many alluſions and references to St. *Paul*'s epiſtles to the *Epheſians*. Which ſhews, that he believed, that epiſtle to have been writ to the church at *Epheſus*. Thoſe alluſions (though not all of them) were taken notice of by us long (*p*) ago. And Dr. *Jortin* having obſerved, that (*q*) *Ignatius* in his xii chapter takes notice of St. *Paul*'s epiſtle to the *Epheſians*, and his martyrdom, adds: "And as he was writing to the "ſame church, he often alludes to the Apoſtle's letter to them."

But there is one word in that twelfth chapter of *Ignatius*'s epiſtle to the *Epheſians*, of which I have not yet taken ſufficient notice. I mean the word συμμύσαι. *Ye are*, ſays he, *the companions of Paul in the myſteries of the goſpel*: or *ye are partakers of the myſteries of the goſpel with Paul*. This is ſaid out of a regard to St. *Paul*'s epiſtles to the *Epheſians*. And it fully ſhews, that *Ignatius* thought, that epiſtle to have been ſent to the church, to which himſelf was then writing. For that is their diſtinguiſhing character: at leaſt it is a character, which is more eſpecially the character of the Chriſtians, to whom that letter is writ.

I formerly (*r*) gave an account of *Palladius*, author of a Dialogue of the Life of *Chryſoſtom*, about the year 408. In that work *Palladius* has an argument,

us eos ad quos ſcribit, ſæpe acriter objurgat. . . aut parce laudat. . . Hic omnibus modis perpetuo ſe Epheſiis applicat, illoſque tanquam egregios Chriſtianos tractat, evangelio ſalutis firmiter credentes, et Spiritu promiſſionis obſignatos, concives ſanctorum, et domeſticos Dei. Pro iis ſæpe ardenter orat, ipſos hortatur, obteſtatur, laudat, utrumque ſexum ſedulo inſtruit, ſuum erga eos ſingularem affectum ubique prodit. *Pearſon. Vind. Ignat. Part.* 2. *cap.* x. *ſub init.*

(*p*) *See Vol. i. p.* 169. . . 172. *firſt ed. p.* 168. . . 170. *2d. ed.*

(*q*) *See the firſt Volume of his Remarks upon Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorie. p.* 56.

(*r*) *Vol. xi. p.* 59.

argument, in which he obſerves, "That *Paul* had called the *Cretians* "liars. Tit. i. 12. the *Galatians* ſtupid. Gal. iii. 1. and the *Corinthians* "proud. 1 Cor. v. 2. On the other hand (*s*) he calls the *Romans* faith-"full, the *Epheſians* μύσαι, *initiated*, to whom alſo he writes in a ſub-"lime manner, and the *Theſſalonians* lovers of the brotherhood."

When *Palladius* ſays, that St. *Paul* called the *Romans faithfull*, it cannot be doubted, that he refers to Rom. i. 8. And when he ſays, that the *Theſſalonians* were called *lovers of the brotherhood*, he muſt intend 1 Theſſ. iv. 9. 10. When he ſpeaks of the *Epheſians* as *initiated*, it may not be ſo eaſie to determine the text, particularly intended by him. But, probably, it is Eph. i. 9. or that, joyned with others, ſuch as ch. iii. 3. 4. . . . 6. and 9. and v. 32. vi. 16. For in this epiſtle the word *myſteries* occurs frequently.

However, hereby we are aſſured, that this was, eſpecially, the character of the Chriſtians at *Epheſus*. And we plainly perceive, that *Ignatius* ſuppoſed, that epiſtle to have been writ to them.

Nor will my readers, poſſibly, blame me for prolixity, if I here allege a paſſage of *Jerome*: where he ſays, "That (*t*) ſtill there are in the churches remainders of the ſame virtues, or vices, for which they were remarkable of old. The *Romans* are ſtill faithfull, and devout, the *Corinthians* proud, the *Galatians* ſtupid, the *Theſſalonians* lovers of the brotherhood." In that place *Jerome* ſays nothing particular of the *Epheſians*. But in his Commentarie upon the epiſtle to them he often obſerves, that (*u*) no epiſtle of St. *Paul* was fuller of myſteries: which occaſioned ob-

ſcurity,

(*s*) . . . ἢ ὠνάσαλιν πιστὰς ῥωμαίους ἀποκαλῶν, καὶ μυστὰς ἐφεσίους, οἷς καὶ ὑψηλότερον ἐπιστέλλει, καὶ φιλαδέλφους θεσσαλονικεῖς, μόνοις περιέγραψεν τὰς ἐπαίνους; ἃ πάντως. *Pallad. ap. Chryſ. T.* 13. *p.* 71. *E.*

(*t*) Uſque hodie eadem vel virtutum veſtigia permanent, vel errorum. Romanorum laudatur fides. Ubi alibi tanto ſtudio et frequentia ad eccleſias, et ad martyrum ſepulchra concurritur? . . . Non quod aliam habent Romani fidem, niſi hanc quam omnes Chriſti eccleſiæ: ſed quod devotio in eis major ſit, et ſimplicitas ad credendum. . . . Corinthios quoque notat, quod indifferenter veſcantur in templis, et inflati ſapientia ſeculari, reſurrectionem carnis negant. . . . Macedones in charitate laudantur, et hoſpitalitate, ac ſuſceptione fratrum. Unde ad eos ſcribitur. *De charitate autem fraternitatis, non neceſſe habemus ſcribere vobis. Ipſi enim vos a Deo didiciſtis, ut diligatis invicem. Etenim facitis illud in omnes fratres in univerſa Macedonia. In ep. ad Gal. Pr.* 2. *T.* 4. *p.* 255.

(*u*) Satis abundeque oſtendi, quod beatus Apoſtolus ad nullam eccleſiarum tam myſtice ſcripſerit, et abſcondita ſeculis revelaverit ſacramenta. *Pr.* 3. *in ep. ad Eph. T.* 4. *p.* 375.

Non vobis moleſtum ſit, ſi diu in obſcurioribus immoremur. Cauſſati enim in principio ſumus, inter omnes Pauli epiſtolas, hanc vel maxime, et verbis et ſenſibus involutam. *Comm. in ep. ad Eph. Ib. p.* 369.

Decenter quoque Epheſiis, qui ad ſcientiæ ſummam conſcenderant, ſcribitur, quod ſint lux in Domino. *In cap.* 5. *p.* 383.

Epheſii vero, apud quos fecit triennium, et omnia eis Chriſti aperuit ſacramenta, aliter erudiuntur. *Ib. p.* 390.

Hæc idcirco univerſa replicuimus, ut oſtenderemus, quare Apoſtolus in hac vel potiſſimum epiſtola obſcuros ſenſus, et ignota ſeculis ſacramenta congeſſerit. *Pr. i. in ep. ad Eph. ib. p.* 322.

ſcurity, and rendered it very difficult to be explained. And in a place already cited he ſays of the *Epheſians*, that they had (*x*) received the myſterie hid from ages: that is, they were initiated, or were partakers of the myſteries of the goſpel with *Paul*. And to the like purpoſe in ſeveral paſſages, juſt tranſcribed at the bottom of the page.

By all which, I think, it muſt appear very evident, that *Ignatius* ſuppoſed St. *Paul*'s epiſtle to the *Epheſians* to have been really writ to them. And his judgement is deciſive. For he could not be miſtaken. So ſays the writer of the letter above mentioned. Whoſe words are theſe: "I have been the longer, ſays he, upon theſe paſſages of *Ignatius*, "by reaſon of the weight, his authority might juſtly claim in this caſe, "was it certain, that he had ſpoken of this epiſtle of *Paul*, as written by "him to the *Epheſians*. For if this epiſtle was writ in the ninth year of "*Nero*, and that of *Ignatius* in the tenth of *Trajan*, as Bp. *Pearſon* placeth "them, the diſtance of time will be but forty-five years. So that *Ignatius*, being then far advanced in age, could not well be ignorant of the "truth of this matter. And beſides, *Oneſimus* was Biſhop of *Epheſus* at "the time *Ignatius* wrote his epiſtle to that church, is mentioned in it, "and had lately made *Ignatius* a viſit. So that had there been any doubt "concerning this affair, he could eaſily have ſet him right."

It might have been added, that (*y*) *Ignatius*, at the time of his writing his epiſtle to the *Epheſians*, had with him *Burrhus*, a Deacon of the church at *Epheſus*, and *Crocus*, *Euphus*, and *Fronto*, all members of the church at *Epheſus*, who were then with him at *Smyrna*. Who likewiſe, as may be ſuppoſed, afterwards carried his letter to *Epheſus*.

If therefore by what has been ſaid it appears evident, that *Ignatius* has ſpoken of this epiſtle of *Paul*, as writ to the *Epheſians*, (as I think he does,) we have made out what muſt be reckoned of great weight in this matter.

However, it is not *Ignatius*'s teſtimonie only, that is deciſive. There are many other ancient writers, whoſe teſtimonie alſo is ſatisfactorie, and deciſive.

For by *Irenæus*, *Clement* of *Alexandria*, *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Cyprian*, writers of the ſecond and third centuries, this epiſtle is expreſsly quoted as writ by *Paul* to the *Epheſians*. They ſo quote this epiſtle, without heſitation, as freely, and plainly, as they do the epiſtles to the *Romans*, the *Galatians*, the *Corinthians*, or any other of the acknowledged epiſtles of St. *Paul*.

It is quoted in the like manner by all writers in general, of every age, Latins, Greeks, and Syrians. I would particularly obſerve, that it is ſo quoted by *Jerome*, who alſo wrote a commentarie upon this epiſtle, and had ſeen many ancient manuſcripts and editions of the New Teſtament. Who never expreſſeth any doubt, whether this epiſtle was writ to the *Epheſians*, nor takes notice of any various reading in the inſcription of it. For which I refer to his chapter, in the tenth volume of this work. This epiſtle is quoted in the like manner by *Athanaſius*, *Epiphanius*, *Gregorie*

(*x*) Epheſii . . . ſacramentum quod a ſeculis abſconditum fuerat agnoſcunt. *Vid. ſupr. p.* 330. *net.* (*l*)

(*y*) *Vid. ep. ad Eph. cap. ii.*

Gregorie Nazianzen, and all the writers of every age, and of different, and remote countreys.

We may alſo obſerve here, that in the fifth centurie, there were ſome Chriſtians, who had a notion, that this epiſtle was writ to the *Epheſians*, before the Apoſtle had ſeen them. It is likely, that this notion was founded upon Eph. i. 15. Nevertheleſs, they ſtill thought the epiſtle to have been writ to the *Epheſians*. Which is a proof, that they knew nothing to the contrarie, and had never heard of any various reading in the inſcription of this epiſtle. Among theſe is *Euthalius*, who (*z*) in his prologue to St. *Paul*'s epiſtles conſiders the two epiſtles to the *Romans* and *Epheſians*, as epiſtles writ to Chriſtians, whom the Apoſtle knew by report only. This is remarkable. It ſhews, that he had no various reading in this place. If he had, he would have taken notice of it. *Euthalius* was a learned man. He put out an accurate edition of the Catholic epiſtles, and of St. *Paul*'s epiſtles, with a general prologue to them. And (*a*) he had conſulted, beſide others, the manuſcripts in the librarie at *Ceſarea* in *Paleſtine*. Nevertheleſs he had not met with any various reading.

And in the Argument of the epiſtle to the *Epheſians*, now placed in the edition of *Euthalius*, it is ſaid, that (*b*) the epiſtle to the *Epheſians* was ſent by *Paul* from *Rome* to them, when he had not yet ſeen them, and had only heard of them. I do not aſcribe this argument to *Euthalius*. The reaſons were aſſigned (*c*) formerly. *Euthalius* wrote a prologue to St. *Paul*'s epiſtles. But it does not appear, that he wrote arguments to each of his epiſtles ſeverally. The ſame thing is alſo ſaid of the epiſtle to the *Epheſians* in the (*d*) Synopſis of Scripture, aſcribed to *Athanaſius*. Theſe I reckon one and the ſame, but different from *Euthalius*.

And I may here take notice of a ſmall inaccuracie in Mr. *Wetſtein*, who (*e*) in his notes upon the begining of the epiſtle to the *Epheſians* quotes both the prologue to St. *Paul*'s epiſtles, and the Argument of the epiſtle to the *Epheſians* in particular, as *Euthalius*'s: though in his Prolegomena, in his account of what *Etuhalius* had done, he had obſerved, and rightly, that (*f*) thoſe Arguments were not compoſed by *Euthalius*, but by another.

I therefore here ſuppoſe two, that is, *Euthalius*, and another, who wrote the Arguments of St. *Paul*'s epiſtles ſeverally. Who may be the ſame that compoſed the Synopſis aſcribed to *Athanaſius*.

However, beſide theſe there may have been about this time ſome others of the ſame opinion. For *Theodoret* in his preface to the epiſtle to the

(*z*) Πέμπτη ἡ πρὸς ἐφεσίους κεῖται, πιστοὺς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ παραμένοντας, ἧς ἐν τῇ προγραφῇ τὸ μυστήριον ἐκτίθεται, παραπλησίως τῇ πρὸς ῥωμαίους· ἀμφοτέροις δὲ ἐκ ἀκοῆς γνωρίμοις. *Euthal. ap. Zacagn. p.* 524.

(*a*) *See Vol. xi. p.* 206. *and Vol. v. p.* 334.

(*b*) Ταύτην ἐπιστέλλει ἀπὸ ῥώμης, ὅτω μὲν ἑωρακὼς αὐτοὺς, ἀκούσας δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν. *Arg. ep. ad Eph. ib. p.* 633.

(*c*) *See Vol. xi. p.* 207. . . . 210.

(*d*) Ταύτην ἐπιστέλλει ἀπὸ ῥώμης, ὅτω μὲν αὐτοὺς ἑωρακὼς, ἀκούσας δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν. *Ap. Athan. T.* 2. *p.* 194. *ed. Bened.*

(*e*) *Vid. N. T. Vol.* 2. *p.* 238.

(*f*) *Vid. ejuſd. Prolegom. Vol. i. p.* 75.

the *Ephesians* observes, there (*g*) were some, who said, that *Paul* wrote to the *Ephesians*, before he had seen them. But he shews it to be a false and absurd opinion, and concludes, saying: "It (*h*) is manifest therefore, that the Apostle had preached the gospel to them, before he wrote to them."

This affords a good argument, that there was not in the fifth centurie, nor before, any notice, or apprehension of a various reading in the inscription of this epistle. For if there had, none would have admitted so absurd a supposition, that *Paul* wrote from *Rome* an epistle to the *Ephesians*, before he had seen them.

Another thing deserving notice here is, that before the end of the fourth centurie there was forged an epistle to the *Laodiceans*, ascribed to *Paul*. For (*i*) it is expresly mentioned by *Jerome* in his book of Illustrious Men, writ about 392. Which must induce us to think, that the epistle to the *Ephesians* was never called the epistle to the *Laodiceans*. For then there could have been no pretence for forging another with that title, to verify a false interpretation of Col. iv. 16.

I should now proceed to another argument. But I must look back, to secure this, taken from the testimonie of ancient Christian writers. For it has been argued from a passage of St. *Basil*, in his books against *Eunomius*, that he had seen some ancient manuscripts of this epistle, in which these words, *at Ephesus*, were wanting. That passage, as cited formerly, is thus: "And *Paul* writing to the *Ephesians*, as truly united "to him *who is*, through knowledge, called them in a peculiar sense "*such who are*, saying: *To the saints who are, and* [or even] *the faithfull* "*in Christ Jesus*. For so those before us have transmitted it, and we "have found it in ancient copies." This point having been already examined by us largely, I refer to what was then (*k*) said. It was then argued by us, that St. *Basil* does not here intimate, that the word, or words, at *Ephesus*, were wanting in any copies seen by him. And I would now observe farther, that our account of this passage is confirmed by the works of other authors, both before, and after *Basil*. There had lived many learned Christian writers before his time. There were many learned Christians contemporarie with him: as his own brother, *Gregorie Nyssen*, *Gregorie Nazianzen*, *Amphilochius*, and others: and also soon after him, as *Theodoret*, and *Euthalius*: not now to mention *Jerome*, or other learned Latin authors. None of whom have said, that the words, *at Ephesus*, were wanting in any copies, which they had seen. The various reading therefore, intended by *Basil*, must have been somewhat less, a small matter, not any thing like ἐν ἐφέσῳ, *at Ephesus*. For so remarkable a reading could not have been passed by in silence, unobserved by all others. And every one may see, that in this very place, as well

(*g*) . . τὸν δὲ θειότατον παῦλον μηδέπω τοῖς ἐφεσίοις τε θεαμένοις, τὴν δὲ ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς γεγραφέναι. *Theod. T.* 3. *p.* 290.

(*h*) Δεδεικται ἄρα σαφῶς, ὡς προκηρύξας αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὕστερον γέγραφε τὴν ἐπιστολήν. *Ib. p.* 292.

(*i*) Legunt quidam et ad Laodicenses. Sed ab omnibus exploditur. *De V. I. Cap.* v.

(*k*) *See Vol. ix. p.* 115. . . . 122.

well as elſewhere, *Baſil* cites this epiſtle, as writ by *Paul* to the *Epheſians*: And they are the Chriſtians, of whom *Paul* had ſaid, that through knowledge they were united to him *who is*.

In the place, to which I referred juſt now, I gave an account of a Diſſertation of *Lenfant*, vindicating the common reading. Which was approved by *Wolfius*, and others. However, Mr. *Kuſter* was not ſatisfied. And in the preface to his edition of *Mill*'s New Teſtament, he ſays, "That (*l*) the argument, or interpretation of *Baſil*, depends upon a ſuppoſition, that the words, *at Epheſus*, were wanting in the inſcription of this epiſtle. Otherwiſe the Chriſtians, to whom that epiſtle is ſent, could not have been reckoned more eſpecially united to him who is, or called *ſuch who are*, rather than the *Romans*, or *Philippians*, or any other Chriſtians, to whom *Paul* wrote."

To which I anſwer: That is ſaying all, and the only thing, that can be ſaid, in behalf of the ſuppoſition, that the words, *at Epheſus*, were wanting in ſome copies, which *Baſil* had ſeen. But though this may ſeem ſpecious and plauſible, it is not concluſive. We have perceived from *Palladius*, and *Jerome* lately alleged, that there were ſome, who appropriated certain characters to divers churches. The *Romans* were eſpecially called faithfull, the *Epheſians* initiated, and knowing, and the *Theſſalonians* lovers of the brotherhood. But it cannot be thence concluded, that other Chriſtians were not entitled to the ſame characters: or that the ſame things might not be alſo ſaid of them. As may appear to any one, who does but look into St. *Paul*'s epiſtles. In which the faith of other churches is ſpoken of, beſide that of the *Romans*. And others, beſide the *Theſſalonians*, are ſuppoſed to have been lovers of the ſaints, or the brotherhood. Says the Apoſtle 1 Theſſ. i. 3. *Remembering without ceaſing your work of faith, and labour of love.* 2 Theſſ. i. 4. *So that we ourſelves glory in you, in the churches of God, for your patience and faith in all your perſecutions.* 2 Cor. viii. 7. *As ye abound in every thing, in faith.* . . . Epheſ. i. 1. *To the ſaints which are at Epheſus, and to the faithfull in Chriſt Jeſus.* ver. 15. *Wherefore, . . . after I heard of your faith in the Lord Jeſus, and love unto all the ſaints.* Coloſſ. i. 2. *To the ſaints, and faithfull brethren in Chriſt, which are at Coloſſe.* Philem. ver. 5. *Hearing of thy love, and faith, which thou haſt toward the Lord Jeſus, and toward all ſaints.* And others, beſide the *Epheſians*, were partakers of the myſteries of the goſpel, with the Apoſtle. See Rom. xi. 25. 1 Cor. ii. 6. 7. Col. i. 25. . . . 27. ii. 2. iv. 3.

That is the very obſervation of *Palladius* in the place above cited: that when the Apoſtle blames ſome for certain vices, and commends others for certain virtues, he by no means intends to intimate, that thoſe vices, or thoſe virtues, were peculiar to the perſons blamed, or commended by him.

The *Romans* were called by ſome in ancient times in an eſpecial manner faithfull, the *Epheſians* initiated, and the *Theſſalonians* or *Macedonians*, lovers of the brotherhood. But they were not ſo, excluſive of others.

(*l*) Nec magis ἰδικῶς Apoſtolus Epheſios, ex ſenſu Baſilii, vocaverit ὄντας; quam Romanos, Philippenſes, etc. ad quos ſcribens eodem plane loquendi formula utitur. *Kuſter.*

thers. For all the Churches, or Christians, to whom *Paul* wrote, were faithfull, and initiated, or partakers with him in the mysteries of the gospel, and lovers of the saints, or brotherhood: though they might be reasonably exhorted to abound therein more and more. As are the *Thessalonians* themselves, 1 Ep. ch. iv. 10. See also iii. 12. And indeed, if such properties did not belong to them, they could not have been Christians. Nevertheless, when these several characters had been applied to some, particularly, it is likely, that few would scruple to follow the same way of speaking, if there was occasion.

So in the present case, that observation in *Basil* having been applied to the *Ephesians* by some men of no great judgement, it was left there, and not applied to any others. Indeed it is an impertinent observation, as *Jerome* (*m*) calls it. And, as it seems, was made use of by a few only. But it might have been as properly said of other Christians, as of the *Ephesians*.

One thing more I add here. They who are for leaving out the words, *at Ephesus*, must read the place in this manner: *to such as are saints, and faithfull in Christ Jesus*. Then this should be a general epistle, not directed to any one place, but to good Christians every where. But that it is not a general epistle, is manifest from Eph. vi. 21. 22. without insisting now on any other places. *But that ye may also know my affairs, and how I do, Tychicus a beloved brother, and faithful minister in the Lord, shall make known unto you all things. Whom I have sent unto you for the same purpose, that ye might know our affairs, and that he might comfort your hearts.* This plainly shews, that the epistle had not a general inscription, *to saints and faithful men*, but was inscribed to the saints of some place. And who should they be, but the saints and faithfull at *Ephesus*: to whom it is inscribed in all Greek manuscripts, and in all versions, and in all catalogues of the books of the New Testament, whether composed by Councils, or others?

4. Once more. St. *Paul* himself says 2 Tim. iv. 12. *And Tychicus have I sent to Ephesus*, very probably referring to this epistle, as (*n*) was shewn some while ago. This is what *Whithy* intends at the begining of his preface to this epistle, before transcribed. "That this epistle to the "*Ephesians* was indeed written by St. *Paul*, and directed to them, and "not to any other church, we cannot doubt, if we believe either the "epistle, or St. *Paul* himself." By the testimonie of *the epistle* he means the inscription at the begining, where is *at Ephesus*, in all manuscripts and versions. By the testimonie of St. *Paul himself* he means what is said 2 Tim. iv. 12. quoted above.

Having finished the argument in favour of the genuineness of the common inscription of this epistle, which to me appears sufficient, and satisfactorie: I now propose to consider objections, which have been raised by *Mill*, and others.

1 Obj. "It is said, that there are in this epistle divers expressions, not suited to the Christians at *Ephesus*, where *Paul* had been twice, and spent

(*m*) *See Vol. ix. p.* 118. 119. *note* (*p*).
(*n*) *See before. p.* 263.

ſpent there almoſt three years. See Acts xviii. 19. . . . 21. xix. and xx. 1. and 17. . . 38."

Says Mr. *Peirce* in the place before referred to, repreſenting *Mill*'s argument: "He has proved it highly improbable, that the epiſtle was at "firſt writ to the *Epheſians*. St. *Paul* had reſided among them, and "*kept back nothing that was profitable unto them*. . . How then could he "write to them, as though he had never ſeen, or been among them, "but only had heard of them? Eph. i. 5. *Wherefore I alſo, after I* "*heard of your faith in the Lord Jeſus, and love to all the ſaints.* Again, "is it likely, he would refer thoſe, to whom he had *declared all the coun-*"*ſel of God*, ſo long together, to a bare report of himſelf? Eph. iii. 2. "*If ye have heard of the diſpenſation of the grace of God, which is given me* "*to you-ward.* Or would he ſuppoſe, that they who had heard him "preach a thouſand times would need to *underſtand his knowledge in the* "*myſtery of Chriſt*, from what he ſaid in a few verſes, or even the whole, "of that ſhort epiſtle? Eph. iii. 4."

To the like purpoſe another learned author, whom likewiſe I ſhall tranſcribe here, that this objection may appear in all it's ſtrength: "He "(*o*) intimateth, that he had only heard of their faith in Chriſt, and of "their love to all Chriſtians. ch. i. 15. . . . Again, he not only men-"tioneth his *hearing of their faith in Chriſt*, but ch. iii. 1. 2. he ſpeaks, "as if he was dubious, whether they had heard of the extraordinarie "revelations, which he had received from heaven. . . . And verſes 3. "4. he intimateth, that, if they had never heard of theſe things before, "they might underſtand them from the brief hints, which he had given "them in his epiſtle. Is this like St. *Paul*'s ſtile to the churches of "his own planting? . . Or could a few lines, or even a larger epiſtle "than this, have given them ſo clear a knowledge of St. *Paul*'s illu-"mination, as their hearing him a thouſand times? For had he not "been among them for the ſpace of three years, warning every one of "them night and day with tears?"

But this difficulty, if I miſtake not, will diſappear upon farther conſi-deration, and a fuller examination of the matter.

Firſt. It appears from the epiſtle itſelf, that the Chriſtians, to whom it is ſent, were not unknown to *Paul*, nor they to him: but they were well acquainted with each other.

That the Apoſtle was acquainted with theſe Chriſtians, muſt, I think, be evident to all, who read without prejudice the firſt fourteen verſes of the firſt chapter of this epiſtle. I inſiſt only upon ver. 13. *In whom ye alſo truſted, after that ye heard the word of truth, the goſpel of your ſalvation: in whom alſo after that ye believed, ye were ſealed with the holy ſpirit of pro-miſe.* How could the Apoſtle write thus to any, but to ſuch, whoſe converſion to Chriſtianity he was well acquainted with, and that upon their believing they had received gifts of the Spirit? How could any man write thus to people, whom he had but lately heard of?

There are alſo many other paſſages of this epiſtle, which ſhew the Apoſtle's knowledge of the ſtate of theſe Chriſtians, both before, and after their converſion. Some of which I muſt ſelect here.

Ch. ii.

(*o*) *Dr. Benſon's Hiſtory of the firſt planting the Chriſtian Religion. Vol. 2. p. 272. firſt ed. p. 292. 2d. ed.*

Ch. ii. 1. 2. *And you hath he quickened, who were dead in treſpaſſes, and ſins: wherein in time paſt ye walked according to the courſe of this world. . .* and throughout that chapter to the end.

Then at ch. iii. 13. *Wherefore I deſire, that ye faint not at my tribulation for you, which is your glorie.* That muſt be ſaid to Chriſtians, of whoſe tender affection for him he was very ſenſible: recollecting, it is likely, what had happened at *Miletus*, as related Acts xx. 36. . . . 38. And indeed it is throughout an affectionate, as well as inſtructive, and uſeful epiſtle.

Ch. iv. 20. *But ye have not ſo learned Chriſt.* 21. *If ſo be*, or * foraſmuch as, *ye have heard him, and have been taught the truth as it is in Jeſus.* This the Apoſtle knew very well.

I cannot forbear to recite this place more largely, from ver. 20. to ver. 24. *But ye have not ſo learned Chriſt, foraſmuch as ye have heard him, and have been inſtructed in him, as the truth is in Jeſus, to † put off, with reſpect to the former converſation, the old man, which is corrupt according to deceitful luſts, and to be renewed in the ſpirit of your mind, and to put on the new man, which is created according to God in righteouſneſſe and true holineſſe.* Certainly theſe are St. *Paul*'s own converts and diſciples. The caſe of theſe people reſembles that of the *Galatians*. ch. iii. 1. *Before whoſe eyes Jeſus Chriſt had been evidently ſet forth crucified among them.* But to theſe Chriſtians, at *Epheſus*, the Apoſtle expreſſeth himſelf with more mildneſſe, as was fit, than to the *Galatians*.

Then ver. 30. *And grieve not the Holy Spirit of God, whereby ye were ſealed unto the day of redemption*: or, with which ye were ſealed in the day of redemption. Theſe Gentil Chriſtians had received the Spirit. And from whom, I pray, if not from St. *Paul?* And that they had a variety of ſpiritual gifts, is manifeſt from ch. v. 18. . . 20.

Ch. v. 8. *For ye were ſome time darkneſſe. But now are ye light in the Lord. Walk as children of the light.* Which ſhews, that the Apoſtle knew the ſtate of theſe Chriſtians before, and after their converſion.

And that St. *Paul* was acquainted with them, and they with him, appears to me very evident from ch. vi. 21. 22.

Secondly, at ch. i. 15. are words, upon which an objection has been formed, as we have ſeen. *Wherefore I alſo, after I heard of your faith in the Lord Jeſus, and love unto all the ſaints*: that is, according to Mr. *Locke*'s paraphraſe: "Wherefore I alſo here in my confinement having heard of "the continuance of your faith in Chriſt Jeſus, and your love to all the "ſaints." And in his preface to this epiſtle Mr. *Locke* has theſe expreſſions. "Wherefore when he heard, that the *Epheſians* ſtood firm "in the faith, whereby he means their confidence of their title to the "privileges and benefits of the goſpel, without ſubmiſſion to the law, he "thanks God for them."

Whitby's

* *Si tamen illud audiſtis*:] *Si tamen*, Græce, *ſiquidem*. Non enim dubitans hoc dicit Apoſtolus, ſed magis rem *confirmans*, uti poſt Chryſoſtomum annotat Theophylactus. Nam et alias interdum vim confirmandi habet conjunctio, *ſi*, ut ſecundæ ad Theſſalon. primo verſ. 6. *Eſt. ad Eph. iv.* 21.

† *See Dr. Doddridge upon the place, whoſe verſion, in the main, I have here adopted.*

Whitby's paraphraſe of this verſe is to this purpoſe. "Wherefore I "alſo having heard of your ſtedfaſt faith in the Lord Jeſus, and your "encreaſing love to all the ſaints: that is, that the faith and love wrought "in you continues ſtedfaſt, and aboundeth."

To the like purpoſe alſo (*p*) *Grotius*, whoſe words I have placed below.

Theodoret's note upon ver. 15. and 16. is to this purpoſe: "Hence "ſome have ſuppoſed, that the Apoſtle wrote this epiſtle to the *Ephe-* "*ſians*, when he had not yet ſeen them. But they ſhould conſider, that "writing to the *Corinthians*, concerning whom he had received ſome "diſagreeable information, he ſays: *It has been related to me of you, my bre-* "*thren, by them which are of the houſhold of Chloe, that there are contentions* "*among you.* 1 Cor. i. 11. As therefore when he had received infor- "mation of ſome things diſagreeable, he wrote with grief of mind: ſo "when he had received an account of things agreeable concerning theſe "*Epheſians*, he beſtows commendation. He praiſeth them, both for "their piety and for their liberality to the ſaints. Whereupon he alſo "gives thanks to God, the author of all good things."

So that this text was no difficulty at all with *Theodoret*. However, it may be expedient, that I ſhould enlarge ſomewhat farther.

I obſerve, then, that St. *Paul* writes in the ſame manner to *Philemon*, his own convert, whoſe faith therefore he certainly knew. *Philem.* ver. 4. 5. *I thank my God, making mention of thee always in my prayers: hearing of thy love, and faith, which thou haſt toward the Lord Jeſus, and toward all ſaints.* That *Philemon* had been converted to the faith of the goſpel by *Paul*, I ſuppoſe to be evident from ver. 19. *Albeit I do not ſay unto thee, how thou oweſt to me thy own ſelf beſides.* So that text (*q*) has been gene- rally underſtood. And how it can be interpreted otherwiſe, I do not conceive.

Whitby's paraphraſe is: "*Albeit I do not ſay unto thee, how thou oweſt to me*, by whom thou waſt converted, *even thy own ſelf*, or the well being of thy ſoul, *beſides*."

Beauſobre and *Lenfant* in their preface to the epiſtle to *Philemon* ex- preſs themſelves in this manner. "*Philemon* was a conſiderable perſon "at *Coloſſe*, a city of *Phrygia*. St. *Paul* had converted him, either at "*Epheſus*, or ſome other city of *Aſia*, when he preached the goſpel in "that countrey: or elſe at *Coloſſe* itſelf, in one of the journeys, which he "had made in *Phrygia*."

There are ſome other things to be obſerved here concerning this per- ſon. For in the firſt verſe of that epiſtle *Paul* calls *Philemon beloved*, and *his fellow-laborer*. Which, if I am not miſtaken, indicate perſonal ac- quaintance, and imply their having labored together in the ſervice of the goſpel, at *Coloſſe*, or *Epheſus*, or in ſome other place. And yet St. *Paul* writing to *Philemon* ſpeaks of his *having heard of his faith, and love.*

Still

(*p*) Loquitur autem Paulus de profectu evangelii apud Epheſios, ex quo ipſe ab illis diſceſſerat. *Grot. in Eph. i.* 14.

(*q*) Ceterum, ſi ad jus meum redeam, propter ſermonem Chriſti, quem tibi evangelizavi, et Chriſtianus effectus es, teipſum mihi debes. *Hieron. in ep. ad Philem. T.* 4. *p.* 452.

Still farther, it appears to me highly probable, that *Oneſimus*, in whoſe behalf this epiſtle was writ, knew *Paul*, before he ſaw him at *Rome*. He either had ſeen *Paul* at his maſter's houſe at *Coloſſe*, or elſe at *Epheſus*, when attending upon his maſter there. *Paul* was a priſoner at *Rome*, and could not go abroad. *He dwelt in his own hired houſe, with a ſoldier that kept him.* Acts xxviii. 16. and 30. It is likely, therefore, that *Oneſimus* came firſt to *Paul*. Being in ſtraits, and knowing *Paul*'s benevolent temper, and what civilities he had received from his maſter, *Philemon*, he might hope for ſome relief from him. Or, poſſibly, hearing, that *Paul* was at *Rome*, and recollecting the diſcourſes, which he had heard him make, when attending on *Philemon*, he was touched with remorſe for the faults, which he had been guilty of, and came to *Paul* for farther inſtruction in the things of religion, and for advice and comfort. He might alſo encourage himſelf with hopes of *Paul*'s interceding in his behalf, and obtaining a reconciliation with his maſter.

Says *Beauſobre* in his preface to the epiſtle to *Philemon*: It can hardly be doubted, that the repentance of his fault obliged *Oneſimus* to come to *Paul*, whom he knew to be his maſter's friend. For otherwiſe, he might have remained unknown at *Rome*.

Philemon then was well known to *Paul*. Nevertheleſs, at the beginning of his epiſtle to him, he thanks God, *having heard of his love and faith*. The meaning is, he had received information of the continuance of his faith, and of it's bearing good fruit. If *Paul* could write thus to *Philemon*, his convert, friend, and fellow-laborer, he might write in a like manner to other Chriſtians, to whom he was no ſtranger.

So likewiſe to the *Coloſſians*, ch. i. 3. 4. *We give thanks to God, even the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, praying always for you: ſince we heard of your faith in Chriſt Jeſus, and of the love, which ye have to all the ſaints:* that is, having heard of the continuance of your faith, and of the good fruits of it. This he had been aſſured of by *Epaphras*, who had come to the Apoſtle at *Rome*. It is not to be ſuppoſed, that *Paul* now firſt heard of the faith of the *Coloſſians*, or the *Laodiceans*. I think, that the *Coloſſians* were *Paul*'s own converts, and that the church there had been planted by him. But ſuppoſing that to be uncertain, I imagine, it cannot be queſtioned, that the church there had been planted a good while ago by ſome of the Apoſtle's aſſiſtants, and fellow-laborers. Conſequently, the Apoſtle did not now firſt know, and hear of the faith and love of the Chriſtians at *Coloſſe*. He muſt have known it before he came to *Rome*, and before he was apprehended at *Jeruſalem*. But he had lately received good tidings concerning their ſteadineſſe and perſeverance from ſome, who had come from them to him at *Rome*.

St. *Paul*, ſince his coming to *Rome*, had received from *Tychicus* an account of the ſtate of things at *Epheſus*, which upon the whole was very pleaſing. He had received from *Epaphras* a like account of the ſtate of things at *Coloſſe*, and particularly a good account of the conduct of *Philemon*. For all which he praiſeth God in his epiſtles to them. Indeed it could not but be matter of much joy to the Apoſtle, to hear of the continued faith of Chriſtians in ſeveral places, notwithſtanding the many difficulties attending the profeſſion of Chriſtianity, and notwithſtanding the

the diſcouragement, which his own long captivity might have occaſioned in the minds of many.

In theſe three epiſtles, to the *Epheſians*, the *Coloſſians*, and *Philemon*, are the ſame expreſſions, near the begining, *having heard of your faith and love*. And they are all to be underſtood in a like manner. If theſe words were to be underſtood in the epiſtle to the *Epheſians* of *now firſt hearing*: it might be as well argued, that the epiſtle could not be writ to the *Laodiceans*. For, as before intimated, it may be reckoned certain, that before *Paul* came to *Rome* he knew of the faith of the church at *Laodicea*.

Thirdly, in the next place I conſider that part of the objection, which is raiſed from Eph. iii. 2. 3. 4. *If ye have heard of the diſpenſation of the grace of God, which is given me to you-ward: How that by revelation he made known unto me the myſterie, as I wrote before in a few words: whereby ye may underſtand my knowledge in the myſterie of Chriſt.*

To which part of the objection I anſwer, that *if ye have heard of the diſpenſation*, may be rendered, *ſince*, or *foraſmuch as ye have heard*, and what follows. So *Theophylact*, approved by *Whitby* upon the place.

I obſerve farther. Theſe things are as properly ſaid to the *Epheſians*, as to any other Chriſtians in that countrey, or thereabout. They were all acquainted, and much alike acquainted with them. If ſuch expreſſions might be uſed in an epiſtle to the *Coloſſians*, or the *Laodiceans*, they might be uſed alſo in an epiſtle to the *Epheſians*. No Gentil Chriſtians, whether converted immediatly by *Paul* himſelf, or by ſome of his aſſiſtants or fellow-laborers, could be ignorant of it. Nor could *Paul* doubt, whether they knew it. Nevertheleſs he might judge it proper to hint theſe things, the more to confirm the inſtructions, and exhortations, which he ſent them, and to ſecure their ſteadineſſe in the faith and profeſſion of the pure goſpel of Chriſt, as they had been taught. And does he not ſpeak more largely, and more diſtinctly of this matter, in his epiſtle to the *Galatians*, whom none ever denied to be the Apoſtle's converts? Gal. i. 11. . . . 20. *But I certify you, brethren,* γνωρίζω δὲ ὑμῖν, *that the goſpel, which was preached of me, is not after men. . . . For ye have heard of my converſation in time paſt. . . . But it pleaſed God. . . . to reveal his Son in me. . . . Now the things, which I write unto you, behold, before God, I lye not.* Theſe things the *Galatians* were not ignorant of. But in his epiſtle he reminds them of them, and in a very ſolemn manner.

The writers, from whom this objection was taken, ſpeak of the *Epheſians* having heard the Apoſtle *preach a thouſand times*, and aſk: *Could the Apoſtle ſuppoſe, that they who heard him preach a thouſand times, could need to underſtand his knowledge of the myſterie of Chriſt, from what he ſaid in a few verſes, or even from the whole of this ſhort epiſtle?* But thoſe expreſſions appear to me very ſtrong, and even unjuſtifiable: though they are warranted by (*r*) *Mill*, whom thoſe learned men follow.

He and they ſeem to conceive of the Chriſtians at *Epheſus*, as a ſmall ſociety, conſiſting perhaps of two or three hundred people. And they ſpeak,

(*r*) Quomodo convenit hoc civibus Epheſinis, qui ſexcenties prædicantem audierant Apoſtolum? *Mill. prol. num.* 72.

ſpeak, as if they ſuppoſed that church to have been formed and planted before the Apoſtle came thither, or very ſoon after his arrival: and that they had all heard him preach once at leſt every day of the three years, that he reſided in that city. How elſe could they think, that the Chriſtians at *Epheſus* had heard *Paul* preach *a thouſand times?* He ſays indeed to their Elders at Miletus, Acts xx. 31. *that for the ſpace of three years he had not ceaſed to warn every one night and day with tears.* For certain, the Apoſtle was very diligent in making converts, and in confirming the believers there. But converſions were made gradually, not all at once, as is evident from the account, which we have of *Paul*'s preaching at *Epheſus*, in the xix. chapter of the Acts. Where alſo St. *Luke* obſerves, at ver. 10. *that all they which dwelt in Aſia, heard the word of the Lord Jeſus, both Jews and Greeks.* This may lead us to think, that *Paul* had many converts in ſeveral parts of *Aſia*. Some of theſe may have ſeen, and heard the Apoſtle at *Epheſus*, once only, or however not often. To all theſe the epiſtle to the *Epheſians* was ſent. The inſcription, *to the ſaints and faithful at Epheſus*, the chief city, would comprehend all the believers in the countrey. And ſome converts may have been made, ſince the Apoſtle was there. However, though it ſhould be allowed, that moſt of theſe Chriſtians had heard the Apoſtle often, the reading of this epiſtle might be of great uſe to them. For it is an excellent epiſtle, as all muſt allow, and not inferior to the moſt admired of St. *Paul*'s writings.

I have now conſidered the firſt, and, as I ſuppoſe, the principal objection.

2. Obj. It is ſaid, "that in all St. *Paul*'s epiſtles, writ to particular churches, there is ſome peculiar caſe mentioned, reſpecting each church, that ſeems to be one reaſon at leaſt for writing to them. Which is alſo obſerved in his epiſtle to the *Coloſſians*, whom he there cautions againſt the worſhip of angels."

I anſwer. That is a juſt obſervation. And the ſame may be found in *Jerome*'s preface to his Commentarie upon this epiſtle to the *Epheſians*. Where he ſays: As (*s*) the bleſſed *John* in the Revelation, writing to the ſeven churches, either reproves the faults, or commends the virtues of each: ſo likewiſe, he ſays, does the Apoſtle *Paul* in his epiſtles. And he ſuppoſeth this epiſtle to have been writ to the Chriſtians at *Epheſus*, and to be ſuited to their caſe.

But we are not to expect, that even an Apoſtle ſhould cenſure, and find fault, where there is little, or no occaſion for it. It becomes him to own the good temper and conduct of any church that deſerves it. And what church could be ſo likely to deſerve mild treatment, as the church at *Epheſus*, which had had ſo much of the Apoſtle's preſence, and of his favorite

(*s*) Neceſſe eſt enim, ut juxta diverſitates locorum, et temporum, et hominum, quibus ſcriptæ ſunt, diverſas et cauſſas, et argumenta, et origines habeant. Et quomodo beatus Johannes in Apocalypſi ſua ad ſeptem ſcribens eccleſias, in unaquaque earum ſpecialia vel vitia reprehendit, vel virtutes probat: ita et ſanctus Apoſtolus Paulus per ſingulas eccleſias vulneribus medetur illatis, nec ad inſtar imperiti Medici uno collyrio omnium oculos vult curare. *Pr. i. in ep. ad Eph. T. 4. p. 320.*

vorite diſciple *Timothie*, upon whom he has beſtowed ſo great commendations? 1 Cor. iv. 17. xvi. 16. Philip ii. 19. . . 22. and who undoubtedly would be faithful and diligent, where he was ſent occaſionally only, or where he was ſtationed for a while. This was the caſe here. I ſuppoſe, that *Timothie* was left at *Epheſus*, when *Paul* went up to *Jeruſalem*. There he continued, till after the Apoſtle's arrival at *Rome*, and after the writing of this epiſtle to the *Epheſians*, of which we are now ſpeaking. Moreover, as is well known, when *Paul* was going up to *Jeruſalem*, he delivered, at *Miletus*, a moſt pathetic charge to the Elders of that church, and to *Timothie*, with them, as I ſuppoſe. See Acts xx. 17. . . 38. particularly 28. . . 31. Which certainly muſt have excited all to faithfulneſſe and zeal in the performance of their duty. Indeed he ſays: *I know, that after my departing ſhall grievous wolves enter in among you, not ſparing the flock.* There would ariſe men, that would endeavour to devour, and lay waſte the church of *Epheſus*. Nevertheleſs, I think, theſe earneſt warnings of the Apoſtle muſt have been of great uſe to defeat the deſigns of ſuch evil men: ſo that they ſhould not be able to do much miſchief there, at leaſt for ſome while.

And ſays the Apoſtle ver. 31. *Watch, and remember, that by the ſpace of three years I ceaſed not to warn every one of you night and day with tears.* This the Apoſtle does again very ſuitably in this epiſtle, in divers places, which cannot be overlooked, nor paſſed by us here. So Eph iv. 1. *I therefore the priſoner of the Lord beſeech you, that ye walk worthie of the vocation, wherewith ye are called.* . . . ver. 17. *This I ſay therefore, and teſtify in the Lord, that ye henceforth walk not as other Gentils*, and what follows. So alſo ch. v. 1. . . . And vi. 12. . . . 17. Theſe warnings have, probably, a reſpect to temptations, which the *Epheſians* might meet with from their Heathen and Idolatrous neighbours, and from deceitfull and artfull men among Chriſtians. To ſuch things as theſe *Jerome* ſuppoſed *Paul* to have an eye in this (*t*) epiſtle.

And theſe written warnings, as well as others, ſeem to have had a good effect. The church of *Epheſus* appears to have behaved commendably for a good while. This may be collected from Rev. ii. 1. . . . 6. And *Ignatius* at the begining of his epiſtle to them ſays, ch. vi. "And indeed *Oneſimus* himſelf does greatly commend your good order in God: that you all live according to truth, and that no hereſie dwells among you." And ch. ix. "I have heard of ſome, who have paſſed by you, having perverſe doctrine: whom you did not ſuffer to ſow among you." And to the like purpoſe in other places of that epiſtle.

3. Obj. It is ſaid, "that *Timothie*'s name is not mentioned in "the introduction to this epiſtle: though it is found in the be-"ginning of the epiſtle to the *Coloſſians*, and that to *Philemon*. "Hence

(*t*) Scribebat ad Epheſios Dianam colentes. . . . Scribebat autem ad metropolim Aſiæ civitatem, in qua ita idololatria. . . . et artium magicarum præſtigiæ viguerant. . . . Hæc ideirco univerſa replicavimus, ut oſtenderemus, quare Apoſtolus in hac vel potiſſimum epiſtola obſcuros ſenſus, et ignota ſeculis ſacramenta congeſſerit: et de ſanctarum contrariarumque virtutum docuerit poteſtate: qui ſint dæmones, quid valeant. . . . De quibus ait: *Non eſt nobis pugna adverſum carnem et ſanguinem, ſed adverſum principatus et poteſtates.*——*Hieron. ubi ſupr. p.* 322.

" Hence it is argued, that *Timothie* was unknown to all, or moſt of " the church, to whom this epiſtle was written. Conſequently it " was not ſent to the church of *Epheſus*, where *Timothie* was well " known."

In anſwer to which I would ſay, *firſt*, that I can ſee no reaſon, why St. *Paul* ſhould ſcruple to put *Timothie*'s name at the begining of an epiſtle, writ to Chriſtians, with whom *Timothie* was not perſonally acquainted. *Secondly*. There can be no reaſon to doubt, that *Timothie* was as well known to the Chriſtians at *Laodicea*, as at *Coloſſe*. *Thirdly*. Therefore there muſt have been ſome other reaſon for omitting the name of *Timothie* at the begining of this epiſtle. *Fourthly*, that reaſon preſently offers, and probably was this, that at writing this epiſtle *Timothie* was not with the Apoſtle at *Rome*. I think, *Timothie* was now at *Epheſus*. How then could his name be placed at the begining of an epiſtle writ to the *Epheſians* from *Rome?*

4. Obj. " At *Philippi* the church was ſettled with fixed officers, be- " fore the Apoſtle wrote. And therefore he directs his epiſtle not only " to the Chriſtians in general there, but to the Biſhops and Dea- " cons. But there is no ſuch thing here: though the church of *Epheſus* " had evidently ſuch officers, before the writing of this epiſtle. See Acts " xx. 17."

To which I anſwer, that there muſt have been fixed officers in many churches, beſide that at *Philippi*. Says St. *Luke* in his account of the peregrination of *Paul* and *Barnabas* in ſeveral places: Acts xiv. 21. . . 23. *they returned again to Lyſtra, and Iconium, and Antioch,* [in Piſidia,] *confirming the ſouls of the diſciples. . . . And when they had ordained them Elders in every church, and had prayed with faſting, they commended them to the Lord, on whom they had believed.* Says *Beza* upon this text: " In (*u*) every church they ordained Elders, that is, Paſtors and Deacons, and other officers." From what is ſaid here *Luke* leads us to conclude, what was done elſewhere. It was not needful to mention ſuch things every where. But very probably there were church-officers fixed in all the churches in no long time after they were planted, and particularly, in *Greece*, and *Macedonia*. From St. *Paul*'s epiſtle we know, that there were Biſhops and Deacons at *Philippi*, though not mentioned by St. *Luke* in his hiſtorie of the Apoſtle's preaching there. Acts xvi. 12. . . . 40. *Beza* concludes from 1 Theſſ. v. 27. that (*b*) there were fixed officers in the church at *Theſſalonica*. And it is very manifeſt from ver. 12. and 13. of that chapter: *And we beſeech you, brethren, to know them which labor among you, and are over you in the Lord, and admonish you: and to eſteem them very highly in love, for their work's ſake.* St. *Paul* ſays to *Titus* ch. i. 5. *For this cauſe left I thee in Crete, that thou ſhouldſt ſet in order the things*

(*u*) *Per ſingulas eccleſias, κατ' ἐκκλησίαν.* Sic antea dixit Lucas *κατ' ἔτος*, pro *domatim Preſbyteros*, id eſt, Paſtores et Diaconos, et alios eccleſiæ gubernationi præfectos. Hic enim, ut alibi ſæpe, generaliter accipitur Preſbyteri nomen. *Bez. in Act. xiv. 23.*

(*b*) Vos *ὑμᾶς*. Hinc apparet, mitti ſolitas fuiſſe apoſtolicas epiſtolas preſbyterio, ad quod hæc abjuratio et præcedentes duo verſiculi proprie pertineant: quoniam alioqui abſurda eſſet hæc petitio, ſi ad totum eccleſiæ cœtum referretur. *Bez. in 1 Th. v. 27.*

things that are wanting, and ordain Elders in every city, as I appointed thee. Whenever *Paul* was in *Crete*, it is reaſonable to think, that he made there but a ſhort ſtay. Nevertheleſs before he left that iſland, he had given orders to *Titus*, to ordain *Elders in every city*. And not long after coming thence he wrote to him an epiſtle with particular directions for that purpoſe. Before *Paul* left *Epheſus*, it is likely, that he had ordained ſeveral Elders in that city, and in the diſtrict of *Aſia*. And yet he afterwards wrote to *Timothie*, giving him directions concerning the qualifications of ſuch perſons, that he might make a farther ſupplie, where it was wanting. Which muſt induce us to think, that the Apoſtle was not willing, that any churches ſhould be deſtitute of fit guides and inſtructors for any long time after they had been planted. St. *Paul*'s epiſtle to the *Galatians* is inſcribed *to the churches of Galatia*, without any mention of Biſhops, or Deacons. And yet there muſt have been there men of that character. St. *Peter* writes to the Chriſtians in *Galatia*, and other neighboring parts, and ſends an admonition to ſuch. 1 Pet. v. 1. 2. *The Elders which are among you I exhort. . . . Feed the flock of God, which is among you.* And from the epiſtle itſelf it may be concluded with certainty, that there were fixed officers in the churches of *Galatia*, though they are not mentioned in the inſcription. For ſo St. *Paul* directs, ch. vi. 6. *Let him that is taught in the word, communicate unto him that teacheth in all good things.* There is no notice taken of any Elders in the inſcriptions of either of St. *Paul*'s epiſtles to the *Corinthians*. And yet there muſt have been ſuch officers in that church. *Clement* of *Rome*, in the firſt centurie, in his epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, ſpeaking of the Apoſtles, ſays, ch. xlii. "They went abroad, publiſhing the good tidings, that "the kingdom of God was at hand. And preaching in countreys "and cities, they (*c*) appointed their firſt-fruits, having firſt proved them "by the Spirit, to be Biſhops and Deacons of thoſe who ſhould believe." And afterwards in ch. xliv. "Wherefore we cannot think, that they "may be juſtly caſt out of their miniſtrie, who (*d*) were either ap-"pointed by them, [*the Apoſtles*,] or were afterwards choſen by other "eminent men with the conſent of the whole church." . . . So writes *Clement*. And thus he bears witneſſe to two things. *Firſt*, that this was the general method of the Apoſtles. And, *ſecondly*, he aſſures us, particularly, that this had been done in the church of *Corinth*. About which, I ſuppoſe, he could not be miſtaken. There muſt therefore have been fixed officers in the churches of *Theſſalonica*, *Corinth*, and *Galatia*: though St. *Paul* has taken no particular notice of them in the inſcriptions of his epiſtles. It cannot then be any juſt exception againſt this epiſtle having been ſent to the *Epheſians*, becauſe their Biſhops or Elders are not named. For it was a common thing with the Apoſtle, to inſcribe his epiſtles to the churches, or ſaints, of ſuch a place, without any particular notice of their officers, though there were men of that character among them. I have mentioned above St. *Paul*'s epiſtles to the *Theſſalonians*, the *Corinthians*, and the *Galatians*. To them might be added the epiſtle

(*c*) . . . καθίσασαν τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῶν, δοκιμάσαντες τῷ πνεύματι, εἰς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους τῶν μελλόντων πιστεύειν.

(*d*) Τοὺς οὖν καταστάθεντας ὑπ' ἐκείνων, κ. λ. 2

epiſtle to the *Coloſſians*. For that alſo is inſcribed *to the ſaints, and faithfull brethren, in Chriſt, which are at Coloſſe*. And yet there muſt have been Elders in that church. One is mentioned, whoſe name is *Archippus*. However, it is in this manner only. Col. iv. 17. *And ſay to Archippus: Take heed to the miniſtrie, which thou haſt received of the Lord, that thou fulfill it*. Nor does the Apoſtle ſend his ſalutations to the church in *Laodicea* by him, in particular, but by the ſaints, to whom the epiſtle is inſcribed. See ch. iv. 15. Once more, *Timothie*, as is generally allowed, was at *Epheſus* when St. *Paul* wrote to him thoſe two epiſtles, which we have. When the firſt was writ, there muſt have been ſome Elders in that church, and yet more at the time of writing the ſecond. It cannot be conteſted by any. Nevertheleſs no ſalutations are ſent to the Elders of *Epheſus*, in either of thoſe epiſtles.

5. Obj. "If this epiſtle was ſent to the *Epheſians*, it may be thought "very ſtrange, that St. *Paul* ſhould not ſalute any of his friends there, "where he had many friends and acquaintance."

But I cannot perceive this to be of much weight. There is no epiſtle of St. *Paul* that has ſo many ſalutations in it, as that to the *Romans*, whom he had never ſeen. There are no ſalutations of particular perſons at the end of the firſt epiſtle to *Timothie* who was then at *Epheſus*. I ſuppoſe *Timothie* to have been in the ſame city likewiſe, when *Paul* wrote his ſecond epiſtle to him. Nevertheleſs there are in it no particular ſalutations, except thoſe in ch. iv. 19. *Salute Priſca and Aquila, and the houſhold of Oneſiphorus*. *Tychicus* went with this epiſtle to the *Epheſians*. And what is ſaid ch. vi. 21. . . 23. would be inſtead of many particular ſalutations, and fully anſwer the end. For *Tychicus* is there required to *make known unto them all things, and to comfort their hearts*. I might add, that no particular perſons are ſaluted by name in either of the epiſtles to the *Theſſalonians*, nor in the epiſtle to the *Galatians*, nor in that to *Titus*, excepting only *Titus* himſelf, to whom the epiſtle is ſent.

6. Obj. Mr. *Wetſtein* ſays, "that (*e*) the epiſtle to the *Epheſians* is writ "to Gentils, whereas the church at *Epheſus* conſiſted chiefly of Jews."

I anſwer: That the epiſtle, called to the *Epheſians*, is writ to Gentils, or to ſuch chiefly, is allowed, and is very manifeſt. And it ſeems to me very evident, from the hiſtorie, which we have of St. *Paul*'s preaching at *Epheſus*, in the book of the Acts, that the Apoſtle's chief harveſt there was from among the Gentils. For a while indeed he taught in the ſynagogue. But the behaviour of the Jews obliged him to withdraw. Whereupon he preached in another place. And I ſhould conclude from what is in Acts xix. 17. . . . 40. that the Apoſtle had many more converts there among Gentils, than Jews.

7. Obj. "It is argued from Col. iv. 16. that this epiſtle was ſent to the *Laodiceans*. For St. *Paul* ſays there: *And when this epiſtle is read among you*, or has been read among you, *cauſe, that it be read alſo in the church of the Laodiceans: and that ye likewiſe read the epiſtle from Laodicea*.

Hereby,

(*e*) Imprimis vero obſervandum, cum eccleſia Epheſina ex Judæis potiſſimum collecta fuerit. Act. xviii. 19. 21. 24. 25. xix. 9. 10. 17. xx. 21. Apoc. ii. 2. 7. eam, ad quam hæc epiſtola ſcripta eſt, non ex Judæis, ſed ex Gentilibus fuiſſe congregatam. *Wetſt. N. T. Tom. 2. p. 239.*

Hereby, as is argued, muſt be intended the epiſtle called to the *Epheſians*, but really ſent to the *Laodiceans*. For ſays *Mill* (*f*), and likewiſe others after him, this epiſtle called to the *Epheſians*, and the epiſtle to the *Coloſſians*, were both ſent by the ſame meſſenger, and at the ſame time."

To which I anſwer, that if the epiſtle, called to the *Epheſians*, be the epiſtle intended by the Apoſtle, and ſent at the ſame time with that to the *Coloſſians*; it is manifeſt, that it was not ſent to the *Laodiceans*. This may be concluded from what is ſaid to the *Coloſſians*, ch. iv. 15. *Salute the brethren, which are in Laodicea, and Nymphas, and the church which is in his houſe.* This plainly ſhews, that there was not now any epiſtle ſent to the *Laodiceans*. If there had, there would have been no occaſion for the Apoſtle to ſend this order to the *Coloſſians*. For it is impoſſible to write a letter to any perſons, or ſocieties, without ſaluting them, or doing ſomewhat that is equivalent. And it is manifeſt, that in the epiſtle inſcribed to the *Epheſians*, the Chriſtians, to whom it is ſent, are ſaluted. Particularly ch. i. 1. 2. and vi. 21. 22. 23. This has appeared evident to learned men of the firſt rank, and different communions. So (*g*) *Baronius*, and *Tillemont*. This laſt ſays, "that (*h*) ſince "St. *Paul* orders the *Coloſſians* to ſalute thoſe of *Laodicea* in his name; "it is a certain ſign, that he did not write to them at that time." *Du Pin* ſays: "If (*i*) St. *Paul* had writ at the ſame time to the *Laodiceans*, "he would not have charged the *Coloſſians* to ſalute them in his name." And *James Baſnage*: "St. (*k*) *Paul* did not then write to the *Laodiceans*, "ſince he ſalutes them in his letter to the church of *Coloſſe*." The acute and honeſt Mr. *Peirce*, though much inclined to *Mill*'s opinion concerning this epiſtle, ſaw this difficulty, and owned it. "But I have one ob"jection, ſays he, which I cannot ſo eaſily get over. And were it not for "that, I might fully agree with him. My objection is, that it ſeems "highly improbable, that St. *Paul* ſhould ſend his ſalutations to the "*Laodiceans*, in the epiſtle which he wrote to the *Coloſſians*, in caſe he "had ſent that epiſtle to the *Laodiceans* by the ſame meſſenger."

I am

(*f*) Quidni igitur ſcripta fuerit ad Laodicenſes? . . . Sane per eundem nuncium miſſa erat hæc epiſtola, per quem delata erat epiſtola ad Coloſſenſes, Tychicum ſcilicet, nec non eodem tempore. *Mill. Prol. num.* 74.

(*g*) Sane nullam eidem tabellario ad Laodicenſes fuiſſe a Paulo datam epiſtolam, ſatis conſtat: dum in ea, quam tum ſcripſit ad Coloſſenſes, ſalutari mandat eos, qui Laodiceæ eſſent fideles, ſic dicens: *Salutate fratres, qui ſunt Laodiceæ.* . . . Libentius igitur Chryſoſtomo ac Theodoreto inhæremus, quam ceteris, ut nulla a Paulo ſcripta fuerit epiſtola ad Laodicenſes. *Baron. ann.* 60. *num. xiii.*

(*h*) Et puiſque S. Paul ordonne aux Coloſſiens de ſaluer de ſa part ceux de Laodicée, c'eſt un marque indubitable, qu'il ne leur écrivit point alors. *S. Paul. note* 69. *Mem. Ec. Tom. i.*

(*i*) En effet, ſi ſaint Paul eût écrit en meſme temps aux Laodicéens, il n'eût pas chargé les Coloſſiens, de les ſaluer de ſa part. *Diſſ. Prel.* l. 2. ch. 2. 2. §. viii.

(*k*) S. Paul n'écrivoit pas alors aux Laodicéens, puiſqu'il leur fait une ſalutation dans la lettre à l'égliſe de Coloſſe. *Baſn. Hiſt. de l'Egliſe. l.* 8. *ch.* 3. *n. iii.*

I am not unwilling to allow, that the epiſtle ſpoken of in the later part of verſe 16. of ch. iv. to the *Coloſſians*, is our epiſtle to the *Epheſians: and that ye likewiſe read the epiſtle from Laodicea:* that is, the epiſtle, that is to come to you from *Laodicea*. So the place is rendered in the French Teſtament of *Lenfant* and *Beaujobre: and (l) cauſe likewiſe to be read among you that which the Laodiceans will ſend to you.* And their note is this: "*that (m) from Laodicea:* that is to ſay, *that which will come to you from Laodicea*. For the original has that ſenſe."

If the epiſtle to the *Epheſians* was ſent away by the Apoſtle at the ſame time with thoſe to the *Coloſſians*, and to *Philemon:* I ſhould think, that *Tychicus* went firſt to *Epheſus*, and there left the epiſtle to the *Epheſians*, with an order, that it ſhould be forwarded to *Laodicea*, and ſo to *Coloſſe*. *Tychicus* having left that letter at *Epheſus*, went forward with *Oneſimus* to *Coloſſe:* where they delivered the epiſtles to *Philemon*, and the *Coloſſians*. And then I ſuppoſe, that *Tychicus*'s commiſſion was at an end. He had no order to go to *Laodicea*. The Apoſtle's ſalutations to the brethren at *Laodicea* were to be taken care of by the *Coloſſians*.

But I rather think, as before ſhewn, that the epiſtle to the *Epheſians* was writ very ſoon after the Apoſtle's arrival at *Rome*, and then carried to *Epheſus* by *Tychicus*. And when *Tychicus* went now in the ſecond year of the Apoſtle's impriſonment, with theſe epiſtles to the *Coloſſians*, and *Philemon*; he came aſhore at *Epheſus*, and there left expreſs orders, that the epiſtle, formerly ſent to them, ſhould be ſoon forwarded by them to *Laodicea*, and ſo to *Coloſſe*. Having ſo done, he went, as before ſaid, with *Oneſimus* to *Coloſſe:* where they joyned in delivering the letters to *Philemon*, and the church at *Coloſſe*. And now the commiſſion of *Tychicus* was at an end.

8. Obj. Once more, it is obſerved by learned men, "that *Marcion* ſaid, this epiſtle was writ to the *Laodiceans*, or called this the epiſtle "to the *Laodiceans*."

To which I anſwer, *firſt*, *Humphrey Hody* denied that (*n*) *Marcion* reckoned the epiſtle called to the *Epheſians* to have been writ to the *Laodiceans*. And indeed this point ſeems to lye in great obſcurity. Nor is it ſaid by any one, beſide *Tertullian*, that I know of.

Secondly,

(*l*) Et faites lire de même parmis vous celle que les Laodicéens vous envoyeront.

(*m*) Gr. *celle de Laodicée*, c'eſt à dire, *celle qui vous viendra de Laodicée*. Car l'original a ce ſens là.

(*n*) Decem tantum epiſtolas Pauli, cum particulis quibuſdam ex epiſtola ad Laod. . . . recepit Marcion haereticus, quas librum Apoſtolicum inscripſit. De ceteris ſcripturarum libris nullam agnovit, praeter Evangelium Lucae, illudque mutilatum. Epiſtolas etiam, quas recepit Paulinas, mutilavit vitiatque. . . . . Simonius in Hiſt. Crit. N. T. cap. 15. contendit, Marcionem nullam epiſt. ad Laod. recepiſſe, ſed epiſtolam ad Epheſios, falſo inſcripſiſſe ad Laodicenos. Sed in hoc Epiphanius fallit non potuit, qui in Apoſtolico Marcionis recenſet epiſtolam ad Epheſios loco 7mo. et illam ad Laodicenos loco xi.mo, ὡς ἐκείνους τὰ. Ideo vero dicit Tertullianus contra Marc. l. 5. cap. xi. *Epiſtolam quam nos ad Epheſios praeſcripſimus habemus*, a Marcione *ad Laodicenos inſcriptam fuiſſe*, quoniam locus qui ex Epiſtola ad Laodicenos a Marcione adductus eſt, in epiſtola ad Epheſios exſtabat. Quod etiam obſervat Epiphanius. *Hod. de Bibl. text. orig. p.* 664.

Secondly, Suppoſe *Marcion* to have affirmed this, what does it avail *Grotius* ſays, in his preface to this epiſtle, "*Marcion* (*o*) called this th epiſtle to the *Laodiceans*. Nor was there any reaſon, why he ſhould fal ſify in this matter." And to the like purpoſe others. To which I an ſwer: Catholic writers of the ſame time, and ſince, call this the epiſtl to the *Epheſians*. Nor is there any reaſon, why they ſhould falſify. Ye the ſame is ſaid, not only by all Catholics, but likewiſe by all heretic in general. Let *Marcion*'s credit be ever ſo good, this is a ſufficient an ſwer. For what intereſt had the Catholics to falſify here? If *Marcio* ſaid, this epiſtle was ſent to the *Laodiceans*, he muſt have been miſtaken We are aſſured, that what he ſaid is falſe, from the unanimous teſtimonie c numerous men, who had no intereſt to deceive, and could not be deceive

But *Marcion*'s credit is very little in ſuch an affair as this. The ſam writer, who ſpeaks of *Marcion*'s (*p*) calling this the epiſtle to the *Laodi ceans*, I mean *Tertullian*, does alſo let us know, that (*q*) *Marcion* rejecte the epiſtles of *Paul* to *Timothie*, and *Titus*. And chargeth (*r*) him wit altering the text of ſcripture, openly employing a knife, not a ſtile. An ſpeaks particularly of his leaving out texts (*s*) in the epiſtle to the *Romans*. Will any ſay, that *Marcion* had good reaſon for ſo doing? or that all thi was owing to his ſuperior care and judgement above other Chriſtians For my own part, I think not. And if he ſaid, that this epiſtle was wri to the *Laodiceans*, not to the *Epheſians*, he was miſtaken at leaſt. He ha not, and could not have any good reaſon for it.

Mill (*t*) and other learned men after him, in defending their opinio concerning this epiſtle, magnify the care and exactneſſe of *Marcion* "He flouriſhed, they ſay, in the begining of the ſecond centurie, an "lived at *Sinope*, in *Paphlagonia*, which was in *Aſia Minor* as well a "*Laodicea*. And he affirmed, that the epiſtle called to the *Epheſians* wa "actually an epiſtle to the *Laodiceans*. Moſt probably, he had heard ſ "from ſuch as knew the fact, and could inform him: or rather, had ſee "ſome of the manuſcripts, which gave it that title."

But all this is ſaid without any ground. Such ſuppoſitions are eaſil made. But there is no proof of the truth of them. If there is any credi to be given to what the ancients ſay of *Marcion*, he muſt have been very raſh, and arbitrarie, and careleſs critic: provided he at all deſerve the name of a critic. And if he thought, this epiſtle to have been wri t

(*o*) Marcion hanc epiſtolam vocat ad Laodicenſes, ex fide, ut credibile eſt ecclefiæ Laodicenſis. Nam cur in ea re mentiretur, nihil erat cauſſæ. *Gro Pr. in ep. ad Eph.*

(*p*) *Tertull. adv. Marc. l. 5. cap. xi.*

(*q*) Miror tamen, quum ad unum hominem literas factas receperit, quid a Timotheum duas, et unam ad Titum, de eccleſiaſtico ſtatu compoſitas, recu ſaverit. *Adv. Marcion. l. 5. cap. ult. p. 615.*

(*r*) Marcion enim ex certo et palam machæra, non ſtilo uſus eſt: quonian ad materiam ſuam cædem ſcripturarum confecit. *Id. de Præſc. Hær. cap. 38.*

(*s*) Quantas autem foveas in iſta vel maxime epiſtola Marcion fecerit, auſe rendo quæ voluit, de noſtri inſtrumenti integritate patebit. *Adv. Marc. l. 5. cap. 13*

(*t*) Sed omnino veriſimile eſt, Marcionem, qui Sinope aliquamdiu agebat haud procul a Laodicea, ſive ex popularium ſuorum traditione, ſeu etian auctoritate exemplarium quorundam, hanc epiſtolam tanquam ad Laodicenſe ſcriptam citaſſe. *Mill. Prol. num. 78.*

to the *Laodiceans*; it is likely, he took up that opinion without much inquirie, or examination, and without sufficient reason, and, perhaps, without assigning any.

Jerome (*u*) speaking of *Marcion* and *Basilides*, who, as he says, were not friendly to the Old Testament, and altered the Gospels and Epistles of the New Testament, and rejected both the epistles to *Timothie*, and the epistle to *Titus*, and that to the *Hebrews*, he adds: "And if they assigned any reasons, why they did not reckon these epistles to be the Apostle's, we should endeavour to make an answer, and perhaps might say, what would be sufficient to satisfy the reader. But now since with heretical authority they pronounce, and say, this epistle is *Paul*'s, and that not: they may be fitly answered on the side of truth, in the same manner, that they assert falsehood."

And *Tertullian* having spoken of *Marcion*'s admitting the genuinness of the epistle to *Philemon*, adds: "Nevertheless (*x*) I wonder, that when he "receives an epistle to one man, he should reject two to *Timothie*, and "one to *Titus*, which treat of the government of the church. He had a "mind, I suppose, to alter also the number of the epistles:" that is, as he had done of the Gospels. Which passage, as the reader may remember, was quoted by us (*y*) formerly.

It hence appears, that *Tertullian* knew not, why *Marcion* rejected the epistles to *Timothie* and *Titus*. He knew, that *Marcion* rejected those three epistles. But he was not aware of his having assigned any reasons for so doing. Which shews, I think, that *Marcion* acted arbitrarily in such things, as these.

Indeed *Tertullian* speaking of *Marcion*'s attempting, or designing to alter the inscription of the epistle to the *Ephesians*, useth this expression: "as "if he had made more than common enquiries about it (*z*)." But I suppose *Tertullian* to speak by way of ironie, and sarcastically: not allowing *Marcion* uncommon diligence and exactness, but intimating, that a man, who acted thus, should be very carefull to be rightly informed.

All

(*u*) Licet non sint digni fide, qui fidem primam irritam fecerunt, Marcionem loquor et Basilidem, et omnes hæreticos, qui vetus laniant testamentum: tamen eos aliqua ex parte ferremus, si saltem in novo continerent manus suas, et non auderent Christi. . . . vel Evangelistas violare, vel Apostolos. Nunc vero cum Evangelia ejus Christi dissipaverint, et Apostolorum epistolas non Apostolorum Christi fecerunt esse, sed proprias, miror, quomodo sibi Christianorum nomen audeant vindicare. Ut enim de ceteris epistolis taceam, de quibus quicquid contrarium suo dogmati viderant, craserunt, nonnullas integras repudiandas crediderunt: ad Timotheum videlicet utramque, ad Hebræos, et ad Titum, quam nunc conamur exponere. Et si quidem redderent causas, cur eas Apostoli non putarent, tentaremus aliquid respondere, et forsitan satisfacere lectori. Nunc vero quum hæretica auctoritate pronuncient, et dicant: Illa epistola Pauli est, hæc non est; ea auctoritate refelli se pro veritate intelligant, qua ipsi non erubescunt falsa simulare. *Hieron. Pr. Adv. in ep. ad Tit. T. 4. p. 407.*

(*x*) Miror tamen, quum ad unum hominem literas factas receperit, quid ad Timotheum duas, at unam ad Titum, de ecclesiastico statu compositas, recusaverit. Adfectavit, opinor, etiam numerum epistolarum interpolare. *Marcion. l. 5. cap. ult. p. 615. D.*

(*y*) *See Vol. ii. p. 590. See also here, p. 350. not. (q).*

(*z*) *See below. note (b).*

All this I have ſaid in the way of a general anſwer to the argument, taken from the ſuppoſed opinion of *Marcion*. I will now more particularly inquire, what *Marcion* ſaid, and did, and what might be the ground and reaſon of his opinion, and conduct. And I think, there are but two writers, from whom we can receive any information, *Tertullian*, and *Epiphanius*.

The firſt is *Tertullian*. " I (*a*) paſs by another epiſtle, ſays he, which " we have inſcribed to the *Epheſians*, but heretics to the *Laodiceans*."

Afterwards: " According (*b*) to the true teſtimonie of the church, we " ſuppoſe that epiſtle to have been ſent to the *Epheſians*. But *Marcion* " once had a mind to alter the title, as if he had made a very diligent " inquirie into that matter. But the title is of no importance, ſince the " Apoſtle wrote to all, when he wrote to ſome."

I hope, I have rightly tranſlated the word *geſtiit*. I think it meaneth, *had a mind to*, or *was inclined*, or ſhewed an inclination ſo to do.

By theſe paſſages of *Tertullian* we are aſſured, *firſt*, that this epiſtle, which was in the hands of Catholic Chriſtians, was, in all it's copies, inſcribed to the *Epheſians*. And *Tertullian* was perſuaded, that it was the true teſtimonie, or tradition of the church from the begining.

Secondly, in the firſt of theſe paſſages *Tertullian* ſays, that heretics called this the epiſtle to the *Laodiceans*: by *heretics* meaning, as I ſuppoſe, *Marcion*, and his followers.

Thirdly, *Tertullian* ſays, that once, or upon ſome occaſion, *Marcion* had a mind to alter the title of this epiſtle.

Here it may be queſtioned, whether by *title* be meant what we call a running title, affixed to the epiſtle, or the inſcription, which makes a part of the epiſtle, and is inſerted at the begining of it. I rather think, this laſt to be intended. But take it either way, *Tertullian* ſuppoſed, that *Marcion* had in his copies the ſame title, or inſcription with the Catholics, that is, *to the Epheſians*, or *at Epheſus*. Nor does *Tertullian* ſay, that *Marcion* ever inſerted the inſcription, *to the Laodiceans*, in any of his copies. It ſeems to me, that he did not.

Conſequently, what *Tertullian* ſays, is, that *Marcion*, and his followers, ſometimes at leaſt, called this the epiſtle to the *Laodiceans*, and perhaps quoted it by that title. But he had not in his copies any title, or inſcription, different from that of the Catholics. *Marcion* gave out, that the epiſtle, called by the Catholics *to the Epheſians*, was writ to the *Laodiceans*. He affirmed this to be right, and that the Catholics were in the wrong in calling it an epiſtle to the *Epheſians*. For he was perſuaded, it was writ to the *Laodiceans*.

I think, this is the moſt, that is ſaid by *Tertullian*, or that can be collected from him. Yea, it ſeems to me, that I have in a ſtrong manner repreſented the whole of what is ſaid by him.

I now

(*a*) Prætereo hic, et de alia epiſtola, quam nos ad Epheſios præſcriptam habemus, hæretici vero ad Laodicenos. *Tertull. adv. Marcion. l. 5. cap. xi.*

(*b*) Eccleſiæ quidem veritate epiſtolam iſtam ad Epheſios habemus emiſſam, non ad Laodicenos. Sed Marcion ei titulum aliquando interpolare geſtiit, quaſi et in illo diligentiſſimus exploratur. Nihil autem de titulo intereſt, cum ad omnes Apoſtolus ſcripſerit, dum ad ſingulos. *Ib. cap. xvii. p.* 607.

I now proceed to *Epiphanius*, who says, "that (*c*) *Marcion* received "only ten epistles of *Paul*. They are these. The first is that to the "*Galatians*, the second is the first to the *Corinthians*, the third is the "second to the *Corinthians*, the fourth that to the *Romans*, the fifth is "the first to the *Thessalonians*, the sixth the second to the *Thessalonians*, "the seventh is that to the *Ephesians*, the eighth to the *Colossians*, the "ninth to *Philemon*, the tenth to the *Philippians*. He has also some "parts of an epistle to the *Laodiceans*." So *Epiphanius*.

It is well known, that *Marcion* had an Evangelicon, and an Apostolicon, or a Gospel and an Apostle. In the former, as is generally said, he had St. *Luke*'s Gospel only. But concerning the truth of that account I make no inquiries now. Our concern at present is with St. *Paul*'s epistles only. And *Epiphanius* here expressly says, that *Marcion* received ten, and placed them in the order, in which they are rehearsed above. He likewise says, that *Marcion had some parts of an epistle to the Laodiceans*. And he quotes, as from him, those words, which are in Eph. iv. 5. 6. after this manner: *One Lord, one faith, one baptism, one Christ, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in all.* Having so done, he says: "Nor (*d*) did the unhappy *Marcion* think fit to take that passage from the epistle to the *Ephesians*, but from the epistle to the *Laodiceans*, which is not the Apostle's."

This account of *Epiphanius* led *H. Hody* to say, that *Marcion* received eleven epistles of St. *Paul*. *James Basnage* was of the same opinion. He says: "It (*e*) has been conjectured by some, that *Marcion* con- "founded the epistle to the *Laodiceans* with that to the *Ephesians*. . . . "But that conjecture cannot be maintained. For he distinguished two "epistles of St. *Paul*, one to the *Ephesians*, and another to the *Laodi*- "*ceans*. And *Epiphanius* reproacheth him, because he rather chose to "take his passage from the epistle to the *Laodiceans*, which was not "*Paul*'s, than from the epistle to the *Ephesians*, where are the same "words."

And indeed, I apprehend, that if we had *Epiphanius* only, many might be of the same opinion. But comparing him and *Tertullian*, and examining carefully the whole article of *Epiphanius*, I think, it must appear more

(*c*) Ἔχει δὲ ϰ᾽ ἐπιστολὰς παρ᾽ αὐτῷ τῷ ἁγίῳ ἀποστόλῳ δέϰα, ἃς μόναις ϰέχρηται. . Αἱ δὲ ἐπιστολαὶ αἱ παρ᾽ αὐτῷ λεγόμεναί εἰσι πρῶτη μὲν πρὸς γαλάτας. . . δευτέρα πρὸς ἐφεσίους, ὀγδόη πρὸς κολασσεῖς. . . . Ἔχει δὲ ϰ᾽ πρὸς λαοδικείας λεγομένης μέρη. *Epiph. H.* 42. *num.* ix. *p.* 310.

(*d*) Οὐ γὰρ ἔδοξε τῷ ἐλεεινοτάτῳ μαρϰίωνι ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς ἐφεσίους ταύτην τὴν μαρτυρίαν λέγειν, ἀλλὰ τῆς πρὸς λαοδιϰέας, τῆς μὴ ὕσης ἐν τῷ ἀποστόλῳ. *H.* 42. *p.* 375. *in.*

(*e*) Marcion l'a citée. Il en tiroit même quelque preuve pour son heresie. On a conjecturé, qu'il la confondoit avec celle des Ephesiens. . . Mais cette conjecture ne peut se soutenir, parceque Marcion distinguoit deux lettres de S. Paul, l'une aux Ephesiens, l'autre aux Laodiceens. Et S. Epiphane lui fait une espece de reproche, de ce qu'il a mieux aimé tirer son passage de l'epistre aux Laodicéens, qui n'étoit point de S. Paul, que de celle aux Ephesiens, dans laquelle on trouvoit les mesmes paroles. *J. Bas. Hist. de l'Eg. l.* 8. *ch.* 3. *num.* iii.

more probable, that *Marcion* did ſometimes quote the epiſtle to the *Epheſians*, as if it had been ſent to the *Laodiceans*. Nor can I perceive any good reaſon to think, that any letter to the *Laodiceans* was forged ſo early, as the time of *Marcion*.

And now I would obſerve, that *Epiphanius* ſeems to have been well acquainted with *Marcion*'s Apoſtolicon. For he (*f*) had read his writings, and compoſed a treatiſe againſt him, called Scholion, or Scholia, which he inſerted, ſomewhat altered, in his article of the *Marcionites*, in his large work, called the *Panarium*, which we have.

Having obſerved this, I ſay, that from *Epiphanius* it appears, that in *Marcion*'s Apoſtolicon the epiſtle to the *Epheſians* was entitled, and inſcribed to them, as it was in the copies of the Catholics. And all the difference between the Catholics and him, upon this head, was, that he ſometimes quoted this epiſtle, as writ to the *Laodiceans*. *Epiphanius*, who had ſeen *Marcion*'s Apoſtolicon, found therein ten epiſtles, all inſcribed, as in the Catholic copies. One of which, and the ſeventh in order, was that to the *Epheſians*. However, in one place of *Marcion*'s works, and (*g*) but one, he had ſeen a paſſage of the epiſtle to the *Epheſians* quoted, as from an epiſtle to the *Laodiceans*.

Some ſuch thing, as this, induced *Tertullian*, a man of a violent temper, to ſay: "I paſs by another epiſtle, which we have inſcribed to the "*Epheſians*, but heretics to the *Laodiceans*." However, from *Tertullian*, as before ſhewn, it appears, that in *Marcion*'s copies of this epiſtle it had the ſame title, as in the Catholic copies, and that he never altered the inſcription. And thus *Tertullian* and *Epiphanius* agree. For from this laſt likewiſe we plainly perceive, that in *Marcion*'s Apoſtolicon was the epiſtle to the *Epheſians*: but not exactly in the ſame order, as with the Catholics.

And thus, if I miſtake not, *Marcion* himſelf confirms the common reading at the begining of this epiſtle. And this recompenſe we have of our diligent inquiſition into this affair. So it often happens. Oppoſition made to truth is the means of eſtabliſhing it.

This opinion of the caſe may be farther juſtified by two conſiderations, which perhaps deſerve to be mentioned. One is, that there is no notice taken of this affair by any other writers, beſide *Tertullian* and *Epiphanius*. *Jerome*, and many others, who often ſpeak of *Marcion*, and his principles, ſay nothing of it. It is therefore very probable, that his inſcription of the epiſtle to the *Epheſians* was the ſame, as in the Catholic copies. If not, his alteration here, as well as in other places, would have been obſerved. The other is, that all thoſe, called heretics, ſo far as we know, had this epiſtle inſcribed to the *Epheſians*. The *Manicheans* agreed with *Marcion* in divers of his peculiarities. Nevertheleſs, in their copies this epiſtle was inſcribed to the *Epheſians*. This has appeared

(*f*) Ἐλεύσομαι δὲ εἰς τὰ ὑπ' αὐτῦ γεγραμμένα. κ. λ. *H.* 42. *cap.* ix. *p.* 309. *C.*

(*g*) Præter hanc tamen ad Epheſios epiſtolam, putat Epiphanius, recepta etiam eſſe a Marcione epiſtolæ ad Laodicenſes fragmenta. Ἔχει δὲ καὶ τῆς πρὸς λαοδικέας μέρη, inquit. E quibus tamen unicum illud a ſe productum reperit. *Jac. Uſſer. Diſſ. de Ep. ad Laod.*

peared from the quotations of it in the writings of *Faustus*, and *Secundin*, formerly (*b*) taken notice of.

But though the inscription of this epistle was the same in *Marcion's*, as in the Catholic copies; he sometimes quoted it, as an epistle to the *Laodiceans*, and was of opinion, that it was writ to them. We are therefore now to inquire into the ground and reason of this opinion.

Pamelius (*i*) in his notes upon *Tertullian*, as cited by *A. B. Usher*, (for I have not his edition at hand) conjectured, that the words of Col. iv. 16. were the occasion of this opinion of *Marcion*. So likewise says (*k*) *Estius*.

It is very probable that those words (*l*) gave occasion to the forging an epistle to the *Laodiceans*. *Theodoret*, not far from the begining of the fifth centurie, as formerly (*m*) cited by us, says in his commentarie upon that text: "Some have hence imagined, that the Apostle had also writ "to the *Laodiceans*, and they have forged such an epistle. Nevertheless the Apostle does not say, *the epistle to the Laodiceans, but from Laodicea.*"

That is the unvaried reading of this text in all the copies of the New Testament, and in all ancient Greek ‡ writers. And I have suspected, that the epistle to the *Laodiceans* was forged by a Latin: and that the Latin version of that text gave occasion to it. *Fabricius* (*n*) in the introduction

(*b*) *See vol. vi. p.* 336. 343. 409.

(*i*) Jacobus Pamelius, Annot. 259. in lib. 5. Tertulliani adv. Marcionem. *Fortasse*, inquit, *occasionem dedit Marcioni hujus tituli huic epistolæ imponendi, quod legisset, Col. iv. Salutate fratres, &c. Usser. Diss. de Ep. ad Laod.*

(*k*) Sciendum præterea est, Marcionem, antiquum hæreticum, occasione præsentis loci, epistolæ ad Ephesios scriptæ titulum mutasse, inscribendo eam ad Laodicenos, tanquam ea non ad illos, sed ad nos scripta esset. &c. *Estius ad Col. iv.* 16.

(*l*) *Et eam, quæ Laodicensium est, vos legatis*] Horum verborum occasione abusus quispiam concinnavit, atque evulgavit epistolam quandam velut a Paulo scriptam ad Laodicenses. *Est. in Col. iv.* 16.

(*m*) *See Vol. xi. p.* 88.

‡ As some proof of this, I allege the note of *Theophylact* upon this verse. "Which is the epistle from *Laodicea*? It is the first to *Timothy*. For that "was writ from *Laodicea*. However some say, it is an epistle, which the *Laodiceans* had sent to *Paul*. But what good the reading such an epistle could do them, I do not know." Τις δὲ ἦν ἡ ἐκ Λαοδικείας; ἡ πρὸς Τιμόθεον πρώτη. Ἀπὸ γὰρ ἐκ Λαοδικείας ἐγράφη. Τινὲς δὲ φασιν, ὅτι ἦν ἡ παρ' αὐτῶν πέμψασα ἐπιστολή. Ἀλλ' ἐκ οἶδα τί ἂν ἐκείνης ἦδη αὐτοῖς πρὸς βλάπτειν. *Theoph. in loc. Tom.* 2 *p.* 676.

(*n*) Quanquam hunc Pauli locum nequaquam puto testimonium perhibere commentitiæ ad Laodicenses epistolæ, tamen, quia ex illo, sive Latina potius ejus versione ambigua ansam arripit quisquis illam supposuit, non fuit a me omittendus. Lecti nis nulla est in codicibus Græcis differentia. Omnes enim, quantum scio, habent τὴν ἐκ Λαοδικείας. Ita et Syrus, et Arabs, et interpretes Græci, Chrysostomus, Theodoretus, Theophylactus, Œcumenius. Neque Latinus aliter legisse videtur, cum vertit: *Eam, quæ Laodicensium est. Fabr. Cod. Apocr. N. T. Tom.* 2. *p.* 833.

troduction to his account of the epiſtle to the *Laodiceans* ſpeaks to the ſame purpoſe.

In like manner I have for a good while been of opinion, that the Latin verſion of this text was the occaſion of the miſtaken notion of *Marcion*.

When I formerly gave an account of a *Latin* Commentarie upon thirteen of St. *Paul*'s epiſtles, writ about 380. I took notice, that (*o*) the tranſlation of Col. iv. 16. followed by that author, was, *that ye read the epiſtle of the Laodiceans*. Et vos ut eam, quæ eſt Laodicenſium, legatis. The ſame tranſlation is in the commentarie of *Pelagius*. Et ea, quæ Laodicenſium eſt, vobis legatur. Which affords good proof, that this was the tranſlation which was in the Latin verſion, then in uſe.

I alſo obſerved in the ſame place, that this expreſſion is ambiguous. It may import an epiſtle, writ by the *Laodiceans*: or an epiſtle, which was their property, as having been writ to them. I have ſince found the ſame obſervation in (*p*) *Eſtius*. So *Secundin*, the *Manichean*, in his letter to *Auguſtin*, by the *epiſtle of the Epheſians* plainly means the *epiſtle to the Epheſians*. For his words are theſe: "Againſt (*q*) whom the "Apoſtle in the epiſtle of the *Epheſians*, ſays, he wreſtled. For he ſays: "*We wreſtle not againſt fleſh and blood, but againſt principalities and powers.*" Eph. vi. 12.

It is not unlikely, that a good number of the *Latins*, by *the epiſtle of the Laodiceans*, in Col. iv. 16. underſtood an epiſtle writ *to the Laodiceans*. And *Marcion* alſo, having before him the Latin verſion, and underſtanding the words in that ſenſe, concluded, that St. *Paul* had writ an epiſtle to the *Laodiceans*. At length he was brought to think, that the epiſtle, intended by St. *Paul*, was the epiſtle inſcribed to the *Epheſians*. Accordingly, he ſometimes quoted it with that title. This will be the more readily admitted, when it is conſidered, that *Marcion* made uſe of the Latin verſion of St. *Paul*'s epiſtles. So ſay both (*r*) *Mill*, and (*s*) *Wetſtein*.

And now, I ſuppoſe, it may appear, what regard is due to the authority of *Marcion* in this matter.

Thus

(*o*) *See Vol. ix. p.* 368.

(*p*) Fefellit tamen hos omnes ambiguitas verborum hujus loci, prout Latine leguntur. Quod enim dicitur, *eam quæ Laodicenſium eſt*, intelligi poteſt, vel ad quos, vel a quibus epiſtola ſcripta ſit aut miſſa. Et quidem priori modo Latini fere intellexerunt. Sed hanc ambiguitatem diſſolvit Græca lectio, quæ ſic habet: *Et eam quæ ex Laodicea eſt, ut et vos legatis. Eſt. ad loc.*

(*q*) Contra quos ſe Apoſtolus in Epheſiorum epiſtola certamen ſubiiſſe fatetur. Dicit enim, ſe non contra carnem et ſanguinem habere certamen, ſed adverſus principes et poteſtates. *Secundin. ep. ad Aug. §. i. Ap. Aug. T.* 8.

(*r*) *Vid. Mill. Proleg. num.* 378. *et* 606.

(*s*) Ac principio, quod a nemine adhuc animadverſum puto, (niſi a J. Millio Prol. 378. ſuboluiſſe putemus,) comperimus, Marcionis codices N. T. non ex Græcis exemplaribus, ſed ex verſione Latina veteri ſive Italica conflatos fuiſſe. &c. *Wetſten. Prolegom. p.* 79.

Thus I have at large ſtated, and conſidered all the material objections againſt the common reading at the begining of this epiſtle, the epiſtle to the *Epheſians*. And the ſolutions that have been offered, ſeem to me ſatisfactorie. And from the univerſal agreement of all copies in that reading, and the unanimous teſtimonie of all Chriſtian writers for the firſt twelve centuries, it appears, that there is no more reaſon to doubt of the genuinneſſe of the inſcription of the epiſtle to the *Epheſians*, than of any other of the acknowledged epiſtles of St. *Paul*.

This diſquiſition has been of greater length, than might have been wiſhed. But if any things have been ſet in a truer light, than uſual, it will be acceptable to ſome.

CHAP. XIV.

That the Churches of Coloſſe and Laodicea were planted by the Apoſtle Paul.

IT has been of late a prevailing opinion, that the Chriſtians at *Coloſſe*, and *Laodicea*, were not converted by St. *Paul*. But to me it ſeems, that there is no good ground for it.

Says *Theodoret* in his Argument of the epiſtle to the *Coloſſians*, prefixed to his Commentarie: "Some (*a*) are of opinion, that when the "divine Apoſtle wrote this epiſtle, he had not ſeen the *Coloſſians*. And "they endeavour to ſupport their opinion by theſe words: *For I would "that ye ſhould know, what great conflict I have for you, and for them at "Laodicea, and for as many as have not ſeen my face in the fleſh.* ch. ii. 1. "But they ſhould conſider, that the meaning of the words is this: *I "have not only a concern for you: but I have alſo a great concern for thoſe "that have not ſeen me.* And if he be not ſo underſtood, he expreſſes no "concern for thoſe, who had ſeen him, and had been taught by him. "Moreover the bleſſed *Luke* ſays in the Acts: *And after he had ſpent ſome "time there, he departed, and went over all the countrey of Galatia, and "Phrygia, in order.* ch. xviii. 23. *Coloſſe* is a city of *Phrygia*. And "*Laodicea*, the metropolis of the countrey, is not far from it. How "was it poſſible for him to be in *Phrygia*, and not carry the goſpel "to thoſe places? And in another place the bleſſed *Luke* ſays: *Now "when they had gone throughout Phrygia, and the region of Galatia, and "were forbidden of the Holy Ghoſt to preach the word in Aſia.*" ch. xvi. 6.

So ſays that very learned writer in the fifth centurie. And thoſe obſervations have led me to divers conſiderations, inducing me to think, that the churches of *Coloſſe* and *Laodicea* had been planted by *Paul*, and that the Chriſtians there were his converts.

The

(*a*) *Theod. Tom.* 3. *p.* 342. 343.

1. The Apoſtle was twice in *Phrygia*, in which were *Coloſſe*, *Laodicea* and *Hierapolis*. Says St. *Luke* in the places already cited by *Theodoret* Acts xvi. 6. *Now when they had gone throughout Phrygia, and the region of Galatia, and were forbidden of the Holy Ghoſt to preach the word in Aſia.* And ch. xviii. 23. *And after he had ſpent ſome time there,* [at *Antioch,*] *he departed, and went over all the countreys of Galatia and Phrygia in order, ſtrengthening the brethren.* To which St. *Luke* refers again ch. xix. 1. *Paul having paſſed through the upper coaſts, came to Epheſus.* St. *Luke* does not mention any cities by name. But there is no reaſon to ſay, that he was not at *Coloſſe*. It is much more reaſonable to think, that in one, or rather, in both thoſe journeys, *Paul* was at *Coloſſe*, *Laodicea*, and *Hierapolis*, chief cities of *Phrygia*. For, as *Theodoret* ſays, how was it poſſible, that he ſhould be in that countrey, yea, and go *through it*, and *all over* it, and not be in the chief places of it? St. *Luke* has not particularly named any places in *Galatia*, in which *Paul* was. But he muſt have been in ſeveral towns and cities in that countrey, where he planted divers churches. Gal. i. 1. 2. So was he, in like manner, in ſeveral cities of *Phrygia*: where alſo, in all probability, he planted divers churches.

This argument alone appears to me concluſive. The accounts, which St. *Luke* has given of St. *Paul*'s journeys in *Phrygia*, are ſufficient to aſſure us, that he preached the Goſpel there, and made converts, and planted churches in the chief cities.

2. Ch. i. ver. 6. *Which bringeth forth fruit, as it does alſo in you, ſince the day ye heard it, and knew the grace of God in truth.* Of this St. *Paul* was aſſured. Which renders it probable, that he was their father, or firſt teacher. He ſpeaks to the like purpoſe ſeveral times. ch. ii. 6. 7. See likewiſe ch. i. 23. St. *Paul* knew, that they had been rightly taught the goſpel. Nothing more remained, but that they ſhould perſevere in the faith, which they had received, and act according to it.

3. *Epaphras* was not their firſt inſtructor in the doctrine of the goſpel. This may be concluded from ch. i. 7. the words following thoſe quoted above from ver. 6. *As (b) ye have alſo learned of Epaphras, our dear fellow-ſervant, who is for you a faithful miniſter of Chriſt.* The *Coloſſians* had been taught by *Epaphras*. But he was not their firſt inſtructor. However, he had faithfully taught them, agreeably to the inſtructions, which they had received.

Theodoret (c) upon ch. i. 7. 8. well obſerves, "that the Apoſtle be-"ſtows many commendations upon *Epaphras*, calling him *beloved*, and "*fellow-ſervant*, and a *faithful miniſter of Chriſt*, that the *Coloſſians* might "have the greater regard for him." If *Epaphras* had firſt taught the *Coloſſians* the Chriſtian doctrine, I think, the Apoſtle, when recommending him to their eſteem, and regard, would have added, *by whom ye believed*, or *by whom ye were brought to the fellowſhip of the goſpel*, or ſomewhat elſe, to the like purpoſe. That would have been a great addition to what is ſaid at ver. 7. before cited, and to what is ſaid of him, ch. iv. 12. 13. *Epaphras, who is one of you, a ſervant of Chriſt, ſaluteth you, always laboring fervently for you in prayers, that ye may ſtand perfect and compleat*

(b) Καθὼς καὶ ἐμάθετε ἀπὸ Ἐπαφρᾶ.
(c) *Ubi ſupra. p.* 344.

pleat in all the will of God. For I bear him record, that he has a great zeal for you, and for them that are in Laodicea, and them in Hierapolis.

Epaphras, who is one of you. Would the Apoſtle have uſed ſuch an expreſſion concerning *Epaphras*, if the church of *Coloſſe* had been founded by him? Impoſſible. He ſays as much of *Onęſimus*, who was but juſt converted, and was now firſt going to appear among them as a Chriſtian. His words at ver. 9. of the ſame chapter are: *Onęſimus, a faithful, and beloved brother, who is one of you.*

I imagine, that St. *Paul* does the more enlarge at ver. 12. 13. upon the affectionate concern, which *Epaphras* had for theſe Chriſtians, being apprehenſive of ſome prejudices taken up againſt him, that might obſtruct his uſefulneſſe among them. For he had brought the Apoſtle an account of the ſtate of this church. Which, though it was true and faithful, was not in all reſpects agreeable: as is concluded by Commentators, from what St. *Paul* writes in the ſecond chapter of this epiſtle.

4. St. *Paul* does in effect, or even expreſſly, ſay, that himſelf had diſpenſed the goſpel to theſe *Coloſſians*, ch. i. 21. . . . 25. I ſhall recite here a large part of that context. ver. 23. . . . 25. *If ye continue in the faith, grounded and ſettled, and be not moved away from the hope of the goſpel, which ye have heard . . . whereof I Paul am made a miniſter. Who now rejoice in my ſufferings for you, and fill up that which is behind of the afflictions of Chriſt in my fleſh, for his body's ſake, which is the Church. Whereof I am made a miniſter, according to the diſpenſation of God, which is given to me for you, to fulfill*, or fully to preach, *the word of God.* And what follows to ver. 29.

St. *Paul* therefore had been the *miniſter of God* to theſe *Coloſſians*, as well as to other Gentils. Nor would they have been excluded, but included among other Gentils, to whom he had *preached the word*, if Commentators had not been miſled by a falſe interpretation of thoſe words in ch. iv. 1. 2. of which we have already ſeen *Theodoret*'s account, and ſhall ſay more preſently. Thoſe words having been miſinterpreted, a wrong turn has been given to theſe likewiſe.

5. *Chryſoſtom* in his preface to the epiſtle to the *Romans* ſpeaks to this purpoſe: "I (*d*) ſee the Apoſtle writing to the *Romans* and the *Coloſſians*, "upon the ſame things indeed, but not in the ſame manner. To them "he writes with much mildneſſe, as when he ſays. . . . Rom. xiv. 1. 2. "To the *Coloſſians* he does not ſo ſpeak of the ſame things, but with "greater freedom. *If therefore*, ſays he, *ye be dead with Chriſt from the "rudiments of the world* . . . and what follows. ch. ii. 20. . . 23." Does not this obſervation lead us to think, that the *Coloſſians* were the Apoſtle's own converts, to whom a different addreſſe from that uſed toward others might be very proper? And there are other paſſages of this epiſtle, beſide that alleged by *Chryſoſtom*, which might be taken notice of, as confirming the ſame obſervation.

6. Ch.

(*d*) Ὅταν γὰρ τὸν ἀπόστολον καὶ κολοσσαεῖσιν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μὲν ἐπιστέλλοντα, ἐφ' ἑνὸς δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνοις μὲν μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς συγκαταβάσεως. . . . ἐκείνοις δὲ οὐχ' οὕτω περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀλλὰ μετὰ παλείονος παῤῥησίας. *Procem. in ep. ad Rom. T. 9. p. 427.*

6. Ch. ii. 6. 7. *As ye have therefore received Chriſt Jeſus the Lord, ſo walk ye in him: grounded, and built up in him, and eſtabliſhed in the faith, as ye have been taught, abounding therein with thankſgiving.* Certainly theſe exhortations of the apoſtle are the more proper, and forcible, ſuppoſing the *Coloſſians* to have been firſt taught and inſtructed by him. Nor had he any occaſion to be more particular. They knew, who had taught them. But I think that in this, or ſome other of the places, where he reminds the *Coloſſians* of what they had heard, and had been taught, if thoſe inſtructions had been received from another, different from himſelf, that would have appeared in the expreſſions made uſe of by him. In ſhort, if they were converted by the Apoſtle, there could not, poſſibly, ariſe, in his mind a doubt, whether they remembered, who had been their firſt teacher, and who were his fellow-laborers, who had accompanied him in his journeys, when he was in their countrey. And therefore there was no need to remind them of himſelf more expreſsly, than he has done. The thing is ſuppoſed all along.

7. The preſence of *Epaphras* with *Paul* at *Rome* is an argument, that the *Coloſſians* had perſonal acquaintance with the Apoſtle. Indeed *Grotius* upon ch. i. 7. ſays, "that *Epaphras* is the ſame as *Epaphroditus*, mentioned in the epiſtle to the *Philippians*." But *Beauſobre* well obſerves upon the ſame place: "This may be the ſame name with *Epaphroditus*. Philip. ii. 25. But it is not probable, that it is the ſame perſon. St. *Paul* had ſent *Epaphroditus* to *Philippi*. But *Epaphras* was ſtill at *Rome*. And there is reaſon to think, that he was a priſoner there. See Philem. ver. 23." If *Epaphras* was ſent to *Rome* by the *Coloſſians* to inquire after *Paul*'s welfare, as may be concluded from ch. iv. 7. 8. that token of reſpect for the Apoſtle is a good argument of perſonal acquaintance. And it is allowed, that *Epaphras* had brought St. *Paul* a particular account of the ſtate of affairs in this church. Which is another argument that they were his converts.

8. Ch. i. 8. *Who alſo declared unto us your love in the ſpirit:* that is, ſays (*e*) *Grotius*, "how you love us on account of the Holy Spirit given to you." Or, as *Peirce:* "Who alſo declared unto me the love you bear to me upon a ſpiritual account." Or, as *Whitby:* "Your ſpiritual and affectionate love to me, wrought in you, by the Spirit, whoſe fruit is love." All thus underſtanding it of their love of the Apoſtle, and rightly, as ſeems to me. Nothing elſe can be meant by it. For before, at ver. 4. he had ſpoken of *their love to all the ſaints.* This I take to be another good proof of perſonal acquaintance. And the place is agreeable to what he writes to the *Theſſalonians*, allowed by all to be the Apoſtle's converts. 1 Theſſ. iii. 6. *But now when Timothie came from you unto us, and brought us good tidings of your faith and charity:* [that is the ſame with Col. i. 4. *Since we heard of your faith in Chriſt Jeſus, and of your love to all the ſaints:*] *and that ye have good remembrance of us always.*

9. Ch. iii. 16. *Let the word of Chriſt dwell in you richly in all wiſdom, teaching,*

(*e*) Quomodo nos diligatis propter Spiritum Sanctum vobis datum. *Grot. in loc.*

teaching, and admonishing one another, in psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs, singing with grace in your hearts to the Lord. This shews, that the *Colossians* were endowed with spiritual gifts. And from whom could they receive them, but from St. *Paul?* Apostles (*f*) only are allowed to have had the power and privilege of conveying spiritual gifts to other Christians. This text therefore has been a difficulty with such as have supposed, that *Paul* never was at *Colosse*. But now that difficulty is removed.

10. Ch. ii. 1. 2. *For I would, that ye knew, what great conflict I have for you, and for them at Laodicea, and for as many as have not seen my face in the flesh: that their hearts might be comforted.* This quick change of persons upon the mention of such as had not seen the Apostle's face, seems to imply, that the *Colossians*, to whom he is writing, had seen him. For if the *Colossians* had been among those who had not seen him, he would have expressed himself in this manner. *I would that ye knew, what great conflict I have for you, and for them at Laodicea, and for as many as have not seen my face in the flesh, that your hearts might be comforted.* But upon the mention of such as had not seen him, he says: *that their hearts might be comforted.* And having finished his testimonie of concern for such *as had not seen his face*, he returns to the *Colossians*, to whom he was writing, and says ver. 4. *And this I say, lest any man should beguile you with enticing words.*

Theodoret, beside what he had said in the preface to this epistle, which has been already transcribed, speaks again to this purpose in his paraphrase of ch. ii. 1. 2. "I would have you be persuaded of my great "concern for you, and for the *Laodiceans:* and not only for you and the "*Laodiceans*, but likewise for all who have not seen me. And (*g*) that "this is his meaning, appears from what follows: *that their hearts may be* "*comforted.* He does not say *your*, but *their:* that is, of such as had not "seen him."

11. Ch. ii. 5. *For though I be absent in the flesh, yet am I with you in the spirit, joying, and beholding your order, and the stedfastness of your faith in Christ.* It is here implied, if I am not mistaken, that the Apostle had been with them, and had been present in the assemblie of the believers at *Colosse*.

12. What is said ch. iv. 7. 8. 9. *All my state shall Tychicus declare unto you*, and the rest, best suits the supposition of personal acquaintance, as before hinted. Indeed, I think it to be full proof, that *Paul* was acquainted with them, and they with him.

13. The salutations in ver. 10. 11. 14. from *Aristarchus, Mark, Luke, Demas*, suppose the *Colossians* to have been well acquainted with St. *Paul*'s fellow-travellers, and fellow-laborers. And *Timothie*'s name is in the salutation at the begining of the epistle. Consequently, the *Colossians*

(*f*) "Though several of the Christians had spiritual gifts, and miraculous powers, none but Apostles could confer upon other such gifts and powers." *Dr. Benson upon the Acts. Vol. i. p.* 157. *first ed. p.* 162. *2d. ed.* In like manner other Commentators. And see Acts, ch. viii. 5 . . . 25.

(*g*) Ὅτι δὲ ταῦτα κατὰ τοῦτον αὐτὸν τὸν διανοιαν εἴρηται, καὶ τὰ ἑπαγόμενα δηλοῖ· ἵνα παρακληθῶσιν αἱ καρδίαι αὐτῶν. Οὐκ εἶπεν ὑμῶν, ἀλλ' αὐτῶν, τουτέστι, τῶν μηδέπω τεθεαμένων. *Theod. ib. p.* 350. 351.

Coloſſians were not unknown to the Apoſtle, nor unacquainted with him. And the like ſalutations are alſo in the epiſtle to *Philemon*, an inhabitant of *Coloſſe*.

14. Ch. iv. 15. *Salute the brethren, which are in Laodicea, and Nymphas, and the church, which is in his houſe.* ver. 17. *And ſay to Archippus: Take heed to the miniſtrie, which thou haſt received in the Lord, that thou fulfill it.* This ſhews, that *Paul* was well acquainted with the ſtate of the churches in *Coloſſe* and *Laodicea*. And it affords an argument, that he had been in that country, and particularly, at *Laodicea*. He *ſalutes the brethren* there, and *Nymphas* by name, and *the church in his houſe*. "It (*h*) is probable, ſays *Theodoret*, that he was one of the faithfull in *Laodicea*, who had made his houſe a church, adorning it with piety." As for *Archippus*, the ſame *Theodoret* ſays, "That (*i*) ſome had ſuppoſed him to have been miniſter at *Laodicea*. But, ſays he, the epiſtle to *Philemon* ſhews, that he dwelled at *Coloſſe*, where *Philemon* was." See Philem. ver. 2.

15. Ch. iv. 3. 4. *Withall, praying alſo for us, that God would open unto us a door of utterance, to ſpeak the myſterie of Chriſt, for which I am in bonds: that I may make it manifeſt, as I ought to ſpeak.* And ver. 18. *Remember my bonds.* Such demands may be made of ſtrangers. But they are moſt properly made of friends and acquaintance.

In a word, the whole tenour of this epiſtle ſhews, that the Apoſtle is not writing to ſtrangers, but to acquaintance, diſciples, and converts.

16. Finally, an argument may be taken from the epiſtle to *Philemon*, an inhabitant of *Coloſſe*, ſent at the ſame time with this to the *Coloſſians*.

From ver. 19. of the epiſtle to *Philemon*, I ſuppoſe it to be evident, that he had been converted to Chriſtianity by St. *Paul*. Indeed this might be done at ſome other place. But it may as well have been done at home.

And St. *Paul*'s acquaintance with *Philemon*, and the Chriſtians at *Coloſſe*, may be inferred from ſeveral things in that epiſtle. At ver. 2. he ſalutes *Apphia* by name, probably, wife of *Philemon*: and *Archippus*, probably, Paſtour at *Coloſſe*, at leaſt an Elder in that church: who, as before obſerved, is alſo mentioned Col. iv. 17. Once more, at ver. 22. St. *Paul* deſires *Philemon*, *to prepare him a lodging*. Whence I conclude, that *Paul* had been at *Coloſſe* before.

We might argue alſo from the characters of *Philemon* and *Archippus*, in the firſt two verſes of the ſame epiſtle. The former the Apoſtle calls his *fellow-laborer*, and the other his *fellow-ſoldier*. Which expreſſions imply perſonal acquaintance, and that he had labored with him in the ſervice of the goſpel in ſome place. And what place can be ſo likely, as *Coloſſe*? There are many, of whom St. *Paul* ſpeaks in his epiſtles, as his *fellow-laborers*, or *fellow-helpers*, or *fellow-ſoldiers*: concerning whom it may be made appear, that he and they had labored together in ſome one place.

(*h*) *Ibid. p.* 363.

(*i*) Τινὲς ἔφασαν, τὸν λαοδικείας γεγενῆσθαι διδάσκαλον. κ. λ. *Ibid.*

place. And why then should these two be exceptions? Yea, it may be reckoned not improbable, that *Archippus* had been ordained by St. *Paul* himself an Elder at *Colosse*. Whether *Philemon* likewise was an Elder there, I do not say: though he may have been so.

From all these considerations it appears to me very probable, that the church of *Colosse* had been planted by the Apostle *Paul*, and that the Christians there were his friends, disciples, and converts. And if the Christians at *Colosse* were his converts, it may be argued, that so likewise were the Christians at *Laodicea*, and *Hierapolis*. None of which places were far asunder.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Seven Catholic Epistles.

I. *The Antiquity, and the Reason of that Denomination.* II. *Called also canonical.* III. *Concerning their Reception in several Ages.* IV. *Their Order.*

The Antiquity of this Denomination.

I. THERE are seven epistles, which we call *Catholic*. The antiquity of this denomination may be made manifest from a few quotations. *Eusebius* having given an account of the death of *James*, called the Just, and our Lord's brother, concludes: "Thus (*a*) far concerning this *James*, who is said to be the author of the first of the "epistles called catholic." In another place he says, "That (*b*) in his "Institutions *Clement* of *Alexandria* had given short explications of "all the canonical scriptures, not omitting those which are contradicted. "I mean the epistle of *Jude*, and the other catholic epistles." They were so called therefore in the time of *Eusebius*, and, probably, before. Of which likewise we have good proof. For St. *John*'s first epistle is several times called a catholic epistle by *Origen* (*c*) in his remaining Greek works, as well as in others. It is likewise (*d*) so called several times by *Dionysius*, Bishop of *Alexandria*. *Athanasius*, *Epiphanius*, and later Greek writers received seven epistles, which they called catholic. I only observe here farther, that they are so called likewise by (*e*) *Jerome*.

They

(*a*) Ταῦτα μὲν τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἰάκωβον, ὃν ἡ πρώτη τῶν ὀνομαζομένων καθολικῶν ἐπιστολῶν εἶναι λέγεται. *H. E. l.* 2. *c.* 23. *p.* 66. *D.*

(*b*) . . . . μὴ δὲ τὰς ἀντιλεγομένας παραλιπὼν τὴν Ἰούδα λέγω, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς καθολικὰς ἐπιστολάς. *Ib. l.* 6. *cap.* 14. *in.*

(*c*) *See of this work Vol. iii. p.* 268.

(*d*) . . . . καὶ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τὸ κατὰ Ἰωάννην ἐπιγεγραμμένον, καὶ ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἡ καθολική. *Ap. Euseb. l.* 7. *cap.* 25. *p.* 273. *D. Vid. ib. p.* 274. *B. And in this work, Vol. iv. p.* 672. 673.

(*e*) Petrus . . . scripsit duas epistolas, quæ catholicæ nominantur. *De V. I. cap. i.*

Jacobus

The Reason of it. They are called catholic, or universal, or general, because they are not writ to the believers of some one city, or countrey, or to particular persons, as St. *Paul*'s epistles are, but to Christians in general, or to Christians of several (*f*) countreys. This is the case of five, or the greater part of them, with which the two other are joyned. Moreover, when the first epistle of *Peter*, and the first of St. *John* were called Catholic by the most early Christian writers, the two smaller of St. *John* were unknown, or not generally received.

Called also canonical. II. These epistles are several times called *canonical* by (*g*) *Cassiodorius*, about the midle of the sixth centurie, and (*h*) by the writer of the prologue to these epistles, ascribed to *Jerome*, though not his. The reason of which appellation is not certainly known. Nor is it easie to perceive the propriety of it. *Du Pin* says: "Some (*i*) Latins have called these epistles canonical, either confounding the name with catholic, or else to denote, that they also are a part of the canon of the books of the New Testament."

By whom received. III. Of these epistles two only, the first of St. *Peter*, and the first of St. *John*, were universally received in the time (*k*) of *Eusebius*. However, the rest were then well known. In proof of which I shall allege one passage only from him. "Here (*l*) "says he, it will be proper to enumerate in a summarie way the books "of the New Testament, which have been already mentioned. And "in the first place are to be ranked the four sacred Gospels. Then the "book of the Acts of the Apostles. After that are to be reckoned the "epistles of *Paul*. In the next place, that called the first epistle of "*John*, and the first of *Peter*. After these is to be placed, if it be "thought fit, the Revelation of *John*. . . . And among the contra-"dicted, but yet well known to the most, [or approved by many,] "are that called the epistle of *James*, and that of *Jude*, and the second "of *Peter*, and the second and third of *John*."

And

Jacobus . . . unam tantum scripsit epistolam, quæ de septem catholicis est. *Ib. cap.* 2.

Judas, frater Domini, parvam, quæ de septem catholicis est, epistolam reliquit. *Ib. cap.* 4.

(*f*) Or, as *Leontius* expresseth it, "They are called catholic, because they are not writ to one nation, as *Paul*'s epistles, but in general to all." *See Vol. xi. p.* 381.

(*g*) Octavus codex canonicas epistolas continet Apostolorum . . . sed cum de reliquis canonicis epistolis magna nos cogitatio fatigaret, subito nobis codex Didymi Græco stilo conscriptus in expositionem septem canonicarum epistolarum Domino largiente concessus est. *De Instit. Div. Lit. cap.* 8.

Vid. et Cassiodorii Complexiones canonicarum epistolarum septem.

(*h*) Prologus septem Epistolarum Canonicarum. *Ap. Hieron. Tom. i. p.* 1667.

(*i*) *Diss. Prelim. l.* 2. *ch.* 2. §. *ix.*

(*k*) *Vid. Euseb. H. E. l.* 3. *cap.* 3. *cap.* 24. *et cap.* 25. *And see this Work, Vol. viii. p.* 96. 97.

(*l*) . . . αἷς ἑξῆς τὴν φερομένην Ἰωάννου προτέραν, καὶ ὁμοίως τὴν ἑτέραν κυρωτέον ἐπιστολήν . . . τῶν δὲ ἀντιλεγομένων γνωρίμων δ' ὅμως τοῖς πολλοῖς ἡ λεγομένη Ἰακώβου φέρεται, καὶ ἡ Ἰούδα· ἥτε ἑτέρα δευτέρα ἐπιστολή, καὶ ἡ ὀνομαζομένη δευτέρα καὶ τρίτη Ἰωάννου. *H. E. l.* 3. *c.* 25. *in. See also in this Work, Vol. viii. p.* 96. 97.

And in the preceding volumes of this Work we have observed all the seven to have been received by *Athanasius*, *Epiphanius*, *Jerome*, *Augustin*, and many other writers. But the *Syrian* churches received (*m*) there only of these epistles. Nor does it appear, that more were received by (*n*) *Chrysostom* or (*o*) *Theodoret*. And *Amphilochius*, in his Iambic Poem, says: "Of (*p*) the Catholic Epistles some receive seven, others three only." However, as we proceed, we shall particularly consider the claims of the disputed epistles, under the names of those, to whom they are ascribed.

Their Order.

IV. Before I conclude this introduction, I would take notice of the order of these epistles, because there is some variety in ancient authors. In the passage, cited from *Eusebius* at the begining of this chapter, he says, that the epistle of *James* was the first of those called catholic. In the passage, since taken from him, where he mentions these epistles according to the degree of authority, which they had obtained, he first speaks of the first Epistle of *John*, and the first of *Peter*. Nevertheless when he comes to those, that were contradicted, the epistle of *James* is first named. This is the order in the Festal epistle of *Athanasius*: "Seven (*q*) epistles of the Apostles, says he, called catholic: Of *James* one, of *Peter* two, of *John* three, and after them, of *Jude* one." Which is our present order. The same order is observed in the catalogue of *Cyril* of *Jerusalem*, the council of *Laodicea*, *Epiphanius*, *Gregorie Nazianzen*, *Amphilochius*, *Jerome*'s letter to *Paulinus*, *Euthalius*, *Gelasius*, Bishop of *Rome*, the *Alexandrian* Manuscript, the Stichometrie of *Nicephorus*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, *Leontius*, *J. Damascen*. The same order is in *Bede*'s prologue to these epistles, largely transcribed by us (*r*) in it's proper place. Where he assigns reasons of this order, and particularly, why the epistle of *James* was placed first. In other authors is a different order. By *Rufin* (*s*) they are rehearsed in this manner: "two epistles of the Apostle *Peter*, one of *James*, the "brother of the Lord, and Apostle, one of *Jude*, three of *John*: the "Revelation of *John*." One may be apt to think, that St. *John*'s three epistles are here mentioned last, that they might not be separated from the book of the Revelation. In the canon of the third council of *Carthage*, they stand in this order: "two (*t*) epistles of the Apostle *Peter*, three of the Apostle *John*, one of the Apostle *Jude*, one of the Apostle *James*." In *Augustin*'s work of the Christian Doctrine: "two (*u*) "epistles of *Peter*, three of *John*, one of *Jude*, and one of *James*." In the catalogue of Pope *Innocent*: "three (*x*) epistles of *John*, two epi- "stles of *Peter*, an epistle of *Jude*, an epistle of *James*." In the Commentarie of *Cassiodorius* (*y*) upon these epistles they are in this order: "Two epistles of *Peter*, three of *John*, of *Jude* one, of *James* one."

(*m*) *See Vol. ix. p.* 217. . . 222. *and Vol. xi. p.* 5. *and p.* 270. . . 274.
(*n*) *Vol. x. p.* 312. 313. 337. 341. (*o*) *Vol. xi. p.* 88. . . 91.
(*p*) . . . καθολικῶν ἐπιστολῶν τινὲς μὲν ἑπτά φασιν, οἱ δὲ τρεῖς μόνας. *Amphil.* p. 132. *ver.* 310. 311. *And see Vol. ix. p.* 148.
(*q*) *See Vol. viii. p.* 227. (*r*) *See Vol. xi. p.* 387. 388.
(*s*) *Vol. x. p.* 187. (*t*) *P.* 194. (*u*) *P.* 211.
(*x*) *Vol. xi. p.* 39. (*y*) *See Vol. xi. p.* 311.

CHAP. XVI.

St. JAMES, the LORD's Brother

I. *His Hiſtorie from the N. T. whereby he appears to have been an Apoſtle.* II. *His hiſtorie from ancient Authors. A Paſſage from Euſebius concerning Him, with Remarks, ſhewing Him to be the ſame, as James the Son of Alpheus.* III. *A paſſage of Euſebius, containing two Quotations from Clement of Alexandria, mentioning his Appointment to be Biſhop, or reſiding Apoſtle at Jeruſalem, and the Manner of his Death.* IV. *A Paſſage of Origen, ſpeaking of our Lord's Brethren, and the Death of James.* V. *A Chapter of Euſebius, containing Accounts of his Death from Hegeſippus, and Joſephus, with Remarks.* VI. *The Time of his Death.* VII. *How he was related to our Lord, and in what Reſpect he was his Brother.* VIII. *That he was an Apoſtle, and the Son of Alpheus.* IX. *Why called the Leſs.* X. *Surnamed the Juſt, and other Marks of Reſpect ſhewn Him.* XI. *A Review of what has been ſaid.*

His Hiſtorie from the N. T.

I. THERE is frequent mention of *James* in the Acts and St. *Paul*'s epiſtles. If he was an Apoſtle, he muſt be *James*, the ſon of *Alpheus*, always diſtinctly named in the catalogues of the Apoſtles (*a*) in the firſt three Goſpels, and in the firſt chapter of the Acts. For (*b*) there was but one other Apoſtle of this name, *James* the brother of *John*, and ſon of *Zebedee*. However the proofs of his being *James* the ſon of *Alpheus* are deferred for the preſent. I begin with writing the hiſtorie of *James*, mentioned in the Acts, and St. *Paul*'s epiſtles.

St. *Paul*, reckoning up the ſeveral appearances of our Lord to the diſciples after his reſurrection, ſays 1 Cor. xv. 5. . . . 8. *that he was ſeen of Cephas, then of the twelve. After that he was ſeen of above five hundred brethren at once:* meaning, I ſuppoſe, at the place in *Galilee*, where he had appointed to meet the diſciples. *After that he was ſeen of James, then of all the Apoſtles:* meaning, it is likely, when they were witneſſes of his aſcenſion. *And laſt of all he was ſeen of me alſo.*

By *James* muſt be here intended the ſame, that is mentioned by St. *Paul* elſewhere. Moreover *James*, the ſon of *Zebedee*, had been dead a good while before writing this epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, in the Year of Chriſt 56. It is likely, that St. *Paul* ſpeaks of him, who was ſtill living. And he here ſpeaks of a particular appearance of Chriſt to him.

We learn from *Jerome*, that in the Goſpel according to the *Hebrews* there was an account of a particular appearance of our Lord to *James*, the Lord's brother, who, according to his computation, governed the church

(*a*) Matth. x. 3. Mark iii. 18. Luke vi. 15. Acts i. 13.

(*b*) Nulli dubium eſt, duos fuiſſe Apoſtolos Jacobi vocabulo nuncupatos: Jacobum Zebedæi, et Jacobum Alphæi. *Hieron. adv. Helvid. T.* 4. *p.* 137. *fin.*

church of *Jeruſalem* thirty years. It is to this purpoſe. "*Very* (*c*) *ſoon* "*after the Lord was riſen, he went to James, and ſhewed himſelf to him.* "*For James had ſolemnly ſwore, that he would eat no bread from the time* "*that he had drunk the cup of the Lord, till he ſhould ſee him riſen from a-* "*mong them that ſleep.* It is added a little after. *Bring*, ſaith the Lord, "*a table and bread.* And lower: *He took bread, and bleſſed, and brake it,* "*and then gave it to James the Juſt, and ſaid to him: My brother, eat thy* "*bread. For the Son of man is riſen from among them that ſleep.*

I think, this ſtorie may be ſufficient to ſhew, that *James*, called the Juſt, and the Lord's brother, was in high eſteem with the Jewiſh believers, who uſed the Goſpel above mentioned. But ſome of the circumſtances of this account muſt needs be fabulous. Nor is there any reaſon to think, that *James*, or any of the Apoſtles, had a certain expectation of the Lord's riſing from the dead. Nevertheleſs I ſhall mention a thought, to be conſidered by candid readers. Poſſibly, this account is founded upon the hiſtorie recorded in Luke xxiv. 13. . . 35. of the two diſciples, to whom the Lord appeared on the day of his reſurrection, *to whom he was known in breaking of bread.* One thing more may be concluded from this paſſage. They who uſed this goſpel, thought *James*, the Lord's brother, to have been an Apoſtle. For here is a reference to his partaking in the euchariſt, appointed by our Lord. Where none were preſent, beſide the twelve.

However, as I have propoſed a conjecture concerning the hiſtorie in Luke xxiv. it ought to be obſerved, that the two diſciples, there mentioned, were not Apoſtles. For at ver. 35. it is ſaid, that when they were returned to *Jeruſalem, they found the eleven gathered together, and them that were with them.*

Upon that text of St. *Paul* Dr. *Doddridge* (*d*) mentions a conjecture, which had been communicated to him: that *James* had not ſeen our Lord after his reſurrection, untill the time there mentioned by St. *Paul*. "That by ſickneſſe, or ſome other accident, *James* had been detained from meeting his brethren, both on the day of our Lord's reſurrection, and that day ſevennight, and likewiſe at the time, when Chriſt appeared to the five hundred. And that he might on this reſpect be upon the level with them, our Lord appeared to him alone, after all the appearances mentioned before." But I take that conjecture to be without ground, as well as very improbable. St. *Paul*'s words do not imply, that our Lord had not been ſeen by *James* before, but that this was a particular appearance

(*c*) Evangelium quoque, quod appellatur ſecundum Hebræos, et a me nuper in Græcum Latinumque ſermonem tranſlatum eſt, . . . poſt reſurrectionem Salvatoris refert. Dominus autem, cum dediſſet ſindonem ſervo Sacerdotis, ivit ad Jacobum, et apparuit ei. Juraverat enim Jacobus, ſe non comeſturum panem ab illa hora, quâ biberat calicem Domini, donec videret eum reſurgentem *a dormientibus*. Rurſuſque poſt paululum. *Afferte*, ait Dominus, *menſam et panem.* Statimque additur. *Tulit panem, et benedixit, ac fregit, et poſt dedit Jacobo Juſto, et dixit ei: Frater mi, comede panem tuum, quia ſurrexit Filius hominis a dormientibus. De V. I. cap.* 2.

(*d*) *See the Family-Expoſitor, Vol. iv. p.* 380.

appearance to him alone, as (e) *Auguſtin* has obſerved. Who likewiſe adds very judiciouſly: "Nor did Chriſt now firſt ſhew himſelf to all the Apoſtles." Which agrees with *Lightfoot*'s (f) interpretation of that text.

I have one thing more to add. It ſeems to me, that *James*, here ſpoken of, was an Apoſtle. And it will afford a good argument, that *James*, ſometimes called by ancient Chriſtian writers Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, was an Apoſtle.

Gal. i. 18. 19. *Then after three years I went up to Jeruſalem, to ſee Peter, and abode with him fifteen days. But other of the Apoſtles ſaw I none, ſave James the Lord's brother.*

This text ſeems deciſive in favour of the Apoſtleſhip of *James*. St. *Luke* ſpeaks of the ſame thing in this manner. Acts ix. 27. *Barnabas took him, and brought him to the Apoſtles.* Comparing theſe two texts together, I conclude, that *James* now reſided at *Jeruſalem*, and acted there as preſident of that church. And I imagine, that *Barnabas* firſt brought *Paul* to *James*, and *James* brought him to *Peter*. Thus *Paul* had communion with all the Apoſtles, though he ſaw and converſed with none of them, beſide *James* and *Peter*.

When St. *Peter* had been delivered out of priſon, in the reign of *Herod Agrippa*, about the time of Paſſover in the year 44. *he came to the houſe of Marie, where many were gathered together, praying. And when he had declared unto them, how the Lord had brought him out of priſon, he ſaid: Go ſhew theſe things to James, and to the brethren.* Acts xii. 12. . . 17. This alſo gives ground to think, that *James* now preſided in the church of *Jeruſalem*.

Before, Acts xi. 29. 30. it is ſaid: *Then the diſciples*, at *Antioch, determined to ſend relief unto the brethren, which dwelt in Judea. Which alſo they did, and ſent it to the elders by the hands of Barnabas and Saul.* Hence ſome have concluded, that *James* was not now at *Jeruſalem*. But there is no reaſon for that ſuppoſition. For it would imply alſo, that none of the Apoſtles were at *Jeruſalem:* whereas, probably, they were all there, or near it. We have proof from the next chapter, already cited, that *James* the ſon of *Zebedee* and *Peter* were there. For the former was beheaded, and *Peter* impriſoned at *Jeruſalem* by *Herod Agrippa* about this time. And when *Peter* had been brought out of priſon, he deſired his friends

(e) *Poſtea*, inquit, *apparuit Jacobo.* Non tunc autem primum accipere debemus viſum eſſe Jacobo, ſed aliqua propria manifeſtatione ſingulariter. *Deinde Apoſtolis omnibus:* nec illis tunc primum, ſed jam ut familiarius converſaretur cum eis uſque ad diem adſcenſionis ſuæ. *Aug. de Conſenſ. Evang. l. 3. cap. 29. num. 85. Tom. 3. P. 2.*

(f) "After the appearing to above five hundred brethren at once, which we ſuppoſe, and not without ground, to have been that laſt mentioned, the Apoſtle relateth, that *he was ſeen of James.* 1 Cor. xv. 7. *and then of all the Apoſtles.* Which does plainly rank this appearance to *James* between that to the five hundred brethren on the mountain in *Galilee*, and his coming to all the Apoſtles, when they were come again to *Jeruſalem*. Which *James* this was, *Paul* is ſilent of, as all the Evangeliſts are of any ſuch particular appearance. It is moſt like, he means *James the leſs*, of whom he ſpeaks often elſewhere." *Harmony of the N. T. Vol. i. p. 273.*

friends to inform James of it, as we have just seen. Therefore he certainly was then at Jerusalem.

There are two ways of understanding that expression. By *Elders* may be meant Elders in general, not excluding the Apostles. So in the place of Paul, before cited: *after that he was seen of above five hundred brethren at once.* Where the Apostles are not excluded, but included in the word *brethren.* For it is reasonable to think, that divers, yea most, if not all of the Apostles, were present at that time. So here the Apostles may be included in the general denomination of *Elders.* Or by *Elders* may be meant such as are called Elders by way of distinction from Apostles, as in Acts xv. 4. 22. xxi. 18. who might be persons, more especially entrusted with the receiving, and the distributing such contributions. Neither of these senses oblige us to think, that James was not now at Jerusalem.

When the controversie about the manner of receiving the Gentils was brought before *the Apostles and Elders*, assembled in Council at Jerusalem; *after there had been much disputing*, Peter spoke, and then Barnabas, and Paul. After all which James speaks last, sums up the argument, and proposeth the terms, upon which the Gentils should be received. To which the whole assemblie agreed. And they sent letters to the Gentils in several places, accordingly. Acts xv. 1. . . . 29. It is manifest, I think, that James presided in this Council. And it may be thence reckoned probable, that he was an Apostle, as well as President of the church of Jerusalem.

Chrysostom, in a homilie upon the xv. chapter of the Acts, says: "James (*g*) was Bishop of Jerusalem, and therefore spoke last." In the same place he justly applauds the propriety of his discourse in the Council.

St. Paul, in the second chapter of the epistle to the Galatians, giving an account of some things, which happened, when he was that time at Jerusalem, but are not mentioned in the book of the Acts, speaks of James, Cephas, and John, as pillars: *who also gave to him and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship.* Those expressions strongly imply, that James was an Apostle, and presiding Apostle in the church of Jerusalem.

Jerome, in his book against Helvidius, allows, that (*b*) the texts, which I have already cited from the epistle to the Galatians, shew James, the Lord's brother, to have been an Apostle.

Afterwards, in the same chapter, giving an account of what happened at Antioch. ver. 11. 12. he says, that *when Peter was come thither, he did eat with the Gentils, before that certain came from James: but when they were come, he withdrew, and separated himself, fearing them of the circumcision.* This, I think, implies, that James resided at Jerusalem, and presided

(*g*) Ἐπίσκοπος ἦν τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐκκλησίας διὸ καὶ ἔσχατος λέγει. *In Act. Ap. hom.* 33. *p.* 253. *T.* 9.

(*b*) . . . et frater Domini Apostolus sit, Paulo dicente: *Deinde post triennium veni Jerusalem, videre Petrum.* Gal. i. 18. 19. Et in eadem epistola: *Et cognovi gratiam, quæ data est mihi.* . . . cap. ii. 9. *Adv. Helvid.* *T.* 2. 138. *in.*

ſided in that church, and that the was greatly reſpected by the Jewiſh believers there.

Once more, Acts xxi. 17. 18. When Paul went up to Jeruſalem, about Pentecoſt, in the year 58. *the day after* our arrival, ſays St. Luke, *Paul went in with us unto James, and all the elders were preſent,* and what follows. Here is another proof, that James reſided at Jeruſalem, and ſuperintended in that church (A).

In what has been now alleged we have perceived evidences of James being related to our Lord, foraſmuch as he is called his *brother,* and that he was much at Jeruſalem, and preſided in that church, and that, probably, he was an Apoſtle in the higheſt ſenſe of that word. We have alſo ſeen reaſon to think, that he was much reſpected by the Jewiſh believers. And, though we do not allow ourſelves to enlarge upon every thing ſaid of him in the hiſtorie of the Council of Jeruſalem, and his reception of Paul, when he went up to Jeruſalem, and was impriſoned: yet I ſuppoſe, that every one may have diſcerned marks of an excellent character, and of his admirably uniting zeal and diſcretion, a love of truth and condeſcenſion to weak brethren. His epiſtle confirms that character. I think likewiſe, that the preſervation of his life, in ſuch a ſtation as his, to the time, when he is mentioned laſt by St. Luke, (which we ſuppoſe to have been about the time of Pentecoſt, in the year of Chriſt, 58.) may induce us to believe, that he was careful to be inoffenſive in his behaviour toward the unbelieving part of the Jewiſh nation, and that he was had in reverence by many of them.

His Hiſtorie from ancient Authors.

II. I ſhould now proceed to write the hiſtorie of this perſon from ancient authors. But that is a difficult taſk, as I have found, after trying more than once, and at diſtant ſpaces of time. I ſhall therefore take divers paſſages of Euſebius, and others, and make ſuch reflections as offer, for finding out as much truth as we can.

A Paſſage of Euſebius.

Euſebius has a chapter (*i*) "Concerning our Saviour's diſciples." Where he ſpeaks of all theſe following, as ſaid to be of the number of the Seventy: Barnabas, Soſthenes, who joyns with Paul in writing the firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians, Cephas, whom Paul reſiſted at Antioch, of the ſame name with the Apoſtle Peter, but different from him, Matthias, choſen in the room of Judas, and he who was put up with Matthias, and James, to whom Chriſt ſhewed himſelf after his reſurrection, as related by St. Paul 1 Cor. xv. 7. "He (*k*) likewiſe, ſays Euſebius, was one of thoſe called our Saviour's "diſciples, and one of his brethren."

Upon this it is eaſie to obſerve, that beſide the looſe and inaccurate manner, in which this chapter is writ by our hiſtorian, here are, probably,

(A) Dr. Whitby, in his preface to the epiſtle of St James, has argued in a like manner that I have done, that he was an Apoſtle in the ſtrict acceptation of the word. And to the ſame purpoſe alſo Cave at the begining of his life of St. James the Leſs, in Engliſh.

(*i*) Περὶ τῶν μαθητῶν τῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν. *H. E. l. i. cap.* 12. *p.* 30.

(*k*) Ἐπειτα δ' ὥφθαι αὐτὸν ἰακώβῳ φησιν· εἷς δὲ κ) οὗτος τῶν φερομένων τῦ σωτῆρος μαθητῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴν κ) ἀδελφῶν ἦν. *Ib. p.* 31. *B.*

bably, ſeveral miſtakes. Some things will be readily aſſented to, as not unlikely: that Matthias, and the other diſciple put up with him, were of the Seventy. But omitting ſome other things, there is no good reaſon to ſay, that Cephas was different from Peter, or that Soſthenes was one of the Seventy. If thoſe things are wrong, there is the leſs reaſon to relye upon that account, which places James, the Lord's brother, in the number only of his diſciples, or of the Seventy.

However, we here ſeem to diſcern the opinion of our Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorian, that James, the Lord's brother, ſo often mentioned in the Acts, and St. Paul's epiſtles, was not one of Chriſt's Apoſtles. And there we have alſo his interpretation of theſe words. 1 Cor. xv. 7. *then he was ſeen of all the Apoſtles.* By (*l*) which he underſtands others, beſide the twelve. And to the like purpoſe (*m*) Origen. And it was formerly ſhewn at large in the chapter of Euſebius, that (*n*) he did not eſteem this James an Apoſtle in the higheſt acceptation of the word. It may be obſerved likewiſe, in the large account formerly given of Jerome's opinion concerning this James, that (*o*) he ſeems not to be quite free from heſitation. Sometimes he ſpeaks of him as one of the twelve Apoſtles, and ſometimes not ſo. We have alſo ſeen reaſon to think, that (*p*) Cyril of Jeruſalem did not reckon James, called Biſhop of Jeruſalem, to have been one of the twelve Apoſtles. Gregorie Nyſſen (*q*) likewiſe diſtinguiſhes James, the ſon of Alpheus, one of the twelve Apoſtles, from James the Leſs, who was not of that number. The ſame opinion appears in (*r*) the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions.

Tillemont ſays: "The (*s*) Greek Chriſtians of our time diſtinguiſh James the ſon of Alpheus, one of the twelve Apoſtles, and James the Lord's brother, and Biſhop of Jeruſalem, as two different perſons: ſo making us entirely ignorant of the hiſtorie of James, the ſon of Alpheus, and excluding the Lord's brother from the number of Apoſtles. But the opinion of the Latins, who believe, that they are one and the ſame perſon, and the Apoſtle, appears more conformable to the Scripture, and is ſupported by the authority of St. Paul in particular, who gives to James the Lord's brother the title of Apoſtle in the ſame manner that he gives it to Peter. Gal. i. 19."

Another Paſſage of Euſebius.

III. Euſebius has (*t*) another chapter, entitled, "Of things conſtituted by the Apoſtles after our Saviour's aſcenſion." Which is to this purpoſe. "The firſt is "the choice of Matthias, one of Chriſt's diſciples, into the apoſtleſhip, "in the room of Judas. Then the appointment of the ſeven Deacons, "one

(*l*) Εἰθ' ὡς παρὰ τέτοις κατὰ μίμησιν τῶν δώδεκα πλείσων ὅσων ὑπαξιόντων ἀποστόλων . . . προσίθησι λέγων· ἔπειτα ὤφθη τοις ἀποστόλοις πᾶσι. *Ib. p.* 31.

(*m*) *See Vol. iii. p.* 397.

(*n*) *Vol. viii. p.* 152. . . . 155.

(*o*) *Vol. x. p.* 125. . . . . 129.

(*p*) *Vol. viii. p.* 273.

(*q*) *De Chriſti Reſ. Or.* 2. *Tom.* 3. *p.* 413. *B. C.*

(*r*) *See Vol. viii. p.* 395.

(*s*) *S. Jacque le Mineur. Art.* i. *Tom.* i.

(*t*) *H. E. l.* 2. *cap.* 1.

" one of whom was Stephen, who ſoon after his being ordained was " ſtoned by thoſe who had killed the Lord, and was the firſt martyr for " Chriſt. Then James, called the Lord's brother, becauſe he was the " ſon of Joſeph . . . to whom the virgin Marie was eſpouſed. This " James, called by the ancients the Juſt, on account of his eminent vir- " tue, is ſaid to have been appointed the firſt biſhop of Jeruſalem. And " Clement, in the ſixth book of his Inſtitutions, writes after this man- " ner: That after our Lord's aſcenſion, Peter, and James, and John, " though they had been favoured by the Lord above the reſt, did not " contend for honour, but choſe James the Juſt, to be Biſhop of Jeru- " ſalem. And in the ſeventh book of the ſame work he ſays, that after " his reſurrection the Lord gave to James the Juſt, and John and Peter " the gift of knowledge. And they gave it to the other Apoſtles. And " the other Apoſtles gave it to the Seventy, one of whom was Barna- " bas. For there were two named James: one the Juſt, who was " thrown down from the battlement of the temple, and killed by a ful- " ler's ſtaff. The other is he, who was beheaded. Of him that was " called the Juſt Paul alſo makes mention, ſaying: Other of the Apo- " ſtles ſaw I none, ſave James, the Lord's brother."

Upon what has been thus tranſcribed, a few remarks may be properly made. In the former part of it Euſebius ſeems to declare it as his own opinion, that James, called the Lord's Brother, was the ſon of Joſeph, that is, by a former wife.

For clearing up this paſſage, I would farther obſerve: I ſuppoſe, the whole of this quotation to be taken from Clement. Some may indeed at firſt be apt to think, that the ſecond paſſage of Clement concludes with the word Barnabas. But I rather think, that all which follows in this quotation is Clement's, and nothing of Euſebius. One reaſon of my thinking ſo is, that in the 23. chapter of the ſame book, where our Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorian gives an account of the death of James from Hegeſippus, who relates that James was thrown down from the temple, and killed by a fuller's ſtaff, he twice ſays, that is, at (*u*) the entering upon that account, and (*x*) at finiſhing it, that this was agreeable to what had been before alleged from Clement. The other reaſon is, that Euſebius ſeems not to have been ſo clear, that there were no more than two of this name, as is implied in this paſſage, particularly in the concluſion of it.

Upon theſe two paſſages cited by Euſebius from Clement, one from the ſixth, the other from the ſeventh book of his Inſtitutions, we are led to obſerve, *firſt*, that James called the Juſt, is here ſuppoſed to be an Apoſtle. Nor did Clement know of any more of the name James, in the New Teſtament, beſide James the ſon of Zebedee, and him called James the Juſt. *Secondly*, I obſerve, that James called the Juſt, is ſuppoſed to have been appointed Biſhop of Jeruſalem, by three Apoſtles eſpecially, Peter, and the two ſons of Zebedee, and not by our Lord. And the order

(*u*) Τὸν δὲ τῆς τοῦ Ἰακώβου τελευτῆς τρόπον ἤδη μὲν πρότερον ἐκ τῶν παραδεδομένων τοῦ κλήμεντος φαμὲν δεδηλῶκαται, ἀπὸ τοῦ πτερυγίου βεβλῆσθαι, ξύλῳ τε τὴν πρὸς θάνατον πεπλῆχθαι αὐτὸν ἱστορηκότος. *l. 2. cap. 23. p. 63. C.*

(*x*) Ταῦτα διὰ πλάτους συνᾴδει τοῖς κλήμεντι καὶ ὁ ἡγήσιππος. *Ibid. p. 65. C.*

der and coherence of things in this chapter of Eusebius seems to imply, that this was done soon after the martyrdom of Stephen.

Which appears to me agreeable to the history in the Acts, and the passages alleged thence at the begining of this chapter. Peter always speaks first, as president among the Apostles, untill after the choice of the seven Deacons. Every thing said of St. James after that implies his presiding in the church of Jerusalem. And when St. Paul mentions the three chiefs, who were pillars, Gal. ii. 9. with whom he conferred at Jerusalem, he names James first. The reason of his doing so, I take to be, that James then presided in the church of Jerusalem.

Tillemont (*y*) thinks, "That Christ himself may have appointed James to be Bishop in that church: but the Apostles deferred the declaring it solemnly, till the time of the persecution, which broke out after the death of St. Stephen. Then they thought of providing more particularly for the church of Jerusalem, whence, perhaps, they feared they should be constrained to remove. This obliged them to appoint a proper Pastour, who should be obliged to stay there till his death, and should charge himself with every thing necessarie for their welfare."

To me it appears evident, that (*z*) the Apostles did not now leave Jerusalem, nor till a good while afterwards. But they were obliged to live privatly. And the circumstances of things made it prudent to appoint one of their number, who should preside in that church, and act in their name. Though they could not all appear in public, it was fit there should be one at least, to whom the faithful might apply at any time, in case of need. This choice, or appointment, is ascribed by Clement to three of the Apostles. But it might be done with the consent and approbation of all.

As this episcopate, or superintendence of James has been thus mentioned, I shall here observe what notice is taken of it by other ancient Christian writers.

Eusebius, in one place, says, that (*a*) James was appointed Bishop of Jerusalem by the Apostles: in another by (*b*) Christ and the Apostles: so likewise in the (*c*) Apostolical Constitutions. Jerome in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers says, "that (*d*) James, surnamed the Just, was ordained Bishop of Jerusalem by the Apostles, soon after the Lord's passion." In his Commentarie upon the epistle to the Galatians he speaks, as (*e*) if the Lord himself had given him this high trust: meaning,

(*y*) *St. Jacque le Mineur. Art. iv. mem. Tom. i.*

(*z*) *See Acts viii.* 1.

(*a*) . . . ὡ τιμος των αποστολων ὁ της επισκοπης της εν ιεροσολυμοις εγκεχειρισται θρονος. *H. E. l.* 2. *cap.* 23. *in Vid. et l.* 2. *cap.* 1. *in p.* 38. *B.*

(*b*) Τον γαρ ιακωβον θρονον τε πρωτε της ιεροσολυμων εκκλησιας τον επισκοπην φασι τε σωτηρος κ) των αποστολων υποδεξαμενε. κ. λ. *l.* 7. *c.* 19.

(*c*) *Constit. l.* 8. *cap.* 35.

(*d*) Jacobus, qui appellatur frater Domini, cognomento Justus . . . post passionem Domini statim ab Apostolis Hierosolymorum Episcopus ordinatus. *De V. I. cap.* 2.

(*e*) Nam: hoc sufficiat, ut propter egregios mores, et incomparabilem fidem, sapientiamque non mediam, frater dictus sit Domini: et quod primus ei ecclesiæ præfuerit, quæ prima in Christum credens ex Judæis fuerat congregata.

ing, perhaps, no more than that Christ gave it him by the Apostles: or that they in so doing had acted by divine inspiration. Epiphanius (*f*) ascribes this appointment to our Saviour himself, as do (*g*) Chrysostom, and (*b*) Oecumenius, and (*i*) Photius. The Latin author of a Commentare upon thirteen of St. Paul's Epistles, says, James (*k*) was appointed Bishop of Jerusalem by the Apostles. Nicephorus's account is, that (*l*) he was so appointed by our Saviour, or, as some said, by the Apostles also. I shall cite no more writers relating to this point, but proceed.

A Passage of Origen concerning his Death.

IV. I would now take a passage of Origen from the tenth tome of his Commentaries upon St. Matthew, where he discourseth upon Matt. xiii. 55... 56. *Is not this the carpenter's son? Is not his mother called Marie? And his brethren, James, and Joses, and Simon, and Judas? And his sisters, are they not all with us?* "They (*m*) thought, says Origen, that he was the "son of Joseph and Marie. The brethren of Jesus, some say upon the "ground of tradition, particularly what is said in the Gospel according to "Peter, or the book of James, were the sons of Joseph by a former wife, "who cohabited with him before Marie. They who say this, are de- "sirous to maintain the honour of Marie's virginity to the last: [or her "perpetual virginity:] that the body chosen to fulfill what is said: *the "Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall over- "shadow thee.* Luke i. 35. might not know man after that. And I "think it very reasonable, that as Jesus was the first-fruits of vir- "ginity among men, Marie should be the same among women. For "it would be very improper to give that honour to any, beside her. "This James is he, whom Paul mentions in his epistle to the Galatians, "saying: *Other of the Apostles saw I none, save James, the Lord's brother.* "This James was in so great repute with the people for his virtue, that "Josephus, who wrote twenty books of the Jewish Antiquities, desirous "to assign the reason of their suffering such things, so that even the "temple was destroyed, says, that (*n*) those things were owing to the "anger of God for what they did to James the brother of Jesus, called "Christ. And it is wonderfull, that he who did not believe our Jesus "to

gregata. Dicuntur quidem et ceteri Apostoli fratres Domini. Sed præcipue hic frater dicitur, cui filios matris suæ ad Patrem vadens Dominus commendaverat. *In ep. ad Gal. cap. ii.* 19.

(*f*) *Hær.* 78. *num. viii.*

(*g*) *Chr. in ep.* 1. *ad Cor. hom.* 38. *p.* 355. *Tom. x.*

(*b*) *Oec. ad Act. xv.* 13. *T. i. p.* 122.

(*i*) *Phot. Ep.* 117.

(*k*) Jacobum vidit Hierosolymæ, quia illic erat constitutus ab Apostolis Episcopus. *In ep. ad Gal. cap. i.* 19.

(*l*) *Niceph. l.* 2. *cap.* 38.

(*m*) *Origen. in Matt. T. x. p.* 462. 463. *T.* 3. *Bened. p.* 223. *Tom. i. Huet.*

(*n*) . . . εἰρηκέναι κατὰ μῆνιν θεὸν ταῦτα αὐτοῖς ἀπηντηκέναι, διὰ τὰ εἰς ἰάκωβον τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἰησοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου χριστοῦ, ὑπ' αὐτῶν τετολμημένα. Καὶ τὸ θαυμαστόν ἐστιν, ὅτι τὸν ἰησοῦν ἡμῶν ὁ καταδεξάμενος εἶναι χριστὸν, οὐδὲ ἧττον ἰακώβου δικαιοσύνην ἐμαρτύρησε τοσαύτην. Λέγει δὲ, ὅτι καὶ ὁ λαὸς ταῦτα ἐνόμιζε διὰ τὸν ἰάκωβον πεπονθέναι· . . . Περὶ δὲ ἰωσήφου, καὶ σίμωνος οὐδὲν ἱστορήσαμεν. *Ib. p.* 463. *Bened. p.* 223. *Huet.*

" to be the Chriſt, ſhould bear ſuch a teſtimonie to James. He alſo " ſays, that the people thought they ſuffered thoſe things upon account " of James. Jude wrote an epiſtle, of few lines indeed, but filled with " the powerful words of the heavenly grace, who ſays at the begining: " *Jude, a ſervant of Jeſus Chriſt, and brother of James.* Of Joſes and " Simon we know nothing."

Origen, in (*o*) his books againſt Celſus, quotes Joſephus again, as ſpeaking of James to the like purpoſe. But there are not now any ſuch paſſages in Joſephus: though they are quoted, as from him, by (*p*) Euſebius alſo. But he does not ſay, whether from his Jewiſh War, or from his Antiquities, or in what book of either, as he ſometimes does, when he quotes Joſephus. Jerome has twice quoted Joſephus for theſe things: firſt in his (*q*) article of St. James, and then in that (*r*) of Joſephus himſelf: but not much more expreſsly, than Euſebius.

Upon the long paſſage of Origen, juſt tranſcribed, I would obſerve, as follows.

It is ſtrange, that Origen ſhould take ſuch particular notice of the epiſtle of St. Jude, and ſay nothing of the epiſtle of James, whoſe hiſtorie he was writing, when it was not unknown to him. It may be ſuſpected, that a paragraph has been loſt, and dropt out of the Commentarie in this place. It is alſo ſtrange, that he ſhould ſay, he knew nothing of Simon: when it is probable, that he likewiſe was one of Chriſt's Apoſtles, called *Simon the Canaanite* by Matthew ch. x. 4. and Mark iii. 18. *Simon Zelotes* by Luke vi. 13. and Acts i. 13.

From what Origen ſays of the death of James it may be concluded, that in his time Chriſtians were perſuaded, that James had died a martyr for Chriſt, and had been killed by the Jews, notwithſtanding his eminent virtue. Though the paſſages, to which Origen refers, are not now in Joſephus, and though it ſhould be ſuppoſed, that there was ſome inaccuracie in Origen's quotations of him, or references to him; I think it muſt be allowed, that Chriſtians had in his time a tradition concerning the death of James, and that it happened in circumſtances very diſhonorable to thoſe who were the authors of it: inſomuch that many were diſpoſed to think, it was one of thoſe things, for which God was much offended with the Jewiſh people. Moreover we have already obſerved a brief account of the death or martyrdom of James in Clement, older than Origen, though in part contemporarie with him.

All farther notice of that paſſage of Origen is deferred, till we come to conſider, how James was related to our Lord.

V. As

(*o*) *Contra Celſ. l. i. p.* 35. *et l.* 2. *p.* 69. *Cantab. l. i. cap.* 48. *et l.* 2. *cap.* 13. *Bened.*

(*p*) *H. E. l.* 2. *cap.* 23. *p.* 65. *C. D.*

(*q*) Tradit idem Joſephus, tantæ eum ſanctitatis fuiſſe, et celebritatis in populo, ut propter ejus necem creditum ſit, ſubverſam eſſe Hieroſolymam. *Hier. de Vir. Ill. cap.* 2.

(*r*) Hic confitetur . . . et propter interfectionem Jacobi Apoſtoli dirutam Hieroſolymam. *Ib. cap.* 13.

Accounts of his Death from Hegesippus, and Josephus.

V. As the death of James has been mentioned, I shall now immediately take the accounts of it, which are in Eusebius. And I will transcribe a large part of the 23. chapter of the second book of his Ecclesiastical Historie.

" But when Paul had appealed to Cesar, and Festus had sent him to " Rome, the Jews being disappointed in their design against him, turned " their rage against James the Lord's brother, to whom the Apostles " had assigned the episcopal chair of Jerusalem. And in this manner " they proceeded against him. Having laid hold of him, they re- " quired him in the presence of all the people to renounce his faith in " Christ. But he with freedom and boldness beyond expectation, be- " fore all the multitude, declared our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ to " be the Son of God. They not enduring the testimonie of a man, who " was in high esteem for his piety, laid hold of the opportunity, when " the countrey was without a Governour, to put him to death. For " Festus having died about that time in Judea, the province had in it no " Procurator. The manner of the death of James was shewn before in " the words of Clement, who said, that he was thrown off from the battle- " ment of the temple, and then beat to death with a club. But no one " has so accurately related this transaction, as Hegesippus, a man in the " first succession of the Apostles, in the fifth book of his Commentaries, " whose words are to this purpose: " James, (5) the brother of our " Lord, undertook together with the Apostles the government of the " church. He has been called the Just by all from the time of our Sa- " viour to ours. For many have been named James. But he was holie " from his mother's womb. He drank neither wine, nor strong drink, " nor did he eat any animal food. There never came rasour upon his " head. He neither anointed himself with oyl, nor did he use a bath. " To him alone was it lawfull to enter the holie place. He wore no " woollen, but only linen garments. He entered into the temple alone, " where he prayed upon his knees. Insomuch that his knees were be- " come like the knees of a camel, by means of his being continually " upon them, worshiping God, and praying for the forgiveness of the " people. Upon account of his virtue he was called the Just, and " Oblias, that is, the defense of the people, and righteousness. Some " therefore of the seven sects, which there were among the Jews, " of whom I spake in the former part of these Commentaries, asked " him, (6) which is the gate of Jesus: or, what is the gate of salvation. " And

(5) Διαδέχεται δὲ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μετὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ κυρίου Ἰάκωβος. κ. λ. *p.* 603. *C. D.*

(6) . . . ἐπυνθάνοντο αὐτὸν, τίς ἡ θύρα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ; καὶ ἔλεγε τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν σωτῆρα. Le Clerc, in his observations upon this passage of Hegesippus, says, he does not understand those words, *what is the gate of Jesus*. And, perhaps, the place has been corrupted. Τίς ἡ θύρα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ; Quod quid sibi velit, non intelligo. Sed forte locus est corruptus. *H. E. p.* 416. *Ann. lxii.* Mr. Mosheim thinks, with great probability, that the question put to James was: " What is the gate, or way of salvation? Tell us, how we may obtain eternal life?" James answered: " The gate of salvation is our Saviour Jesus Christ."

" And he ſaid: Jeſus is the Saviour, or the way of ſalvation. Some of " them therefore believed, that Jeſus is the Chriſt. . . . And many of " the chief men alſo believing, there was a diſturbance among the Jews, " and among the Scribes and Phariſees, who ſaid, there was danger, leſt " all the people ſhould think Jeſus to be the Chriſt. Coming therefore " to James, they ſaid: We beſeech thee to reſtrain the errour of the " people. We entreat thee to perſuade all that come hither at the time " of Paſſover to think rightly concerning Jeſus. For all the people, and " all of us put confidence in thee. . . . Stand therefore upon the battle- " ment of the temple, that being placed on high, thou mayeſt be con- " ſpicuous, and thy words may be eaſily heard by all the people. For " becauſe of the Paſſover, all the tribes be come hither, and many Gen- " tils. Therefore the Scribes and Phariſees, before named, placed James " upon the battlement of the temple, and cried out to him, and ſaid: O " Juſtus, whom we ought all to believe, ſince the people are in an er- " rour, following Jeſus who was crucified, tell us (c) what is the gate " of Jeſus. And he anſwered with a loud voice: Why do you aſk me con- " cerning the Son of Man: He even ſitteth in the heaven, at the right " hand of the great power, and will come in the clouds of heaven. And " many were fully ſatisfied, and well pleaſed with the teſtimony of " James, ſaying, Hoſanna to the Son of David. But the ſame Scribes " and Phariſees ſaid to one another: We have done wrong in procuring " ſuch a teſtimonie to Jeſus. Let us go up, and throw him down, that " the people may be terrified from giving credit to him. . . . And they " went up preſently, and caſt him down, and ſaid: Let us ſtone James " the Juſt. And they began to ſtone him, becauſe he was not killed " with the fall. But he turning himſelf kneeled, ſaying: I entreat thee, " O Lord God the Father, forgive them. For they know not what " they do. As they were ſtoning him, one ſaid: Give over. What " do ye? The juſt man prays for you. And (*t*) one of them, a fuller, " took a pole, which was uſed to beat cloths with, and ſtruck him on the " head. Thus his martyrdom was compleated. And they buried him " in that place, and his monument ſtill remains near the temple. This " James was a true witneſſe to Jews and Gentils, that Jeſus is the Chriſt.

" And

Chriſt." Vitium vero ejus non in vocabulo θύρα, ſed potius in nomine Ἰησοῦ quæri debere cenſeo. Judæi, quod manifeſtum eſt, ſcifcitantur ſententiam Jacobi de via ſeu de oſtio ſalutis, id eſt, de vera ratione ad ſalutem æternam perveniendi. Nullus ergo dubito, quin patrio ſermone, quo utebantur, vocabulum Jeſchuah adhibuerint, atque ex Jacobo quæſiverint: Dic, rogamus, nobis, quodnam tibi videatur eſſe ſalutis oſtium. . . Græcus quæſtionis hujus interpres vero, aut ſermonis non nimis gnarus, aut minus attentus, nomen proprium Servatoris noſtri, Jeſus, cernere ſe putabat, et perperam idcirco, quum σωτηρια ponendum ipſi fuiſſet: Τίς ἡ θύρα τῆς σωτηρίας; vocabulum Ἰησοῦ ſcribebat: Τίς ἡ θύρα Ἰησοῦ; Ita ſi Judæorum quæſtio intelligatur, nihil fieri aptius poteſt reſponſione Jacobi: *Oſtium ſalutis eſt Servator noſter, Jeſus Chriſtus. Moſheim. De Reb. Chriſtianor. ante Conſtantin. Sec. prim. num.* 25. *p.* 95.

(c) *See before, note* (B).

(*t*) Καὶ λαβὼν τὶς ἀπ' αὐτῶν εἷς τῶν γναφέων τὸ ξύλον ἐν ᾧ ἀποπλύξ τὰ ἱμάτια, ἔνηγκε κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ δικαίου. *Ib. p.* 65. *B.*

" And ſoon after Judea was invaded by Veſpaſian, and the people were " carried captive." ' So writes Hegeſippus at large, agreeably to Cle-
' ment. For certain, James was an excellent man, and much eſteemed
' by many for his virtue: inſomuch that the moſt thoughtful men among
' the Jews were of opinion, that his death was the cauſe of the ſiege of
' Jeruſalem, which followed ſoon after his martyrdom: and that it was
' owing to nothing elſe, but the wickedneſſe committed againſt him.
' And (*u*) Joſephus ſays the ſame in theſe words: " Theſe things befell
" the Jews in vindication of James the Juſt, who was brother of Jeſus,
" called the Chriſt. For the Jews killed him, who was a moſt righteous
" man." ' The ſame hiſtorian, in the twentieth book of his Anti-
' quities, relates his death in this manner.' " The Emperour being
" informed of the death of Feſtus, ſent Albinus to be Prefect in Judea.
" But the younger Ananus, who, as we ſaid before, was made High-
" Prieſt, was haughty in his behaviour, and very enterprizing. And
" moreover he was of the ſect of the Sadducees, who, as we have alſo
" obſerved before, are above all other Jews ſevere in their judicial ſen-
" tences. This then being the temper of Ananus, he thinking he had a
" fit opportunity, becauſe Feſtus was dead, and Albinus was yet upon the
" road, calls a Council. And bringing before them James, the brother
" of him who is called Chriſt, and ſome others, he accuſed them as tranſ-
" greſſors of the laws, and had them ſtoned to death. But the moſt
" moderate men of the city, who alſo were reckoned moſt ſkilfull in the
" laws, were offended at this proceeding. They therefore ſent privatly
" to the King, [Agrippa the Younger,] entreating him to ſend or-
" ders to Ananus, no more to attempt any ſuch things. And ſome went
" away to meet Albinus, who was coming from Alexandria, and put
" him in mind, that Ananus had no right to call a Council without his
" leave. Albinus approving of what they ſaid, wrote a very angry letter
" to Ananus, threatening to puniſh him for what he had done. And
" King Agrippa took away from him the prieſthood, after he had enjoyed
" it three months, and put in Jeſus, the ſon of Damnæus." ' Theſe
' are the things which are related of James, whoſe is the firſt of the
' epiſtles called catholic.'

Thus I have given a literal verſion of almoſt the whole of this chapter, being deſirous, that my readers ſhould ſee the accounts, which ancient writers have given of James: though they are not altogether ſo credible, nor ſo entertaining, as might have been wiſhed. Nor do they any where lie in better order than here. And therefore I have choſen this chapter. The ſame things are tranſcribed by Jerome from Euſebius in his chapter of James the Juſt, in his Catalogue of Eccleſiaſtical Writers: but very inaccurately, blending together Hegeſippus, and Clement, and Joſephus: ſo that, without comparing Euſebius, it could not be known what belongs to one, and what to the other. For which, I think, he deſerves to be cenſured. Nor could I paſs it by without notice, as an uſe may be made of

(*u*) Ὁ γὰρ Ἰώσηπος ἐκ ἀποφάσεως ἢ τοῦτ' ἐγγράφως ἐπιμαρτύρεσθαι, δι' ὃν φησι λέξεων· Ταῦτα δὲ συμβέβηκεν Ἰουδαίοις, κατ' ἐκδίκησιν Ἰακώβου τοῦ δικαίου, ὃς ἦν ἀδελφὸς Ἰησοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου χριστοῦ. ἐπειδήπερ δικαιότατον αὐτὸν ὄντα οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἀπέκτειναν. *Ib. p.* 65. *D.*

of it. For it may induce us to ſuſpect, that to ſuch careleſſneſſe and inaccuracie of quotation we owe thoſe paſſages of Joſephus, in which he is ſaid to have aſſigned the death of James, as the ſole cauſe of the ruin of the Jewiſh People.

And now I proceed to make ſome remarks upon the chapter of Euſebius, and the paſſages therein quoted by him.

1. In the firſt place, it appears from Euſebe's introduction, at the begining of the chapter, that he ſuppoſed the martyrdom of St. James to have happened at a time, when there was no Roman Governour in Judea, after the death of Feſtus, and before the arrival of Albinus in the province. What reaſon he had for this, we do not certainly know. We do not obſerve any notice of that circumſtance in what he has tranſcribed from Hegeſippus. It is indeed expreſsly ſaid in the paſſage of Joſephus. But if that paſſage be the only foundation for the opinion, it's authority may be queſtioned. For divers learned men have ſuſpected the genuinneſſe of that part of the paſſage, which ſpeaks of the death of James. As will be ſhewn more particularly by and by.

2. Upon the firſt quotation, which is from Hegeſippus, it is eaſie for any one to obſerve, that (*x*) there are in it many things very unlikely: as (*y*) that James ſhould live in the manner here repreſented, and particularly, that he ſhould eat no animal food: that he had a right to enter into the holie place, when he pleaſed, whether thereby be underſtood the Holie of Holies, or only the temple: that the Scribes and Phariſees ſhould place him on a pinnacle, or battlement of the temple, to deliver his opinion to the people concerning Jeſus: that they ſhould throw him down thence, and kill him in the temple, or any of the courts of it: that they ſhould bury him near the place, in which he is here ſaid to have been killed: when the Jews, and all other people in thoſe times, uſually buried their dead without the walls of their cities: and, finally, that he ſhould have a monument, or pillar, over him, near the place where he was buried, which remained to the time of Hegeſippus, after the war was over, and the city of Jeruſalem and the temple had been overthrown. Concerning which laſt particular Jerome, in the Catalogue above mentioned, ſays:

(*x*) Ecce Jacobus Juſtus, eccleſiæ Hieroſolymitanæ antiſtes, quem miſere trucidarunt. Quod ipſe Joſephus paucis, copioſius Hegeſippus apud Euſebium memoriæ prodidit: quamquam in narratione hujus multa ſunt, quibus nemo, niſi rerum veterum, et Chriſtianarum et Judaicarum, prorſus ignarus, fidem habeat. *Moſheim. De Reb. Chriſtian. ante Conſtantin. Sec. i. §. xxiii. p.* 93.

(*y*) *Hic ab utero matris ſanctus fuit:* nazireatus, nempe, voto Deo conſecratus, ut ſequentia oſtendunt. Nec fieri hoc potuiſſe negârim. *Nec vinum unquam bibit, nec ſiceram.* Ita debuit, ſi Naziraeus fuit. *Ab animantium carnibus abſtinuit.* Hoc vero Pythagoricum et ſuperſtitioſum fuit inſtitutum, de quo nihil in Moſaica Lege, et cujus reum fuiſſe Jacobum, etiam poſtquam Chriſtianus factus eſt, vix credibile ſit. *Comam nunquam totondit.* Recte, atque ordine. Sic enim Lex jubet. Num. vi. 3. 5. *Neque ungi, neque lavare balneo corpus unquam ſolitus.* Non tantum præter, ſed et contra Legem hoc fuit, quâ multæ ablutiones Judæis impoſitæ. Nec certe ſordes quæſitæ quidquam ad ſanctitatem faciunt. *Cleric. Hiſt. Ec. Ann. lxii. not.* (2). *p.* 415.

ſays: "He (z) was buried near the temple, where he had been thrown "down. He had a conſpicious monument, till the ſiege of Titus, and "that ſince by Adrian. Some of our people have thought, that he was "buried on mount Olivet. But that is a miſtaken opinion." So that even in Judea there were different opinions concerning the place, where James was buried. Nevertheleſs I preſume, all were perſuaded, that he had ſuffered martyrdom from the Jews at Jeruſalem. There was no different ſentiment about that.

However, this difference of opinion concerning the place, where St. James was buried, deſerves our notice. For it may lead us to ſuſpect ſome miſtake in the account of Hegeſippus. Poſſibly, St. James was buried in mount Olivet: though there was a pillar erected near the place, where he was killed. I think, this may be of uſe to remove ſome difficulties in the account of Hegeſippus. The pillar, which he ſaw, might be erected after the ſiege of Jeruſalem, by ſome, who remembred the place, where St. James had been killed. And ſome from that monument might conclude, he had been buried there, though really he was not.

I have made ſome remarks upon the paſſage of Hegeſippus. A fuller critique may be ſeen in other (*a*) writers: partly aggravating the improbabilities of this account, partly ſoftening them, and ſtriving to remove difficulties. Accordingly Petavius ſays, "that (*b*) though there are in it ſeveral things very unlikely, yet the whole hiſtorie ought not therefore to be rejected." To whom I am not unwilling to accede. But as I have not room to enlarge upon particulars, for ſhewing the reaſonableneſſe of that judgement; I muſt be content with recommending a careful and impartial attention to the obſervations of the writers, to whom I have referred. However, I may by and by have an opportunity to mention a few thoughts, beſide what I have already ſaid, for removing difficulties, and anſwering objections.

3. Euſebius ſays, "that many thoughtful men among the Jews were of opinion, that the death of James was the cauſe of the ſiege of Jeruſalem, and that it was owing to nothing elſe but the wickedneſſe committed againſt him, and that Joſephus ſays the ſame."

Origen ſpeaks to the like purpoſe, as we have ſeen. But not quite ſo ſtrongly. The ſame is ſaid by Jerome more than once. I mean in (*c*) his

(z) . . . et juxta templum, ubi et præcipitatus fuerat, ſepultus eſt. Titulum uſque ad obſidionem Titi, et ultimam Hadriani notiſſimum habuit. Quidam e noſtris in monte Oliveti eum putaverunt conditum, ſed falſa eorum opinio eſt. *De V. I. cap.* 2.

(*a*) *Vid. Joſeph. Scaliger. Animadverſ. in Euſeb. Chron. p.* 193. 194. *J. Cleric. Hiſt. Ec. A. D. lxii. Petav. Animadverſ. ad Epiphan. Hær. lxxviii. Valeſ. Annot. in Euſeb. H. E. l.* 2. *cap.* 23. *et Tillemont S. Jacque le Mineur. Mem. Ec. Tom. i. Baſnag. Ann.* 33. *num.* 184. *&c.*

(*b*) Nec diffiteor nonnulla vel ab Hegeſippo prodita, vel ab aliis inferta, quæ parum probabilia videantur. Sed totam ipſam Hiſtoriam nego propterea damnandam eſſe. *Petav. Animadv. ad Epiph. H.* 78. *n. iii. p.* 332.

(*c*) Tradit enim Joſephus, tantæ eum ſanctitatis fuiſſe et celebritatis in populo, ut propter ejus necem creditum ſit, ſubverſam Hieroſolymam. *De V. I. cap.* 2. *Vid. et cap.* 13.

his book of Illuſtrious Men, and (*d*) alſo elſewhere. But neither he, nor Euſebius expreſsly ſay, in what place of Joſephus. Which may make us think, that they borrowed this from Origen. Nor does Origen inform us, in what Work of Joſephus thoſe things were ſaid, though he has mentioned them ſeveral times. Which may diſpoſe us to think, that they were no where expreſsly in Joſephus.

4. Euſebius proceeds, and ſays, that in the xx. book of his Antiquities Joſephus had related the death of James in a paſſage, which he there tranſcribes. Which paſſage is ſtill in the works of Joſephus. And what is there ſaid, may be very true, for the moſt part: "that (*e*) Ananus the younger, being High-Prieſt, and a man of an haughty and enterprizing temper, when there was no Roman Governour in Judea, convened a Council, and had ſome ſtoned to death, as tranſgreſſors of the laws: and that many of the moſt diſcreet and moderate men among the Jews were offended at this proceeding: foraſmuch as whilſt Judea was in the ſtate of a province, the High Prieſt had no right to call the Council together, without leave, and they feared, that this action would be reſented by the Emperour." All this, I ſay, is very likely. Nevertheleſs thoſe words, *James, the brother of him, who is called Chriſt*, have been ſuſpected to be an interpolation. And, probably, (*f*) are ſo. Suppoſing (*g*) thoſe words to be an interpolation, we can gather no more from that paſſage, than that Ananus did illegally condemn ſeveral perſons to death, as tranſgreſſors of the Jewiſh laws. But who they were, or whether any of them were Chriſtians, or not, cannot be determined with certainty.

5. Euſebius ſuppoſeth, that this paſſage of Joſephus confirms the account given by Hegeſippus: whereas (*h*) it appears, on the other hand, very difficult

(*d*) Tranſeamus ad Jacobum, qui frater Domini dicebatur, tantæ ſanctitatis, tantæque juſtitiæ, et perpetuæ virginitatis, ut Joſephus quoque hiſtoricus Judæorum propter hujus necem Jeroſolymam ſubverſam referat. Hic primus Epiſcopus ex Judæis Jeroſolymæ credentis eccleſiæ. *Adv. Jovin. l.* 1. *T.* 4. *P.* 2. *p.* 182. *in.*

(*e*) Facile quidem crediderim Jeroſolymitanos proceres graviter tuliſſe, quod ſynedrium ſuâ auctoritate inſtituiſſet, cum dudum jus gladii a Romanis Judæis eſſet ereptum: quod iterum inconſulto Cæſare ab Anano uſurpatum timebant, ne genti ſuæ gravi fortaſſe pœna luendum eſſet. Sed quæ de *Jacobo, Jeſu, qui Chriſtus dicebatur, fratre*, habentur, merum adjumentum male feriati Chriſtiani eſſe videntur, Qua de re alibi diximus. *Cleric. ubi ſupr.* §. ii. *p.* 415. *Conf. ejuſd. Ars Crit. Part.* 3. *ſect. i. cap.* 14. *num. xi.*

(*f*) *See the Credibility, &c. Part. i. B. i. ch.* 2. §. *xi. p.* 163—165. *the third edition. See here likewiſe not.* (*e*) *p.* 50.

(*g*) *See Dr. Benſon's Hiſtory of St. James. Sect. ii. p.* 12. *the ſecond edition.*

(*h*) Quid magis contrarium eſſe poteſt, quam hæc Joſephi, et illa Hegeſippi narratio? Num Joſephus quidem damnatum eſſe ſcribit in publico Judæorum concilio: Hegeſippus vero, per ſeditionem ac tumultum populi occiſum. Et Hegeſippus quidem fuſſe fullonis necatum in media urbe. Joſephus autem lapidatum occubuiſſe narrat. Fiebat autem lapidatio extra portas civitatis, ut notum eſt. *Valeſ. Annot. ad Euſeb. l.* 2. *cap.* 23. *p.* 41.

Secundo, qui fidem habent narrationi Hegeſippi, eos oportet, aut Joſephum falſo arguere, aut ſuſpectum habere hunc locum, quo res publice Jeroſolymæ geſta, adeoque notiſſima, aliter narratur: ut mirari ſubeat, ab Euſebio Joſeph

ei

difficult to reconcile them. I do not perceive Hegesippus to say any thing of Ananus, the High-Priest. Nor has he expressly mentioned the Sadducees, of which sect Ananus was. Nor does Hegesippus say a word of the Council of the Jews. And as the punishment of stoning, when ordered by magistrates, was generally inflicted on men out of the city; it is probable, that they who were put to death by the procurement of Ananus, suffered without Jerusalem. But according to Hegesippus, James died at the temple, or near it, and was buried not far off from the place, where he had expired.

6. Since what is said of James in the passage of Josephus, is justly suspected to be an interpolation, it ought not to be regarded. Learned men of late times find (*i*) it very difficult to determine, how James died. But that difficulty, as seems to me, is much increased by paying too much regard to a passage, the genuinness of which is far from being certain. Josephus, indeed, is an older author than Hegesippus, and he is an historian of good credit. But we should be first assured, that the account is his. If a passage, or part of a passage, has been inserted in his works, and there is good reason to think it not his; it should be disregarded, and stand for nothing.

If we once set aside that passage, we may soon come to a determination concerning the manner of James's death. That James had suffered martyrdom at Jerusalem, was the general persuasion of Christians in the time of Eusebius, and before, as we plainly perceive. Two ancient Christian writers of the second centurie assure us, that his death was compleated by the blow of a fuller's pole, with which they are wont to beat wet cloths. And Hegesippus, in particular, and at large, relates, that his death was effected in a tumultuous manner. The tumult began at the temple. Where the Scribes and Pharisees, and other Jews, entred into discourse with James. He standing upon some eminence, which Hegesippus calls πτερύγιον, and we now generally render a battlement, or pinnacle, openly declared, and argued, that Jesus was the Christ, or the expected Messiah, and that his doctrine contained full instruction, how men may be saved, and obtain eternal life. At which some leading men among the Jews were much offended. They then laid hold of him, and perhaps dragged him out of the temple. Some of the people threw stones at him. And though he earnestly prayed to God in the behalf of those who abused him, they persisted in their abuses, till one struck him with a long pole, which put an end to his life.

St. John has recorded two instances of the Jews taking up stones to throw at our Lord, when he was teaching in the temple. Ch. viii. 59. and ch. x. 31. . . . 46. The first is in these words: *Then took they up stones to cast at him. But Jesus hid himself, and went out of the temple, going through the midst of them, and so passed by. They took up stones to cast at him.* And if our Lord had not saved himself by a miraculous exertion of power, they would have then killed him. Divine Providence not

et Hegesippi verba allata, eodem capite, nec eum tentasse ea in concordiam redigere, aut alterutrius narrationis fidem in dubium non revocasse. *Cleric. Ars Crit. P. 3. sect. i. n. xii.*

(*i*) Potest tamen fieri, ut Jacobus hoc tempore mortuus sit. Sed genus mortis ignotum. *Cleric. H. E. Ann. lxii. num. iii. in.*

not interpoſing in a like manner, when a like attempt was made upon James, he fell a ſacrifice to the rage of the unbelieving part of the Jewiſh people at Jeruſalem.

Nor ought it to be thought exceeding ſtrange, or abſolutely unaccountable, that ſome Scribes and Phariſees, or other Jews, ſhould gather about James at the temple, and aſk his opinion concerning Jeſus, though they knew it very well already: or that they ſhould come to him with pretenſes of great reſpect, and aſſurances of paying a regard to his judgement. For many like things are recorded in the Goſpels. Which every one is able to recollect. I ſhall therefore take particular notice only of that ſecond inſtance, mentioned by St. John, of their taking up ſtones to throw at our Lord. John x. 22. . . . 31. *And it was at Jeruſalem, the feaſt of the Dedication . . .* And *Jeſus walked in the temple, in Solomon's porch. Then came the Jews round about him, and ſaid unto him, How long doſt thou make us to doubt? If thou be the Chriſt, tell us plainly. Jeſus anſwered them: I told you, and ye believed not. The works that I do in my Father's name they bear witneſſe of me. . . . Then the Jews took up ſtones again to ſtone him.* They came to Jeſus, and deſired an anſwer to a queſtion, that had been anſwered before. But they pretend now to deſire, it ſhould be anſwered in the plaineſt and fulleſt manner. Nevertheleſs they could not hear the anſwer with patience.

I ſaid juſt now, that two ancient writers of the ſecond centurie, Clement and Hegeſippus, aſſure us, that the death of James had been compleated by a fuller's pole, after he had been thrown off from the temple. I ſuppoſe this muſt have been the opinion alſo of Euſebius, who has taken notice of theſe things, and of other ancient Chriſtians. It is the account, which (*k*) Jerome gives of the death of James, in his article, in the book of Illuſtrious Men, and likewiſe (*l*) elſewhere. The ſame is ſaid by (*m*) Epiphanius.

Let this ſuffice for the circumſtances, and the manner of the death of James.

The Time of his Death.

VI. The time of the death of James may be determined without much difficulty. He was alive, when Paul came to Jeruſalem at the Pentecoſt in the year of Chriſt 58. And it is likely, that he was dead, when St. Paul wrote the epiſtle to the Hebrews, at the begining of the year 63. Theodoret (*n*) upon Hebr. xiii. 7. ſuppoſeth the Apoſtle there to refer to the martyrdoms of Stephen, James, the brother of John, and James the Juſt. According to Hegeſippus the death of James happened about the time of Paſſover, which might be that of the year 62. And if Feſtus was then dead, and Albinus not arrived, the province was without a Governour. Such a ſeaſon

(*k*) Qui cum præcipitatus de pinna templi, confractis cruribus, adhuc ſemivivus——fullonis fuſte, quo uda veſtimenta extorqueri ſolent, in cerebro percuſſus interiit. *De V. I. cap.* 2.

(*l*) Hic autem Jacobus Epiſcopus Jeroſolymorum primus fuit, cognomento Juſtus:——Qui et ipſe poſtea de templo a Judæis præcipitatus, ſucceſſorem habuit Simonem, &c. *Comm. in ep. ad Gal. Cap. i. T. 4. p.* 237.

(*m*) *Hær.* 78. *num. xiv. p.* 1046.

(*n*) *Theod. Tom.* 3. *p.* 459.

ſeaſon left the Jews at liberty to gratify their licencious, and turbulent diſpoſition. And they were very likely to embrace it. We may therefore very reaſonably place this event at that juncture.

And it is now the general opinion of learned men, that James died about that time. Pearſon (*o*) who ſeems to admit the genuinneſſe of the whole paſſage of Joſephus, placeth the death of James in the year 62. Him Mill (*p*) follows. Le Clerc, who diſputes the genuinneſſe of thoſe words that relate to James, allows, that (*q*) he might dye about that time. This alſo is agreeable to Tillemont's (*r*) computation. And I refer to (*s*) Valeſius.

In what reſpect he was our Lord's Brother.

VII. It ſtill remains, that we conſider, on what account he was called the *Lord's brother*, and whether he be the ſame as James the ſon of Alpheus.

James, as we have ſeen, is called by St. Paul *the Lord's brother.* Gal. i. 19. All Chriſtian writers in general ſpeak of him in the like manner. The queſtion is, in what ſenſe he was ſo.

That James was not the ſon of Marie, or our Lord's brother by nature, has been well argued by Chriſtians in former times, both (*t*) Latins, and (*u*) Greeks, from our Lord's words upon the croſſe, recorded John xix. 26. 27. where he recommends the care of his mother to John: requiring her to conſider him, as her ſon, and him to take care of her, as his mother.

And indeed it has been the opinion of all Chriſtians in general, that Marie was always a virgin, and that ſhe never had any children by Joſeph. We muſt therefore inquire, in what reſpect this James was our Lord's brother, and ſome others his brothers, or ſiſters.

Euſebius, in a chapter quoted ſome while ago, the firſt of the ſecond book of his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorie, without heſitation ſays, "that (*x*) James was ſaid to be the Lord's brother, becauſe he alſo was called the ſon of Joſeph. And Joſeph was reckoned his father, becauſe the virgin Marie was eſpouſed to him."

Origen

(*o*) *Ann. Paulin. p.* 19. *A. Chr. lxii.*

(*p*) *Prolegom. num.* 56.

(*q*) *H. E. An.* 62. *num. iii.*

(*r*) *S. Jacque le Mineur. art. vii. in.*

(*s*) *Valeſ. Annot. ad Euſeb. l.* 2. *cap.* 23. *p.* 41.

(*t*) Verum homines praviſſimi hinc præſumunt opinionis ſuæ auctoritatem, quod plures Dominum noſtrum fratres habuiſſe ſit traditum. Qui ſi Mariæ filii fuiſſent, et non potius Joſephi ex priore conjugio ſuſcepti, nunquam in tempore paſſionis Joanni Apoſtolo tranſcripta eſſet in matrem, Domino ad utrumque dicente, Mulier ecce filius tuus, et Joanni, Ecce mater tua: nili quod deſolatæ ſolatium caritatem filii in diſcipulo relinquebat. *Hilar. Pict. Comm. in Matt. cap. i. p.* 612. *Ed. Bened.*

(*u*) Πῶς δὲ τέκνα τῆς Μαρίας, καὶ οὐ ὑπῆρχεν αὐτῇ ἀνὴρ, τίνι λόγῳ παρειδὲ τὴν μαρίαν ὁ Ἰησοῦς, καὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην τὴν μητέρα; *Epiph. Hær.* 78. *num.* x. *p.* 1042. *C.*

Ἐ. γὰρ ἐγὼ αὐτὸν, καὶ ἐν παῖδες γνήσιοι εἶχε, πῶς ὡς ἀπερισπάστους αὐτὸν, καὶ ἑδένα ἔχοντας, τῷ μαθητῇ παρατίθεται, καὶ πελεύει αὐτῷ εἰς τὰ ἴδια αὐτὴν λαβεῖν; *Chryſoſt. in Matt. hom.* 5. *T.* 7. *p.* 77.

(*x*) Τότε δὴ καὶ ἱστόρουν, διὰ τὸ τοῦ κυρίου λεγόμενον ἀδελφὸν, ὅτι δὴ καὶ οὗτος Ἰωσὴφ ὠνόμαστο· τοῦ δὲ χρὴ πατρὸς ὁ Ἰωσὴφ, ᾧ μνηστευθεῖσα ἡ παρθένος. κ. λ. *L.* 2. *c.* 1. *p.* 38. *B.*

Origen (*y*) in the paſſage alſo cited (*z*) above, ſays, that the brethren of Jeſus were the ſons of Joſeph by a former wife, who had cohabited with him before Marie. And he mentions it as ſupported by an ancient tradition. This was the opinion (*a*) of Epiphanius, and of many (*b*) ancient writers, both Greeks and Latins.

Jerome, in his article of this perſon, in his catalogue of Eccleſiaſtical Writers, ſays: "James (*c*) who is called the Lord's brother, ſurnamed the Juſt, was, as ſome think, the ſon of Joſeph by another wife, but, as ſeems to me, the ſon of Marie, ſiſter to our Lord's mother, mentioned by John, in his Goſpel. John xix. 25." And in his book againſt Helvidius he delivers it as his opinion, that (*d*) thoſe called our Lord's brethren in the Goſpels, were ſo named, as they were couſins, or relations. He ſpeaks to the like purpoſe alſo (*e*) in his Commentarie upon Matt. xii. 49. 50.

This opinion was at length embraced by Auguſtin. In his Expoſition of the epiſtle to the Galatians, writ about the year 394. he ſpeaks dubiouſly, ſaying, "that (*f*) James was the Lord's brother, as he was the ſon of Joſeph by a former wife, or elſe as he was related to his mother Marie." But in works, writ afterwards, he continually ſays, that (*g*) our Lord's brethren were relations of his mother Marie.

The

(*y*) *In Matt. T. x. p.* 462. 463. *T.* 3. *Bened. P.* 223. *Tom. i. Huet.*

(*z*) *See before. p.* 374.

(*a*) *Epiph. Hær.* 29. *n. iii. et iv. Hær.* 51. *num. x. Hær.* 78. *num. viii. et ix. Ancorat. num. lx. p.* 62.

(*b*) *Greg. Nyſſen. de Chriſti Reſur. Or.* 2. *Tom.* 3. *p.* 412. 413. *Chryſoſt. in Matt. hom.* 5. *Tom.* 7. *p.* 77. *C. Theophyl. in Gal. i.* 19. *p.* 448. *Niceph. Call. l.* 2. *cap.* 3. *in Hilar. Pictav. Comm. in Matt. cap. i. p.* 612. *ed. Bened. Ambroſ. de Inſtit. Virg. cap. vi. T.* 2. *p.* 260. *Bened. Ambroſiaſtri Comment. in Gal. i.* 19. *ap. Ambroſ. in App. T.* 2. *p.* 213.

(*c*) Jacobus qui appellatur frater Domini, cognomento Juſtus, ut nonnulli exiſtimant, Joſeph ex alia uxore, ut mihi videtur, Mariæ ſororis matris Domini, cujus Johannes in libro ſuo meminit, filius. *De V. I. cap.* 2.

(*d*) Reſtat igitur, ut juxta ſuperiorem expoſitionem fratres eos intelligas appellatos, cognatione, non affectu, non gentis privilegio, non naturâ: quomodo Lot Abrahæ, quomodo Jacob Laban eſt appellatus frater. &c. *Adv. Helvid. T.* 4. *P.* 2. *P.* 140.

(*e*) Quidam fratres Domini de aliâ uxore Joſeph filios ſuſpicantur, ſequentes deliramenta apocryphorum, et quandam Meſcham vel Eſcham mulierculam conſingentes. Nos autem, ſicut in libro, quem contra Helvidium ſcripſimus, continetur, non filios Joſeph, ſed conſobrinos Salvatoris, Mariæ liberos, intelligimus, materteræ Domini: quæ eſſe dicitur mater Jacobi minoris, et Joſeph, et Judæ: quos in alio Evangelii loco fratres Domini legimus appellatos. Fratres autem conſobrinos dici, omnis ſcriptura demonſtrat. *In Matt. cap. xii. T.* 4. *p.* 53.

(*f*) Jacobus Domini frater, vel ex filiis Joſeph de aliâ uxore, vel ex cognatione Mariæ matris ejus debet intelligi. *Aug. Expoſ. ep. ad Gal. cap. i. et i. num.* 8. *Tom.* 3. *P.* 2.

(*g*) Fratres ejus ſic accipite, ſicut noſtis. Non enim novum eſt quod auditis. Conſanguinei virginis Mariæ fratres Domini dicebantur. Scriptura tamen

The former, as appears from the authors juſt cited, was the more ancient opinion. Nor does Jerome allege any before him who held the opinion mentioned as his own. Indeed he ſeems to have been the firſt, who ſaid, that our Lord's brethren were the ſons of Marie, his mother's ſiſter, and therefore only couſins or relations. But when he advanced this notion, he (*h*) was inclined to think Joſeph alſo a virgin. As has been well obſerved by (*i*) G. J. Voſſius.

However Jerome's opinion has prevailed very much of late. I ſuppoſe, it may be that (*k*) of the Romaniſts in general. It was alſo the opinion of (*l*) Lightfoot. It is likewiſe embraced by (*m*) Witſius, and (*n*) Lampe, and (*o*) many other Proteſtants. But Valeſius, among the Romaniſts, in his Annotations upon the above cited chapter of Euſebius, ſays, he (*p*) thinks, that James was the ſon of Joſeph by a former wife. The

tamen hujuſmodi cognationes fratres appellat. Nam Abraham et Lot fratres ſunt dicti, cum eſſet Abraham patruus Lot: et Laban et Jacob fratres ſunt dicti, cum eſſet Laban avunculus Jacob. &c. *In Joan. Tract.* 28. *num.* 3. *Tom.* 3. *P.* 2. *Vid. ibid. in Matth. Qu. xvii. et in Joan. Tr. x.*

Et Loth frater Abrahæ dicitur, cum patruus ejus eſſet Abraham. Ex quâ vocabuli conſuetudine etiam fratres Domini vocantur in Evangelio, non utique quos Maria virgo pepererat, ſed ejus conſanguinitate omnes propinqui. *Contr. Fauſt. l.* 22. *cap.* 35. *T.* 8.

(*h*) Tu dicis, Mariam virginem non permanſiſſe. Ego mihi plus vindico, etiam ipſum Joſeph virginem fuiſſe per Mariam, ut ex virginitatis conjugio virgo filius naſceretur. *Adv. Helvid. Tom.* 4. *p.* 142. *in.*

(*i*) Et ſane, qui Joſephum putaret non habuiſſe uxorem, antequam B. Mariam duceret, ante B. Hieronymum arbitror fuiſſe neminem; utcumque poſterioribus temporibus, in virginitate extollenda immodicis, avide multi eam fuerint ſententiam amplexi. *Voſſ. de Gen. Chriſti. cap. vi.*

(*k*) *Vid. Baron. in Apparatu num. lxi. &c. Eſt. ad Gal. cap. i.* 19. *et alibi. Tillem. S. Jacque le Mineur. Art. i. et ii.*

(*l*) *See Lightfoot's Works. Vol. i. p.* 270. 541. 660.

(*m*) At quamvis Euſebius, Epiphanius, Gregorius Nyſſenus, plurimique veterum, in eandem conceſſerint ſententiam, non videtur mihi ea probabilibus niti argumentis. Rectius Hieronymo accedemus, arbitranti eos qui Domini fratres dicuntur, fuiſſe ejus conſobrinos, loquendi genere, etiam Græcis et Romanis noto. *Witſ. Comm. in ep. Jud.* §. 4. *p.* 454.

(*n*) Erat hic frater Jacobi minoris. . . Quare fuit conſobrinus Chriſti ſecundum carnem, natus ex Maria, uxore Cleophæ, ſeu Alphæi, quæ ſoror erat Mariæ Matris Domini. *Lampe in Evang. Joan. cap. xiv. xxii. T.* 3. *p.* 167.

(*o*) *Fabr. Bib. Gr. l.* 4. *cap.* 5. *n. xi. T.* 3. *p.* 165. *And ſee Lenfant et Beauſobre ſur Gal. i.* 19. *et la preface ſur l'epiſtre de S. Jacques. Dr. Benſon in his preface to the Epiſtle of St. James. ſect. ii. Doddridge in his preface to the ſame epiſtle.*

(*p*) Ait igitur Euſebius, Jacobum, qui in Evangelio et epiſtola Pauli frater Domini dicitur, filium fuiſſe Joſephi ex aliâ conjuge, quam Joſephus ante Mariam ſibi ſociaverat. Cum Euſebio conſentit Epiphanius . . . Gregorius Nyſſenus. . . ſed Hieronymus in libro de Scriptoribus Eccleſiaſticis Jacobum hunc idcirco fratrem Domini appellatum eſſe exiſtimat, quod filius eſſet Mariæ, ſororis fratris Domini. . . Multa quidem de hoc argumento diſſeruit Baronius in Annalibus. Mihi tamen verior videtur opinio eorum, qui Jacobum,

The ſame opinion has been aſſerted by ſeveral among the Proteſtants, as (*q*) G. J. Voſſius, and (*r*) Baſnage, and (*s*) Cave, in his Lives of the Apoſtles, writ in Engliſh. Nor does it appear that he had abandoned his firſt judgment, when (*t*) he wrote his Hiſtoria Literaria.

I likewiſe have for a long time been much inclined to the ſame opinion. And have compoſed an argument upon the queſtion. But I have laid it aſide, ſuppoſing it to be rather too prolix, and too intricate, to be inſerted in this place. And after all, perhaps ſome might think, that the argument does not afford a compleat ſolution of all difficulties and objections. I therefore enter not at preſent into any diſpute about it, but leave every one to judge as he ſees good.

That He was an Apoſtle, and the ſon of Alpheus.

VIII. Whether James was the ſon of Joſeph by a former wife, or the ſon of Marie, wife of Cleophas, ſiſter to Marie, our Lord's mother, or otherwiſe nearly related to her, he was an Apoſtle. I think, it was clearly proved at the begining of this chapter from the New Teſtament, that James, called *the Lord's Brother*, was an Apoſtle in the higheſt acceptation of the word. Conſequently, he muſt be James the ſon of Alpheus, or Cleophas. For thoſe names ſeem to be one, differently writ.

But how he was ſo, is made out differently. They who ſay, that thoſe called our Lord's brethren were ſons of Cleophas, huſband of Marie, related to our Lord's mother, ſeem to have here no difficulty. But they who

bum, et reliquos Domini fratres, Joſephi ex priore matrimonio filios eſſe dicunt. Hæc enim ſententia magis convenit verbis Evangelii. *Valeſ. Annot. ad Euſeb. l. 2. cap. 1.*

Fuit enim Jacobus filius Joſephi, ac proinde oriundus ex ſtirpe David. *Id. in Annot. ad l. 2. cap. 23. p. 40.*

(*q*) *Voſſ. de Gen. J. C. cap. vi.*

(*r*) *Baſnag. ann. ante Chriſt. 6. num. xxviii. et xxix.*

(*s*) "He was the ſon, (as we may probably conjecture,) of Joſeph, afterwards huſband to the bleſſed virgin, and his firſt wife. Hence reputed our Lord's brother, in the ſame ſenſe, that he was reputed the ſon of Joſeph. . . Jerome, and ſome others, will have Chriſt's brethren ſo called, becauſe ſons of Mary, couſin-german, or, according to the cuſtom of the Hebrew language, ſiſter to the virgin Mary. But Euſebius, Epiphanius, and the far greater part of the ancients, (from whom, eſpecially in matters of fact, we are not raſhly to depart,) make them the children of Joſeph by a former wife. And this ſeems moſt genuine and natural, the Evangeliſts ſeeming very expreſs and accurate in the account which they give of them. *Is not this the carpenter's ſon? Is not his mother called Mary? and his brethren, James, and Joſes, and Simon, and Jude?* . . Matt. xiii. 55. 56. By which it is plain, that the Jews underſtood theſe perſons not to be Chriſt's kinſmen only, but his brothers, the ſame carpenter's ſons, having the ſame relation to him that Chriſt himſelf had: though they indeed had more. Chriſt being but his reputed, they his natural ſons." And what follows. *The Life of James the Leſs. num. 2*

(*t*) S. Jacobus apoſtolus. . . minor dictus, cognomento Juſtus, frater Domini, Joſephi utpote ex priori conjuge, ſeu ut Hieronymo placet, Mariæ ſororis matris Domini filius. *Hiſt. Lit. Tom. i. p. 14.*

who ſuppoſe our Lord's brethren to have been ſons of Joſeph by a former wife, are ſomewhat embarraſſed. However, I juſt obſerve, that the account given by (*u*) Epiphanius, is this. Cleophas and Joſeph were brothers. The former died without iſſue, and Joſeph raiſed up ſeed to his brother. Accordingly, James being the firſt-born of Joſeph, was called the ſon of Cleophas. In like manner ſpeaks (*x*) Theophylact. But, as before ſaid, I do not now form any debate about this.

That James, called our Lord's brother, is the ſame as he, who in the catalogues of the Apoſtles is called the *ſon of Alpheus*, or *Cleophas*, is allowed by Epiphanius, Chryſoſtom, and Theophylact. Epiphanius ſays, that (*y*) James, by nature the ſon of Joſeph, who was called the Lord's brother, and was an Apoſtle, was appointed the firſt Biſhop of Jeruſalem. Chryſoſtom in his comment upon Gal. i. 19. ſays, "that (*z*) Paul calls James the Lord's brother, giving him that honourable appellation, when he might have ſaid *the ſon of Cleophas*, as he is called in the Goſpels." Theophylact likewiſe ſays, "that (*a*) Paul calls him brother, by the way of honorable diſtinction: when he might have called him the ſon of Cleophas. Nor was he the Lord's brother according to the fleſh, but only thought to be ſo." I mention no more ancient writers.

And that James, called the ſon of Alpheus in the catalogues of the Apoſtles, was one of thoſe, who are called *the Lord's brethren*, I think, may be ſhewn from the Goſpels, by comparing ſeveral texts together.

In all the catalogues of the twelve Apoſtles of Chriſt the four laſt mentioned are theſe. *James the ſon of Alpheus, and Lebbeus, whoſe ſurname was Thaddeus, Simon the Canaanite, and Judas Iſcariot, who alſo betrayed him.* Matt. x. 3. 4. *James the ſon of Alpheus, and Thaddeus, and Simon the Canaanite, and Judas Iſcariot, which alſo betrayed him.* Mark iii. 18. 19. *James the ſon of Alpheus, and Simon called Zelotes, and Judas the brother of James, and Judas Iſcariot, which alſo was the traitor.* Luke vi. 15. 16. *James the ſon of Alpheus, and Simon Zelotes, and Judas the brother of James.* Acts i. 13.

Let us now compare the texts in the Goſpels, where our Lord's brethren are named. Matt. xiii. 55. *Is not this the carpenter's ſon? Is not his mother called Marie? and his brethren James, and Joſes, and Simon, and Judas?* And Mark vi. 3. *Is not this the carpenter, the ſon of Marie, the brother of James, and of Joſes, and of Judah, and Simon?*

All

(*u*) *Vid. Epiph. Hær.* 29. *n. iii. iv. H.* 51. *n. x. H.* 78. *num. vii. viii. ix. et Ancorat. num. lx.*

(*x*) Πῶς δὲ ἦν τῷ κλοπᾶ; Ἀκουε· Κλοπᾶς καὶ ἰωσὴφ ἀδελφοί. Τῷ κλοπᾶ ἀπαιδος τελευτήσαντος, ὁ ἰωσὴφ ἐξανέστησεν αὐτῷ σπέρμα, καὶ ἔτεκε τοῦτον, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας αὐτοῦ ἀδελφὰς. κ. λ. *Theoph. in Gal. i.* 19.

(*y*) . . . καταγαθέντος εὐθὺς ἰακὼβ τὸ ἀδελφῷ κυρίῳ καλουμένῳ καὶ ἀποστόλῳ ἐπισκόπῳ πρώτῳ υἱῳ ἰωσὴφ φύσει ὄντος. κ. λ. *Hær.* 29. *n. iii.*

(*z*) Εἰ γὰρ σημαῖναι ὃν ἔλεγεν ἤθελεν, ἐνῆν καὶ ἐξ ἑτέρου γνωρίσματος τοῦτο ποιῆσαι θέλον, καὶ εἰπεῖν, τὸν τοῦ κλοπᾶ, ὅπερ καὶ εὐαγγελισταὶ ἔλεγον. *Chr. in Gal. cap. i. T. x. p.* 678. *E.*

(*a*) Εἰδὲ καὶ ἰακωβον. Μετὰ τιμῆς δὲ καὶ τοῦτο μέμνηται, τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ κυρίου εἶπων, οὕτω καὶ βασκανίας ἀπήλλακτο· καίτοι εἰ ἠθέλετο σημαίνειν, εἶπεν ἂν, τὸν τοῦ κλοπᾶ· οὐδὲ γὰρ κατὰ σάρκα ἀδελφὸς ἦν τοῦ κυρίου, ἀλλ' ἐνομίζετο. *Theoph. in Gal. i.* 19.

All theſe, except Joſes, ſeem to have been Apoſtles. For muſt not the three Apoſtles, laſt mentioned before Judas Iſcariot, in the firſt catalogues, and the three laſt mentioned, in the Acts, be three of the four called in the Goſpels our Lord's brethren?

And I ſhould chooſe to tranſlate the texts of St. Luke, where the Apoſtles are named, ſomewhat differently from what is generally done, in this manner. *James the ſon of Alpheus, and Simon Zelotes, and Judas, brethren of James:* declaring, that both Simon, and Judas, were brethren of James, the ſon of Alpheus, before named. A word muſt be ſupplied. And the coherence leads me to think, *brethren* more proper than *brother*.

By all which we are led to conclude, that James, ſeveral times mentioned in the Acts, and St. Paul's epiſtles, is the ſame, who in the catalogues of the Apoſtles is called *James the ſon of Alpheus*. For James, mentioned by St. Paul, is called *the Lord's brother*, and plainly appears to be an Apoſtle. Conſequently, he is *James, the ſon of Alpheus*, mentioned in all the catalogues of the Apoſtles of Chriſt.

Wall, in his notes upon John vii. at the begining ſays: "Theſe brethren and kinſfolk of our Lord, as they were but mean perſons, ſo alſo they were ſome of the backwardeſt to believe in him. . . . They that are moſt uſually called his brethren were James, and Joſes, and Simon, and Judas. . . . Two of theſe, James and Judas, ſome learned men think to have been two of the Apoſtles. And there were two Apoſtles of thoſe names that were brethren. But this place, if they be of thoſe that are meant in it, is a ſtrong argument againſt that opinion. For theſe brethren did hardly yet believe in him. But the Apoſtles did. This was but half a year before he ſuffered."

Upon which I would obſerve. When St. John ſays ch. vii. 5. *For neither did his brethren believe in him:* he does not intend to ſay, that they had not faith in him. Grotius's comment appears to me very right. "The (*b*) meaning is not, that they did not believe at all: but that they did not believe, as they ſhould."

Learned men are certainly in the right, when they ſay, that ſome of the Lord's brethren were Apoſtles. And it ſeems to me, that all thoſe, who in the Goſpels are called our Lord's brethren, had early and always an affection and eſteem for him. This may be perceived from ſeveral places in the Goſpels, as Matt. xii. 46. Mark iii. 31. Luke viii. 19. See alſo John ii. 12. And in time they all believed in him, and that rightly, as the Meſſiah. St. Luke, in the hiſtorie of things after our Lord's aſcenſion, Acts i. 13. 14. having mentioned the names of the Apoſtles, adds: *Theſe all continued with one accord in prayer and ſupplication, with the women, and Marie the mother of Jeſus, and with his brethren.* And St. Paul 1 Cor. ix. 5. ſpeaks of *brethren of the Lord*, not Apoſtles, who labored in ſpreading the Goſpel in the world.

They, of whom St. John ſpeaks, had worldly views and expectations. They were deſirous, that Jeſus, if he were indeed the Meſſiah, ſhould go to Jeruſalem, and ſet up his kingdom in a glorious manner. Even after this ſeveral, who certainly were Apoſtles, betrayed great ignorance, or weak faith, or wrong apprehenſions, by their diſcourſes, and queſtions put

(*b*) Non omnino, non ut oportebat. *Grot. in. loc.*

put to our Saviour. Of Thomas see John xiv. 5. Of Philip see ver. 8. . . . 11. and of Judas ver. 22. 23.

Those brethren of our Lord proposed, that he should hasten to Jerusalem, to the feast of Tabernacles, nigh at hand. . . . *Jesus said to them: My time is not yet come. But your time is always readie. The world cannot hate you. But me it hateth, because I testify of it, that the works thereof are evil. Go ye up unto this feast. I go not up yet unto this feast. For my time is not yet full come.* ch. vii. 6. 7. 8. It is manifest, that he taxeth their carnalitie and worldlimindednesse. As if he had said, "It "is (*c*) not proper for me to go up to this feast, as yet, nor till after it is "begun. But you may go up at any time, since you have done little "or nothing to make the Jews unfriendly to you, as I have done: who "by the strictnesse of my doctrine, and the freedom of my reproofs, have "provoked many to a great degree."

It follows in ver. 9. 10. *When he had said these things unto them, he abode still in Galilee. But when his brethren were gone up, then went he also up unto the feast, not openly, but as it were in secret.* These words may afford, in the opinion of some, another objection to the supposition, that these brethren of our Lord were Apostles. But to me the objection appears not of much moment. Some of these brethren might nevertheless be among the Apostles, and go up to the feast before him. For our Lord seems not to have been attended by all his Apostles in that journey. So much is implied in the manner, in which it was performed. *He went not openly, but as it were in private:* in a more private manner, than he had usually done, and attended by a small number of his Apostles only, several of them having gone up to Jerusalem before him, upon occasion of the approaching solemnity.

Chrysostom seems not to have doubted, that some of the brethren of our Lord, here spoken of, were Apostles, or at least among his disciples. For discoursing on John vii. 3. 4. 5. he says: "Observe (*d*) with me the power of Christ. Of them who uttered these words, one was the first Bishop of Jerusalem, even the blessed James, of whom Paul says: *Other of the Apostles saw I none, save James the Lord's brother.* And Judas also is said to have been a wonderfull man." So says Chrysostom, who did not receive the epistle of St. Jude, so far as we can perceive, though he did that of St. James.

Why called the Less.

IX. This James is called by St. Mark, *the less*, ch. xv. 40. *There were also women looking on afar off. Among whom was Marie Magdalen, and Marie the mother of James the less, and Joses, and Salome.* That hereby is meant James, the Lord's brother, and the son of Alpheus, is generally supposed, and I think reasonably. He can be no other, because Joses is presently afterwards mentioned, as his brother, agreeably to other places of the Evangelists, where our Lord's brethren are named, Matt. xiii. 55. Mark vi. 3. But interpreters are not agreed, why he was so called.

It

(*c*) *Compare Mr. James Macnight's Harmony of the Gospels. p. 5. Vol. ii.*

(*d*) Σὺ δὲ μοι σκόπει τὸ χρισὲ τὴν δύναμιν. Ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτων τῶν ταῦτα λεγόντων τὰ ῥήματα, ὁ πρῶτος τῶν ἱεροσολύμων ἐπίσκοπος γέγονεν, ὁ μακάριος ἰάκωβος. . . . Λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὁ ἰούδας θαυμαστός τε γεγονέναι. *In Jo. hom. 48. T. 8. p. 284. D.*

It has been thought, that (*e*) herein is a reference to James the ſon of Zebedee, and brother of John, who had been beheaded by Herod in the year of Chriſt 44. And Lightfoot ſays, "that (*f*) James, or Jacob, is "commonly called *James the great*, in diſtinction from James the ſon of "Alpheus, who is called the leſs, not for any dignity, or ſuperiority of "apoſtleſhip that he had above the other, but either becauſe this James "was the elder, or becauſe of the ſingular privacy, that Chriſt admitted "him to with himſelf, as he alſo did Peter and John."

Here are ſeveral reaſons of this denomination, but though Lightfoot ſays, James the ſon of Zebedee *was commonly called James the great*, there is no inſtance of it in the New Teſtament.

It may be obſerved, that *the leſs*, in the original, is not a comparative, but a poſitive, *the little*, τῷ μικρῷ. And ſo Beza has tranſlated. Maria Jacobi parvi et Joſe mater. However in the Latin Vulgate it is Jacobi minoris. And it is evident that (*g*) Jerome ſo underſtood the word.

Gregorie Nyſſen (*h*) thought, he was called the leſs, as not being one of the twelve Apoſtles. Which reaſon I cannot admit, becauſe I am perſuaded he was an Apoſtle, if he was the Lord's brother. Nor do I perceive in the New Teſtament more than two of his name.

Some ſay, he was ſo called, becauſe he was the younger of the two Apoſtles of this name. But of this there is no proof, nor probability. For James, the ſon of Alpheus, muſt have been his father's firſt-born, and may have been as old, or older than James the ſon of Zebedee.

Some have conjectured, that (*i*) he might have been ſo called on account of his ſtature. Which conjecture is favoured by the literal ſenſe of the word in the poſitive degree, *James the little*. And ſome may be apt to think, that this was one reaſon, why the Jews at the temple, according to Hegeſippus, placed him on an eminence, that he might be heard by all the people, when aſſembled in great numbers. So Zacheus, being *little of ſtature*, and there being a great croud, climbed up into a ſycamore tree, to ſee Jeſus, as he paſſed by. Luke xviii. Perhaps, this is as likely a conjecture, as any.

Nevertheleſs I ſhall mention one more. He might be ſo called, on account of his inferiority, in compariſon of the other James. It is manifeſt,

(*e*) Puto ita dictum inter Apoſtolos ad diſcrimen Jacobi Zebedaidæ. *Grot. ad Marc. xv.* 40.

(*f*) *The third Part of the Harmony of the four Evangeliſts. Vol. i. p.* 634.

(*g*) Si non eſt Apoſtolus, ſed neſcio quis Jacobus, quomodo eſt frater Domini putandus? Et quomodo tertius ad diſtinctionem majoris appellabitur minor? quum major et minor non inter tres, ſed inter duos ſoleant præbere diſtantiam. *Adv. Helvid. p.* 138. *in.*

(*h*) Ὁ δὲ μάρκος ἰακώβου τοῦ μικροῦ καὶ ἰωσῆ μητέρα αὐτὴν εἶπεν, ἐπεὶπερ ἦν ἄλλος ἰάκωβος ὁ τῶν ἀληθάιων, διὰ τοῦτο μέγας, ὅτι τοὶς ἀποστόλοις τοῖς δώδ κα συναρίθμητο· ὁ γὰρ μικρὸς ἐκ ἦν αὐτοῖς ἐναρίθμιος. *Greg. Nyſſ. De Chriſt. Reſ. Or.* 2. *T.* 3. *p.* 413.

(*i*) Potuit etiam Jacobus parvus appellari ad corporis molem ratione habitâ: quomodo apud Romanos ob corporis affectiones Pauli, Magni, Longi, Craſſi, Claudii, Pulchri nuncupabantur. *Baſnag. ann. ante Dom.* 6. *num. xxxi.*

nifeſt, that during the time of our Lord's abode on this earth, Peter, and James, and John, the two ſons of Zebedee, were the moſt eminent and conſiderable of the diſciples. They were the moſt favored, and were admitted by our Lord to ſome ſpecial meaſure of confidence and freedom. And it is obſervable, that in all the catalogues of the Apoſtles James the ſon of Alpheus, and Simon the Canaanite, or Zelotes, and Judas, are the laſt mentioned, except Judas Iſcariot. Poſſibly theſe three, whom I ſuppoſe to have been our Lord's brethren, were the lateſt called to be Apoſtles, and for a while were defective in faith, and underſtanding, or not ſo conſiderable, and eminent, as ſome of the other Apoſtles, particularly, James the ſon of Zebedee. The queſtion put to our Lord by Judas, one of them, recorded in John xiv. 22. ſeems a remarkable inſtance of the ſlowneſſe of his underſtanding in the things of religion, under all the advantages, which he had enjoyed.

James therefore might be called *the leſs*, by way of diſtinction from another of the ſame name, who had been called to be an Apoſtle before him, and was more eminent. And yet the appellation carried not in it any reflection. This coincides with ſome things ſaid by Lightfoot above.

However, it is mentioned only as a conjecture, to be conſidered by thoſe, who are diſpoſed to do it. For I am not able to ſay with aſſurance, what was the ground and reaſon of this appellation.

Surnamed the Juſt, and other Marks of Reſpect.

X. We have ſeen divers proofs of the reſpect ſhewn to this perſon, which any one is able to recollect, and therefore they need not to be repeated. However, I ſhall here take notice of a few ſuch things.

1. He is never called Juſtus, or the Juſt, in the New Teſtament. But he ſeems to have been ſo called by many even in his life-time, as well as afterwards. Euſebius ſays, that (*k*) he was called the Juſt by the ancients on account of the eminence of his virtue. He is ſeveral times ſo called in the paſſages of Clement of Alexandria, quoted from Euſebius (*l*) ſome while agoe. Hegeſippus ſays, he (*m*) had been called the Juſt by all from our Saviour's time to his own: and afterwards, that (*n*) on account of his eminent virtue he was called the Juſt, and Oblias. He likewiſe ſays, that (*o*) the Jews at the temple called him the Juſt, as may be ſeen in the account of his death, tranſcribed above. Jerome (*p*) in the begining of his article of this perſon ſays, "that James the Lord's brother was ſurnamed the Juſt."

2. In

(*k*) Τοῦτον δὴ ὃν αὐτὸν ἰάκωβον, ὃν καὶ δίκαιον ἐπίκλην οἱ παλαιοὶ διὰ ἀρετῆς ἐκάλεσαν προτερήματα. . . . *Euſ. H. E. l.* 2. *c.* 1. *p.* 38. *B.*

(*l*) *p.* 371. 372.

(*m*) Ὁ ὀνομασθεὶς ὑπὸ πάντων δίκαιος ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ κυρίου χρόνων μέχρι καὶ ἡμῶν. *Ap. Euſeb. l.* 2. *c.* 23. *p.* 63. *D.*

(*n*) Διὰ γέτοι τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ ἐκαλεῖτο δίκαιος καὶ ὠβλίας. *Ib. p.* 64. *A.*

(*o*) . . . καὶ ἔκραξαν αὐτῷ, καὶ εἶπον. Δικαιε, ᾧ πάντες πείθεσθαι ὀφείλομεν. *Ib. D. Vid. et p.* 65. *A. et B.*

(*p*) Jacobus, qui appellatur frater Domini, cognomento Juſtus. *De V. I. cap.* 2.

2. In his commentarie upon the epiſtle to the Galatians, at ch. i. 19. he ſays, "that (*q*) James, there ſpoken of, was in ſuch eſteem for his ſanctity, that it was no uncommon thing for people to crowd about him, and ſtrive to touch the hem of his garment."

3. Euſebius ſays, that (*r*) the epiſcopal chair, in which James was uſed to ſit, was preſerved to his time, and was had in veneration by the church at Jeruſalem.

A Review of the whole.

XI. I have not been able to write the hiſtorie of this perſon ſo regularly, as that of ſome others. For which reaſon it may not be amiſs to take a ſummarie view of what we have ſeen.

James, ſometimes called the leſs, the ſon of Alpheus, and called the Lord's brother, either as being the ſon of Joſeph by a former wife, or a relation of his mother Marie, was one of Chriſt's Apoſtles, We have no account of the time, when he was called to the apoſtleſhip. Nor is there any thing ſaid of him particularly in the hiſtorie of our Saviour, which is in the Goſpels. But from the Acts, and St. Paul's epiſtles, we can perceive, that after our Lord's aſcenſion he was of note among the Apoſtles. Soon after St. Stephen's death in the year 36. or thereabout, he ſeems to have been appointed Preſident, or Superintendent in the church of Jeruſalem, where, and in Judea, he reſided the remaining part of his life. Accordingly, he preſided in the Council of Jeruſalem, held there in the year 49. or 50. He was in great repute among the Jewiſh People, both believers and unbelievers, and was ſurnamed the Juſt. Notwithſtanding which he ſuffered martyrdom in a tumult at the temple: and, probably, in the former part of the year 62. He wrote one epiſtle, not long before his death, of which we ſhall ſpeak preſently.

CHAP. XVII.

THE EPISTLE OF St. JAMES.

I. *The Evidences of it's Genuinneſſe.* II. *When writ.* III. *To whom.*

HAVING now done all I am able for clearing up the hiſtorie of this perſon, I come to conſider the epiſtle aſcribed to him.

Here I would obſerve the evidences of it's genuinneſſe, and authority, the time when, and the people to whom it was writ.

I. And

(*q*) Hic autem Jacobus epiſcopus Jeroſolymorum primus fuit, cognomento Juſtus: vir tantæ ſanctitatis et rumoris in populo, ut fimbriam veſtimenti ejus certatim cuperent attingere. *In. Gal. T. 4. p. 237. in.*

(*r*) Τὸν γὰρ ἰακώβου θρόνον τὸν πρώτου τῆς ἱεροσολύμων ἐκκλησίας . . εἰς δεῦρο πεφυλαγμένον ὑπὸ τῶν κατὰ διαδοχὴν περιέποντες ἀδελφοὶ κ. λ. *H. E. l. 7. c. 19.*

It's genuinneſſe.

I. And for the firſt point. This epiſtle ſeems to be alluded, or referred to, by Clement Biſhop of Rome. Vol. i. p. 95. . . 97. and by Hermas, p. 128. . . . 131. It is not expreſsly quoted by Irenæus. Nor are there in him any indiſputed references to it. Vol. i. p. 373. . . 378. Nor do we perceive it to be quoted by Clement of Alexandria. Vol. ii. p. 504. . . . 508. and 511. . . . 515. nor by Tertullian. p. 613. . . 616. This epiſtle is quoted once or twice by Origen, but, as of doubtfull authority, or not received by all. Vol. iii. p. 262. . . . 264. We do not obſerve any notice to be taken of this epiſtle by Cyprian. Vol. iv. p. 828. It ſeems to be referred to by Commodian, a Latin writer about the year 270. Vol. v. p. 124. It is probable, that it was received by the Manicheans, and Paulicians. Vol. vi. p. 337. 338. and p. 428. . . . 432. It ſeems to be referred to by Lactantius. vii. p. 188.

From a paſſage of Euſebius, cited in the (*a*) preceding chapter, it appears, that in his time, the begining of the fourth centurie, all the ſeven epiſtles called catholic, were well known, and received by many. And he expreſsly ſays, that the epiſtle of James was the firſt of them. And to the like purpoſe again in another paſſage to be here taken notice of by us. Having given a particular account of the death of James, called the Juſt, and the brother of the Lord, and Biſhop of Jeruſalem, he concludes the chapter in this manner. "Thus far, (*b*) ſays he, concerning James, "who is ſaid to be the writer of the firſt of the epiſtles called catholic. "But it ought to be obſerved, that it is ſpurious: [meaning that it was "a contradicted book of ſcripture, or at the utmoſt, that it was doubted "of, or rejected by many:] Foraſmuch as there are not many of the an- "cient writers, who have quoted it: as neither that called Jude's, ano- "ther of the ſeven epiſtles called catholic. However we know, that "theſe alſo are commonly uſed [or publicly read] in moſt churches, to- "gether with the reſt."

This paſſage is very ſatisfactorie. For it aſſures us, who was the writer of this epiſtle: namely James, before ſpoken of, called the Lord's brother, ſurnamed the Juſt, who generally reſided at Jeruſalem. It alſo aſſures us, that though it had been doubted of by ſome, it was then generally received, and publicly read, in the aſſemblies of Chriſtians. They who have leiſure, and are curious, may ſee what was farther obſerved by us formerly relating to the opinion of Euſebius himſelf concerning this epiſtle, and the writer of it. Vol. viii. p. 150. . . . 156.

I only add here, that this epiſtle of St. James is one of the three catholic epiſtles received by the Syrian Chriſtians, and by Chryſoſtom, and Theodoret. And that after the time of Euſebius, this and the other ſix catholic epiſtles, were received by all Greeks and Latins in general: and are in the catalogues of canonical ſcripture compoſed by Councils, and learned

(*a*) *See before. p.* 364.

(*b*) Τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἰάκωβον, ὃ ἡ πρώτη τῶν ὀνομαζομένων καθολικῶν εἶναι λέγεται. Ἰστέον δὲ ὡς νοθεύεται. Οὐ πολλοὶ γὰρ τῶν παλαιῶν αὐτῆς ἐμνημόνευσαν, ὡς οὐδὲ τῆς λεγομένης Ἰούδα, μιᾶς καὶ αὐτῆς οὔσης τῶν ἑπτὰ λεγομένων καθολικῶν. Ὅμως δὲ ἴσμεν καὶ ταύτας μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐν πλείσταις δεδημοσιευμένας ἐκκλησίαις. *H. E. l.* 2. *cap.* 23. *p.* 66. *Comp. Vol. viii. p.*

learned authors. As was ſhewn in a foregoing chapter. However, there might be ſtill ſome few, who doubted of it's authority, eſpecially in the Eaſt, as was obſerved Vol. xi. p. 298. 299.

This epiſtle was received by Jerome, as was diſtinctly and largely ſhewn in his article, Vol. x. p. 125. . . . 129. Who in one place ſays: "The (*c*) apoſtles, James, Peter, John, Jude, writ ſeven epiſtles, of few words, but full of ſenſe." It may nevertheleſs be worth the while to recollect here particularly what he ſays of it in his book of Illuſtrious Men, tranſcribed there at p. 125. "James, the Lord's brother, . . . wrote but "one epiſtle, which is among the ſeven catholic epiſtles. Which (*d*) "too is ſaid to have been publiſhed by another in his name. But gra- "dually, in proceſſe of time it has gained authority. This is he, of "whom Paul writes in his epiſtle to the Galatians. And he is often "mentioned in the Acts of the Apoſtles."

Which likewiſe, ſays Jerome, *is ſaid to have been publiſhed by another in his name:* that is, even that one epiſtle is ſaid by ſome to be ſpurious, and not really writ by James, though it bears his name. But I do not believe, there is reaſon to think, that was ever ſaid by any. And I am perſuaded, that what Jerome ſays here is owing to a miſtake of his, not rightly underſtanding Euſebius. Who, as may be remembered, ſays: "This James is ſaid to be the author of the firſt of the epiſtles called catholic. But (*e*) it ought to be obſerved, that it is ſpurious." By which Jerome underſtood Euſebius to ſay, that this epiſtle was falſly aſcribed to James, and was not his. Whereas Euſebius means no more, than that it was a contradicted book, not received by all as of authority: or at the utmoſt, that it was doubted of, or rejected by many. This I ſuppoſe to have been clearly ſhewn before. See Vol. viii. p. 112. . . . 121. and alſo p. 155, 156. (A).

The reaſon why this epiſtle was not received by all, I ſuppoſe to have been, that it was not certainly known, that James, the writer of it, was an Apoſtle. We have obſerved ſeveral ancient writers, who did not allow him to have that high character. There were two Apoſtles, of this name: James the ſon of Zebedee, and James the ſon of Alpheus. That the writer of this epiſtle was not James the ſon of Zebedee, muſt have been evident. Nor was it certain, that he was the ſon of Alpheus. Another reaſon of doubting of his apoſtleſhip may have been, that he was often called Biſhop of Jeruſalem, and ſaid by ſome to have been appointed to that office by the Apoſtles. This alſo may have contributed to the doubt, whether he was one of the twelve Apoſtles of Chriſt.

Other reaſons have been aſſigned in late ages, why ſome might heſitate about receiving this epiſtle as a part of canonical ſcripture. But thoſe reaſons are not to be found in the moſt early antiquity. Whereas we can plainly perceive, that not a few learned Chriſtians

(*c*) *Vol. x. p. 77.*

(*d*) Quæ et ipſa ab alio quodam ſub nomine ejus edita aſſeritur.

(*e*) ἰστέον δὲ ὡς νοθεύεται μὴν. *H. E. l. 2. cap. 23. p. 66. C.*

(A) *I likewiſe refer to Dr. Leonard Twells's Examination of the late new Text and Verſion of the N. T. Part. 2. ch. 2. p. 82. Who ſpeaks to the like purpoſe.*

tians of the firſt ages were not ſatisfied, the writer was an Apoſtle. Which muſt have occaſioned a demur concerning the high authority of the epiſtle.

If this James was not one of the twelve Apoſtles, he was nevertheleſs a perſon of great diſtinction, as he was the Lord's brother, and reſided many years at Jeruſalem after our Lord's aſcenſion, as preſident, or ſuperintendent of the church there, and of the Jewiſh believers in Judea in general. Accordingly, Euſebius, who did not think this James to be one of the twelve Apoſtles, in his Commentarie upon Iſaiah, reckons fourteen Apoſtles, meaning Paul, and this James, though not equal to him. See Vol. viii. p. 153. 154. And Jerome likewiſe, in one place formerly taken notice of, reckons this James, brother of the Lord, an additional Apoſtle with Paul, beſide the twelve. Vol. x. p. 128.

But I think it manifeſt, that James, the Lord's brother, who reſided at Jeruſalem, ſeveral times mentioned in the Acts of the Apoſtles, and in St. Paul's epiſtles, was an Apoſtle, one of the twelve, and conſequently the ſame with him, who is called the ſon of Alpheus. And as this epiſtle has been all along aſcribed to James, the Lord's brother, ſurnamed the Juſt, I receive it as a part of ſacred ſcripture, and think, it ought to be ſo received.

When writ. II. Concerning the time of this epiſtle, there cannot be very different apprehenſions.

Mill (*f*) ſays, it was writ before the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and a year or two before his own death, about the year 60. Which is alſo the opinion of (*g*) Fabricius.

But that appears to me rather too ſoon. If St. James ſuffered martyrdom in the year 62. I ſhould be inclined to think, this epiſtle was writ in the begining of that year, or in 61. and but a ſhort time befor his death.

Euſebius ſays: "When (*h*) Paul had appealed to Ceſar, and had been ſent to Rome by Feſtus, the Jews who had aimed at his death, being diſappointed in that deſign, turned their rage againſt James, the Lord's brother, who had been appointed by the Apoſtles Biſhop of Jeruſalem." In like manner Tillemont adopting that thought, ſays: "St. Paul (*i*) having been ſent to Rome, near the end of the year 60. by Feſtus, Governour of Judea, the Jews finding themſelves not able to accompliſh their deſign againſt him, turned their rage againſt James. Nevertheleſs they did not ſhew it, till eighteen months after, when Feſtus being dead, and Albinus, who ſucceeded him, not being yet arrived, the province was without a Governour."

That

(*f*) De tempore, quo ſcripta eſt, certum eſt in primis exaratum fuiſſe ante excidium Hieroſolymitanum. De hoc enim, ut et de generali Judæorum calamitate, veluti jam imminente, loquitur. cap. v. 1. Jam vero Jacobus ſtatim poſt Feſti mortem martyrium obiit, teſte Joſepho, anno æræ vulgaris, ex rationibus Pearſonianis, quas libenter ſequor, lxii, adeoque uno vel altero ante mortem, ſcriptam cenſuerim hanc epiſtolam circa annum lx. *Prol. num.* 56.

(*g*) *Bib. Gr. l.* 4. *cap. v. n. ix. Tom.* 3. *p.* 165.

(*h*) *H. E. l.* 2. *cap.* 23. *in.*

(*i*) *S. Jacque'le Mineur. Art. vii. Mem. Tom. i.*

That the Jews were much vexed, when Paul was sent to Rome, and had thus escaped out of their hands, is very reasonably supposed. But that their vexation upon that account was the occasion of the death of James is mere conjecture. Nor does any thing like it appear in the accounts of his death, which Eusebius has transcribed from Hegesippus, and Josephus.

If I likewise may be allowed to mention a conjecture, (which is at least as probable, as that just taken notice of,) I should say, I am apt to think, that the death of James was partly occasioned by the offence taken at his epistle: in which are not only sharp reprehensions of the unbelieving Jews for the crimes committed by them, but also affecting representations of the dreadful calamities coming upon them. Chap. iv. . . 1. 8. v. 1. . . 6.

III. I am now to consider, to whom this epistle was sent. *To whom.*

Beza says, it (*k*) was sent to the believing Jews, dispersed all over the world. Cave (*l*) seems to say, to believing Jews chiefly. And (*m*) to the like purpose Fabricius. Grotius (*n*) says, to all the people of Israel living out of Judea. Wall's account of this epistle is this: "It (*o*) was written to such Jews, (being now Christians,) as were dispersed abroad out of Judea. . . . This epistle consists of general exhortations to piety, patience, and other moral virtues. It has twice or thrice mentioned our Saviour: but has nothing of his miracles, or teachings, or death, or resurrection, or our redemption by him: of which Paul's, and Peter's, and John's epistes are full."

To me it seems, that this epistle was writ to all Jews descendents of Jacob, of every denomination, throughout the world, in Judea, and out of it. For such is the inscription: *James, a servant of God, and of the Lord Jesus Christ, to the twelve tribes which are scattered abroad, greeting.* No expression can be more general than *the twelve tribes*. There is not any limitation, restraining it to Christians, or believers in Jesus. Nor does he with them grace or peace from Jesus Christ. It is only a general salutation, or greeting. Indeed he does not dissemble his own character. He calls himself *a servant of God, and of the Lord Jesus Christ*. He takes upon himself the character of a Christian, and, perhaps, of an Apostle. But he does not so characterize those, to whom he writes. Nor is there any Christian benediction at the end of the epistle.

Nor can I see, why *the twelve tribes scattered abroad* should not comprehend those of them in Judea, which were the peculiar charge of the

(*k*) . . . fidelibus omnibus Judæis, cujuscunque tribus sint, per orbem terrarum dispersis. *Bez. ad cap. i.* 1.

(*l*) Scripsit, Paullo, ut videtur, ante mortem, epistolam catholicam Judæis ἐν διασπορᾷ, Christianam præcipue doctrinam professis. *Cav. H. L. in Jacobo.*

(*m*) Ad Judæos maxime Christianismum amplexos, qui usquequaque dispersi degebant. *Ubi supr. p.* 160.

(*n*) Id est, gente Israelitica qui erant extra Judæam. *Gr. ad loc.*

(*o*) *Crit. Notes upon the N. T. p.* 144.

the writer. And divers things in the epiſtle ſeem to belong to them eſpecially. He means therefore the people of the twelve tribes every where, in Judea, and out of it.

A large part of the epiſtle is ſuitable to Chriſtians. But there are divers paragraphs, that muſt be underſtood, to be addreſſed to unbelieving Jews, particularly ch. v. 1. . . . . 6. as is generally allowed. I think likewiſe, that the firſt ten verſes of ch. iv. are addreſſed to unbelieving Jews. Where it is ſaid: *Whence come wars and fightings among you? Come they not hence, even of your luſts, that war in your members? Ye luſt, and have not. Ye kill, and deſire to have, and cannot obtain. Yet fight and war.* Theſe things could not be ſaid to Chriſtians. They muſt relate to thoſe diſturbances, which, ſome while before the Roman war broke out, were every where among the unbelieving Jews.

I am of opinion, that this way of writing was choſen to abate the offenſe, which the reproofs, and exhortations, and warnings of the epiſtle were likely to occaſion. St. James writes in a general way. Let all apply to themſelves thoſe things which belong to them. Wall's note upon ch. v. 6. is to this effect: "This is ſpoken, not to the Chriſtians, but to ſome rich Heathens, or infidel Jews, that oppreſſed and murdered them. No Chriſtians of thoſe times had any wars, or fightings, ſuch as ch. iv. 1. or *killing*, as here: viz. not in the time of James, Biſhop of Jeruſalem."

And ſays Whitby upon ch. iv. 1. "*Whence come wars?* This epiſtle ſeems to have been writ about the 8. of Nero, and the 62. of Chriſt, the year before the death of James: before which time the Jews had great wars and fightings, not only with their neighbours, [See note upon Matt. xxiv. 6.] but even among themſelves, in every citie and familie, ſaith Joſephus: nor only in Judea, but in Alexandria, and Syria, and many other places." A very proper note upon the text, as ſeems to me. And what he ſays upon the following verſes of that chapter, and upon ch. v. 1. . . . 6. and in his preface to the epiſtle ſect. v. and. vi. deſerves alſo attentive regard. Where indeed he expreſsly ſays: "Since James writes "to the whole *twelve tribes*, I doubt not but thoſe of Paleſtine muſt be "included."

Mr. Pyle (*p*) has ſpoken clearly to the like purpoſe in the preface to his Paraphraſe of this epiſtle.

I ſhall now tranſcribe a part of Venerable Bede's note upon the beginning of this epiſtle. From the words, *ſcattered abroad*, he is led to think of what is ſaid Acts viii. 1. that upon occaſion of the perſecution againſt the church at Jeruſalem after the death of Stephen, *they were all ſcattered abroad*

(*p*) "Theſe circumſtances gave occaſion to this Apoſtle, the Reſidentiarie of the circumciſion in Judea, to endite this epiſtle, partly to the infidel, and partly to the believing Jews. . . . It was directed to the Jews and Jewiſh converts of the diſperſion. Yet, as that to the Hebrews was intended for the general benefit of all the ſcattered tribes, though directed to the natives of the holy land: ſo, no doubt, this had an equal reſpect to them, over whom James immediately preſided, in the ſpecial character of their Biſhop." *Pyle's Paraphraſe. vol. ii. p.* 290, 291.

abroad throughout the regions of Judea, and Samaria, except the Apoſtles, and ſays, "that (*q*) James writes this epiſtle to thoſe who were ſcattered abroad, and ſuffered perſecution for the ſake of righteouſneſſe: nor to them only, but alſo to thoſe, who though they had believed in Chriſt, were not careful to be perfect in good works, as what follows in the epiſtle plainly ſhews: and likewiſe to ſuch as continued unbelieving, and to the utmoſt of their power perſecuted thoſe who believed." Which appears to me very right.

CHAP. XVIII.

ST. PETER.

I. *His Hiſtorie to the Time of our Saviour's Aſcenſion.* II. *To the Council of Jeruſalem, in the year* 49. III. *He goes to Antioch, where he is reproved by St. Paul for Diſſimulation.* IV. *His Travels, and the Time of his coming to Rome.* V. *The Time of his Death.* VI. *Several Things, hitherto omitted, or but lightly touched upon.* 1. *His Epiſcopate at Antioch.* 2. *his having been five and twenty Years Biſhop of Rome.* 3. *his Children.* 4. *his Wife's Martyrdom.* 5. *his abſconding at Rome.* 6. *the Manner of his Crucifixion.* VII. *That he was at Rome, and ſuffered Martyrdom there.*

His Hiſtorie to the Time of our Saviour's Aſcenſion.

I. "THE land of Paleſtine, ſays (*a*) Cave, at and before the coming of our Bleſſed Saviour, was diſtinguiſhed into three ſeveral provinces, Judea, Samaria, and Galilee. This laſt was divided into the Upper and the Lower. In the Upper, called alſo *Galilee of the Gentils*, within the diviſion, belonging to the tribe of Naphtali, ſtood Bethſaida, formerly an obſcure and inconſiderable village, till lately re-edified, (*b*) and enlarged by Philip the Tetrarch, and in honour of Julia daughter of Auguſtus called by him Julias. It was ſituated upon the banks of the ſea of Galilee, called alſo the ſea of Tiberias, and the lake of Genneſareth, which (*c*) was about forty furlongs in breadth, and a hundred in length, and had a wilderneſſe on the other ſide,

(*q*) Legimus, occiſo a Judæis B. Stephano, quia facta eſt in illa die perſecutio magna, in eccleſiâ, quæ eſt Hieroſolymis, et omnes diſperſi ſunt per regiones Judææ et Samariæ, præter Apoſtolos. His ergo diſperſis, qui perſecutionem paſſi ſunt propter juſtitiam, mittit epiſtolam. Nec ſolum his, verum etiam illis, qui percepta fide Chriſti necdum operibus perfecti eſſe curabant, ſicut ſequentia epiſtolæ plane teſtantur: necnon et his, qui etiam fidei exortes durabant, quin et ipſam in credentibus, quantum valuëre, perſequi ac perturbare ſtudebant. *Bed. Expoſ. ſuper Jacob. Epiſt.*

(*a*) *Life of St. Peter. Sect. i.*
(*b*) *Joſeph. Antiq. l.* 18. *cap.* 3. *al.* 2. *in.*
(*c*) *Id. de B. J. l.* 3. *cap.* 10. *al.* 18.

ſide, called the deſert of Bethſaida, whither our Saviour uſed often to retire."

At this place was born (*d*) Simon, ſurnamed Cephas, or Petros, Petrus, Peter, ſignifying a ſtone, or rock. He was a fiſherman upon the forementioned lake, or ſea: as was alſo, in all probability, his father Jonas, Jonah, or John. He had a brother, named Andrew. Which was the oldeſt of the two, is not certain. For concerning this there were different opinions among the ancients. Epiphanius (*e*) ſuppoſed Andrew to be the elder. But according to Chryſoſtom (*f*) Peter was the firſtborn. So likewiſe (*g*) Bede, and (*h*) Caſſian, who even makes Peter's age the ground of his precedence among the Apoſtles. And Jerome himſelf has expreſſed himſelf in the like manner, ſaying, "that (*i*) the keys were given to all the Apoſtles alike, and the Church was built upon all of them equally. But for preventing diſſenſion, precedence was given to one. John might have been the perſon. But he was too young. And Peter was preferred upon account of his age."

St. John (*k*) has informed us of the firſt acquaintance of Simon Peter with Jeſus: to whom he was introduced by his brother Andrew. *He findeth his own brother Simon, and ſaith unto him: We have found the Meſſiah. And he brought him to Jeſus. And when Jeſus beheld him, he ſaid: Thou art Simon the ſon of Jonas. Thou ſhalt be called Cephas.*

Undoubtedly, they had been from the begining among thoſe, who are ſaid to have *looked for the kingdom of God, and waited for redemption in Iſrael.* Andrew had received Jeſus as the Meſſiah. And his brother Simon readily concurred in the ſame belief and profeſſion. They had heard John, and, as may be ſuppoſed, had been baptized by him, as all Jews in general were. Being from his teſtimonie, and by perſonal converſation with Jeſus convinced, that he was the Meſſiah, it is likely, that henceforward they often came to him, and heard him, and ſaw ſome of the miracles done by him. We may take it for granted, that they were preſent at the miracle at Cana in Galilee: it being expreſsly ſaid, that *Jeſus and his diſciples were invited to the marriage-ſolemnity* in that place. John ii. 1. 2. It is alſo ſaid ver. 11. *This begining of miracles did Jeſus in*

(*d*) *John i.* 44. (*e*) *H.* 51. *num. xvii.*
(*f*) *Hom. in Matt.* 58. *al.* 59. *T.* 7. *p.* 586. *D.*
(*g*) *In Evang. Joann. cap. i.*
(*h*) Interroganti ergo Domino Jeſu Chriſto, quem eum crederent. . . reſpondit primus Apoſtolorum Petrus, unus utique pro omnibus. Idem enim unius habuit reſponſio, quod habeat [f. habebat] omnium fides. Sed primum debuit reſpondere, ut idem eſſet ordo reſponſionis, qui erat honoris, et ipſe antecederet confeſſione, qui antecedebat ætate. *Caſſian. de Incarn. l.* 3. *cap.* 12. *ap. Bib. P. P. Tom.* 7.
(*i*) At dicis, ſuper Petrum fundatur Eccleſia: licet id ipſum in alio loco ſuper omnes Apoſtolos fiat, et cuncti claves regni cœlorum accipiant: et ex æquo ſuper eos Eccleſiæ fortitudo ſolidetur: tamen propterea inter duodecim unus eligitur, ut, capite conſtituto, ſchiſmatis tollatur occaſio. Sed cur non Joannes electus eſt virgo? Ætati delatum eſt, quia Petrus ſenior erat: ne adhuc adoleſcens, ac pene puer, progreſſæ ætatis hominibus præferretur. *Adv. Jovin. l. i. T.* 4. *p.* 168.
(*k*) *Ch. i.* 35. . . 42.

in Cana of Galilee, and manifeſted forth his glorie. And his diſciples believed on him: that is, were confirmed in the perſuaſion, that he was the Meſſiah.

The call of Andrew and Peter to a ſtated attendance on Jeſus is recorded by (*l*) three Evangeliſts. Their father, Jonas, ſeems to have been dead. For there is no mention of him, as there is of Zebedee, when his two ſons were called. It is only ſaid of Andrew and Peter, that when Jeſus called them, *they left their nets, and followed him.* At that time Jeſus made them a magnificent promiſe. *Follow me,* ſaid he, *and I will make you fiſhers of men.* "In time you will be qualified by me to "gain men, and to recover them, in great numbers, from ignorance "and errour, follie and vice, and form them to juſt ſentiments in reli-"gion, and the practice of virtue."

From this time they uſually attended on our Lord. And (*m*) when he compleated the number of his Apoſtles, they were put among them.

Having before writ the hiſtorie of St. John at large, I need not be ſo particular in that of Peter, becauſe theſe two Apoſtles were much together. However, I intend to take notice of the moſt remarkable things in his life, eſpecially after our Saviour's aſcenſion.

Simon Peter was married, when called by our Lord to attend upon him. And upon occaſion of that alliance, as it ſeems, had removed from Bethſaida to Capernaum, where was his wife's familie. Upon (*n*) her mother our Saviour in a very gracious manner wrought a great miracle of healing.

And I ſuppoſe, that when our Lord *left Nazareth, and came and dwelled at Capernaum,* (as mentioned Matt. iv. 13.) he made Peter's houſe (*o*) the place of his uſual abode, when he was in thoſe parts. I think, we have a proof of it in the hiſtorie juſt taken notice of. When Jeſus came out of the ſynagogue at Capernaum, *he entered into Simon's houſe.* Luke iv. 38. Comp. Mark i. 29. Which is well paraphraſed by Dr. Clarke: "Now when Jeſus came out of the ſynagogue, he went home to Peter's houſe." And there it was that the people reſorted unto him in the evening. Luke iv. 40. Matt. viii. 16. Mark i. 32. . . . 34.

Another proof of this we have in a hiſtorie, which is in St. Matthew only. ch. xvii. 24. . . . 27. of our Lord's paying at Capernaum the tribute-money for the uſe of the temple, and his directing Peter, when he had found a piece of money, in the manner there preſcribed, to pay it for both of them. The text is to this purpoſe. *And when they were come to Capernaum, they that received the tribute-money, came to Peter, and ſaid: Doth not your maſter pay tribute? He ſaith: Yes. And when he was come into the houſe, Jeſus prevented him.* . . . The begining of that account at

(*l*) *Matt. iv.* 18. . . 20. *Mark i.* 16. . . 18. *Luke v.* 1. . . . 9.

(*m*) *Matt. x.* 1. . . . 4. *Mark iii.* 13. . . . 19. *Luke vi.* 12. . . 16.

(*n*) *Matt. viii.* 14. 15. *Mark i.* 29. . . 31. *Luke iv.* 38. 39.

(*o*) It is called *Peter's houſe.* Matt. viii. 14. *Simon's houſe.* Luke iv. 38. *the houſe of Simon and Andrew.* Mark i. 29.

at ver. 24. is thus paraphrased by Dr. Clarke. "Now when they were "come home to Capernaum, where Jesus used to dwell, the officers, "appointed to gather the yearly offering for the service of the temple, "came to Peter."

After the miracle of the five loaves, and two fishes, *straitway Jesus constrained his disciples to get into a ship, and to go before him to the other side, whilst he sent the multitudes away.* In their passage they met with a contrarie wind. *In the fourth watch of the night*, near morning, *Jesus came toward them, walking on the sea.* And there not being yet light enough, to know who he was, they were affrighted, thinking it had been an apparition, and cried out for fear. Jesus then spake to them, and they knew him. After which follows a particular concerning Peter, related by St. Matthew only. "*Peter* (*p*) *answered him, and said: Lord, if it be thou, bid me come unto thee on the water. And he said: Come. And when Peter was come down out of the ship, he walked on the water, to go to Jesus. But when he saw the sea boisterous, he was afraid. And begining to sink, he cried, saying: Lord, save me. And immediatly Jesus stretched forth his hand, and caught him. . . . And when he was come into the ship, the wind ceased.*" Peter at first presumed too much upon the strength of his faith, and was forward to shew his zeal. However, this must in the end have been of use to confirm his faith. He had here great and sensible experience of the knowledge, as well as the power of Jesus. As soon as his faith failed, our Lord suffered him to sink. And upon his calling for help, Jesus immediatly stretched out his hand, and saved him.

The next day our Lord preached in the synagogue at Capernaum, as related by St. John. ch. vi. 24. . . . 65. where many, who expected from the Messiah a worldly kingdom, were offended at his discourse. And it is said ver. 66. . . . 69. *From that time many of his disciples*, who had hitherto followed him, and professed faith in him, *went back, and walked no more with him. Then said Jesus unto the twelve: Will ye also go away? Then Simon Peter answered him: Lord, to whom should we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life. And we know, and are sure, that thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.*

Some time after this, when our Lord had an opportunity of private conversation with the disciples, he inquired of them, what men said of him, and then, whom they thought him to be? *Simon Peter answered, and said: Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.* Matt. xvi. 13. . . 16. So far likewise in Mark viii. 27. . . . 29. and Luke ix. 18. . . . 20. Then follows in Matthew ver. 17. . . . 19. *And Jesus answered, and said unto him: Blessed art thou, Simon Bar Jona. For flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven.* That is: "It is not a partial affection for me, thy master, nor a fond and incon- "siderate regard to the judgements of others, for whom thou hast a re- "spect, that has induced thee to think thus of me. But it is a just per- "suasion, formed in thy mind by observing the great works, which "thou hast seen me do by the power of God, in the confirmation of "my mission and doctrine." *And I say unto thee: Thou art Peter, and upon*

(*p*) *Matt. xiv.* 28. . . . 31.

upon this rock will I build my Church. . . . And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven. By which many interpreters ſuppoſe, that (a) our Lord promiſed to Peter, that he ſhould have the honour of begining to preach the goſpel, after his reſurrection, to Jews and Gentils, and of receiving them into the Church. If ſo, that is perſonal. Nevertheleſs, what follows: *And whatſoever thou ſhalt bind on earth, ſhall be bound in heaven. And whatſoever thou ſhalt looſe on earth, ſhall be looſed in heaven.* This, I ſay, muſt have been the privilege of all the Apoſtles. For the like things are expreſsly ſaid to them. Luke xxii. 29. 30. John xx. 21. 22. Moreover, all the Apoſtles concurred with Peter in the firſt preaching both to Jews and Gentils. As he was Preſident in the college of the Apoſtles, it was very fit, and a thing of courſe, that he ſhould be primarily concerned in the firſt opening of things. The confeſſion, now particularly before us, was made by him. But it was in anſwer to a queſtion, that had been put to all. And he ſpoke the ſenſe of all the Apoſtles, and in their name. I ſuppoſe this to be as true in this inſtance, as in the other, before taken notice of, which is in John vi. 68. 69.

In the account, which St. John has given of our Saviour's waſhing the diſciples feet, Peter's modeſtie and fervour are conſpicuous. John xiii. 1. 10.

When (q) the Jewiſh officers were about to apprehend our Lord, *Peter having a ſword, drew it, and ſmote a ſervant of the High-Prieſt, and cut off his right ear.* Our Lord having checked Peter, touched the ſervant's ear, and healed him. So great is Jeſus every where!

They that laid hold of Jeſus, led him away to the houſe of Caiaphas. The reſt of the diſciples now forſook their Maſter, and fled. *But Peter followed him afar off unto the High-Prieſt's palace, and went in, and ſat with the ſervants, to ſee the end.* Here Peter thrice diſowned his Lord, peremptorily denying, that he was one of his diſciples, or had any knowledge of him, as related by (r) all the Evangeliſts. For which he ſoon after humbled himſelf, and wept bitterly.

We do not perceive, that Peter followed our Lord any farther, or that he at all attended the crucifixion. It is likely, that he was under too

(a) Dr. Clarke is very ſingular in his paraphraſe of that text. Matt. xvi. 18. "You ſhall be the firſt preacher of my true religion to the Gentil world." And ver. 19. "You ſhall firſt open the kingdom of the Meſſiah, and make the firſt publication of the goſpel to the Gentils." Upon both verſes alſo referring to Acts x. When I firſt obſerved this, I was ſurpriſed. Nor could I ſee the ground of it. But now I gueſs, that he confined this perſonal privilege to Peter's firſt preaching to Gentils at the houſe of Cornelius, becauſe Peter was then alone, and none of the Apoſtles were there with him: whereas, after the pouring out of the Holy Ghoſt, all the Apoſtles were preſent with him, as it is ſaid, Acts ii. 14. *But Peter, ſtanding up with the eleven, lift up his voice. . . .*

(q) *John xviii.* 10. 11. *Matt. xxvi.* 51. . . 54. *Mark xiv.* 46. 47. *Luke xxii.* 50. 51.

(r) *Matt. xxvi.* 51. . . 71. *Mark. xiv.* 53. . . 72. *Luke xxii.* 55. . . 62. *John xviii.* 15. . . 27.

too much concern of mind, to appear in public, and that he chose retirement, as most suitable to his present temper and circumstance.

On (*s*) the first day of the week, early in the morning, when Marie Magdalen, and other women came to the sepulchre, bringing the sweet spices, which they had prepared, *they saw an angel, who said unto them: Be not affrighted. Ye seek Jesus, who was crucified. He is not here. For he is risen. . . . Go quickly, and tell his disciples, that he is risen from the dead:* as in Matthew. *Tell his disciples, and Peter,* as in Mark. *And behold, he goes before you into Galilee.* That was a most gracious disposal of Providence, to support the disciples, Peter in particular, under their great affliction.

Our Lord first shewed himself to Marie Magdalen, and afterwards to some other women. On the same day likewise, on which he arose from the dead, he shewed himself to Peter, though the circumstances of this appearance are no where related. However it is evident from Luke xxiv. 33. 34. For when the two disciples, who had been at Emmaus, *returned to Jerusalem, they found the eleven gathered together, and those that were with them, saying: the Lord is risen indeed, and has appeared unto Simon.* That must be the same appearance, which is mentioned by St. Paul. 1 Cor. xv. 5. *and that he was seen of Cephas, then of the twelve.* And it has been observed, that as Marie Magdalen was the first woman, so (*t*) Peter was the first man, to whom Jesus shewed himself after he was risen from the dead.

In the xxi. chapter of St. John's Gospel are some appearances of our Lord to his disciples, in which Peter is greatly interested, to which the attentive reader is referred. Our Lord there graciously affords Peter an opportunity of making a threefold profession of love for him. Which he accepts, and renews to him the apostolical commission, and as it were re-instates him in his high and important office: requiring him, as the best testimonie of love for his Lord, to feed his sheep with fidelity and tenderness. And notwithstanding his late unsteadiness, our Lord encourageth this disciple to hope, that in his future conduct he would set an example of resolution and fortitude under great difficulties, and at length glorify God by his death, in the service, to which he had been appointed.

As we have now proceeded in the historie of this Apostle to the time of our Lord's ascension, it may be worth the while to look back, and observe those things in the Gospels, which imply his peculiar distinction, or at least are honourable to him.

By Mark ch. v. 37. and Luke viii. 51. we are assured, that Peter was one of the three disciples, whom our Lord admitted to be present at the raising of Jairus's daughter. That particular is not mentioned by Matthew. ch. ix. 18. . . . 26. From all the first three Evangelists we know, that Peter was one of the three, whom our Lord took up with him into the mountain, where he was gloriously transformed. Matt. xvii. 1. Mark ix. 2. Luke ix. 28. He was also one of the three, whom our

(*s*) *Matt. xxviii. Mark xvi. Luke xxiv. John xx.*

(*t*) . . . ἀλλ' ἐν ἀνδράσι τούτῳ πρώτῳ τῷ μάλιστα αὐτὸν ποθοῦντι ἰδεῖν. *Chrys. in 1 Cor. hom. 38. Tom. x.*

our Lord took with him apart from the other disciples, when he retired to prayer, a little before his last sufferings. As we know from Matt. xxvi. 37. Mark xiv. 23. But that particular is omitted by Luke ch. xxii. 39. . . . 46.

And if it might not be reckoned too minute and particular, I would observe some things of this kind, mentioned by one Evangelist only.

There are several such things deserving notice in St. Matthew. 1. In the catalogue of the Apostles Matthew only (*u*) calls Peter *chief*, or *the first*. ch. x. 2. He only has the account of Peter's desiring to come to Christ upon the water, and what follows. ch. xiv. 28. . . . 31. 3. He alone has recorded what our Lord said to Peter, when he gave him the keys of the kingdom of heaven. ch. xiv. 16. . . . 19. 4. He only relates our Lord's paying the tribute-money for Peter. ch. xvii. 24. . . . 31. 5. He likewise says, that after Peter had denied Christ, *he wept bitterly*. ch. xxvi. 75.

In St. Mark are chiefly two things to be observed, as honorable to Peter. The first is, that he was one of the four Apostles, to whom our Lord addressed himself, when he foretold the destruction of the temple, and the calamities attending it. Mark xiii. 3. The other is, that in the message, sent by the angel to the disciples after our Lord's resurrection, Peter is particularly named. ch. xvi. 7.

In St. Luke are these things remarkable. First, that when our Lord warned Peter of his danger, he also assured him, *he had prayed for him, that his faith might not fail*. Luke xxii. 31. 32. Secondly, we perceive from St. Luke, that our Lord appeared to Peter in particular on the day of his resurrection, though the circumstances of that appearance are not recorded. ch. xxiv. 33. 34.

In St. John's Gospel are divers things honourable to Peter. 1. The profession of faith in Christ, related John vi. 67. . . . 69. 2. Peter's remarkable humility, expressed in an unwillingness, that Jesus should wash his feet, with our Lord's particular discourse to him. ch. xiii. 6. . . 10. 3. Peter's zeal in cutting off the ear of the High-Priest's servant is related by other Evangelists. But St. John only mentions Peter by name. ch. xviii. 10. 4. It is, I think, honorable to Peter, that when he and John went together to the sepulchre, John, only *stooping down*, looked in: but Peter went in, and searched the sepulchre. After which John also went in. ch. xx. 4. . . . 8. 5. St. John only mentions Peter's faith and zeal in *casting himself into the sea*, to go to Christ. ch. xxi. 7. 6. Our Lord's discourse with Peter concerning his love to him, and his particular repeated charge, to *feed his sheep*. ver. 15. . . . 17. 7. Our Lord's predicting to Peter his martyrdom, and the manner of it. ver. 18. 19.

It is observable, that Matthew and John, the two Apostles, have mentioned more of these prerogatives of Peter, than the other two Evangelists. We may hence conclude, that the Apostles, when illuminated by the Spirit with the knowledge of the true nature of Christ's kingdom, were

(*u*) Πρῶτος σίμων ὁ λεγόμενος πέτρος.

were quite free from envie, and that Peter was not assuming and arrogant among his brethren.

It may be here observed likewise, that as our sacred historians were not envious, so neither were they fond and partial. The several advantages and virtues of Peter are recorded by some only. But his fault in denying Christ, when under prosecution, is related by all.

. . . to the Council of Jerusalem in the year 49.

II. In a short time after our Lord's ascension Peter, as president in the college of the Apostles, proposed, that in the room of Judas another should be chosen out of the men that had accompanied them during the time that Jesus had been with them. And when two such had been nominated, and they had by prayer appealed to God, *who knows the hearts of all men, the lot fell upon Matthias. And he was numbered with the eleven Apostles.* Acts i. 15. . . . 26.

I have here, and elsewhere, spoken of Peter, as presiding among the Apostles, or having a primacie of order. For it appears in what has been just mentioned, and in other things related afterwards. And it is observable, that in all the catalogues of the twelve Apostles Peter is named first, though there is some variety in the order of the names of the other Apostles. I might add, that (*x*) where ever the three disciples, Peter, James, and John, are mentioned together, Peter is always put first, though there is a variety in the order of the names of those two brothers, James and John, sons of Zebedee. He is also first placed, where (*y*) four are named, Andrew being added to them. And likewise where (*z*) only he and John are mentioned. There is an exception in Gal. ii. 9. where the order is James, Cephas, and John. The reason of which I take to be, that (*a*) James, there mentioned, then presided in the church of Jerusalem, where Paul then was. I place below (*b*) the thoughts of *Basnage*

(*x*) *See Mark v.* 37. *and Luke viii.* 51. *Matt. xvii.* 1. *Mark ix.* 2. *Luke ix.* 28. *Matt. xxvi.* 37. *Mark xiv.* 33.

(*y*) *See Mark xiii.* 3.

(*z*) *Luke xxii.* 8. *Acts iii.* 1. *iv.* 13. 19. *viii.* 14.

(*a*) *See before, p.* 373.

(*b*) Ordinis primatum quod attinet, illum a Petro abjudicari non posse censemus, si qua fides evangelio. Neque ulla ratio assignari potest, cur Apostolorum in indiculo a tribus Evangelistis exhibito, Petrus semper ordinem ducat. Quippe solâ necessitate numerandi non scribitur Matthæo *primus Petrus:* (sic enim sequens secundus dici debuisset:) sed quia in divino hoc collegio præsidem agebat. Eo quidem munere functum fuisse, ubique Scriptura testatur. Aliorum sane Apostolorum ordinem mutavit Lucas in Actis, primum tamen Petro locum servavit: Petrus, Jacobus, Joannes. Quid, nonne præsidis functio fuit, surgere in medio discipulorum, eosque monere, ut in proditoris Judæ locum alium sufficerent Apostolum? Si ordinis caussâ non præerat Apostolis, cur Petrus surgens cum undecim Judæos miraculum linguarum stupentes alloquitur. . . . Cur etiam dum Joannis erat in comitatu Petrus, et claudum sanandum alloquitur, et Senatum Hierosolymitanum compellat, et Simoni Mago minitatur? Rationis est quidem et consuetudinis, ut legatorum primus orationem habeat, quomodo Paulus, qui Barnabam eminebat, præibat in loquendo. Ut ad pauca redeamus, is Petro collatus honor est, ut primus et in Judæis, et in Gentibus, Ecclesiæ fundamenta jaceret. Qui longe maximus honos principem Apostolorum decuit, nec a præsidis munere divelli potest. Annon nobiliores Apostolatus functiones honoratiori competebant? *Basnag. ann.* 31. *num. lxxv.*

Basnage concerning this point, who speaks to the like purpose: without denying the equal dignity of the Apostles, or ascribing to Peter any jurisdiction over them. For which there is not any the least foundation either in the Gospels, or the Acts.

On the day of Pentecost, next ensuing, the promised gift of the Holy Ghost came down upon the Apostles and their companie. And upon this occasion Peter, *standing up with the eleven*, preached to a great number of people assembled about the Apostles, and asserted the resurrection of Jesus, and with such force, that about three thousand were converted, and baptised. Acts ii. 14. . . . 47.

Afterwards Peter and John healed a poor man at the temple, who had been lame from his birth, a well known person, forty years of age. And many being gathered about them, Peter made an affecting discourse, whereby many were awakened, and convinced. And in a short time after this, the number of believers at *Jerusalem was* (B) *about five thousand.* ch. iii. and iv. 4. But the Jewish Priests and Rulers were much offended. And whilst Peter and John were speaking to the people, their officers came, and laid hold on them. And it being then evening, they put them in prison, till the next day. On the morrow therefore they were brought before the Council. Having been examined, they were at length dismissed, with a charge not to preach any more in the name of Jesus, and were severely threatened, if they did. ch. iv. 1. . . . 22.

The number of believers being much encreased, and many being in low circumstances, *some who were possessed of houses, or lands, sold them, and brought the prices of the things that were sold, and laid them at the Apostles feet. And distribution was made to every man, according as he had need.* But a certain man, named Ananias, and Sapphira, his wife, when they had sold a possession, brought a part of the price, keeping back the rest, though they declared it to be the whole price. For this they were reproved by Peter, and were charged with having lied to God himself, who acted by the Apostles. At his reproof Ananias and Sapphira were both struck dead by the immediate hand of God in a small space of time, one after the other. ch. iv. 31. . . . v. 1. . . . 11. We have here, as seems to me, a proof, that Peter now presided in the assemblie of the Apostles, and the whole church of Jerusalem.

And, after this, *by the hands of the Apostles were many signs and wonders wrought among the people . . insomuch that they brought forth the sick in the streets, and laid them on beds and couches, that at the least the shadow of Peter passing by might overshadow some of them. There came also a multitude out of the cities round about Jerusalem, bringing sick folks, and them that were vexed with unclean spirits. And they were healed every one.* ch. v. 12. . . . 16.

I put this in the historie of St. Peter, as he has a share in it. But I do not think, that all the miracles here spoken of were wrought by his hands,

(B) How that *five thousand* in Acts iv. 4. ought to be understood, was shewn Vol. xi. p. 201. 202. I shall now add here the words of *Seueur*. Ainsi croissoit l'Eglise Chretienne parmi les Juifs. Et elle se montoit bien alors à cinq mille personnes. A. C. 35. *Histoire de l'Eglise, et de l'Empire. Vol. i. p.* 133.

hands, or by his ſhadow paſſing by. It ſeems, that many of theſe miracles were wrought by other Apoſtles, as hinted, or expreſsly ſaid, at the begining of the citation, in ver. 12. In a word, there were now miracles wrought at Jeruſalem in great numbers by all and every one of the Apoſtles. This may be alſo farther argued hence, that hereupon all the Apoſtles were taken up, as is ſaid ver. 17. 18. *Then the High-Prieſt roſe up, and all they that were with him, and were filled with indignation. And they laid their hands on the Apoſtles, and put them in the common priſon.* The event may be ſeen in what follows. ch. v. 17. . . . 42. However, I am willing to allow, that there were no miracles wrought by the ſhadow of any of the Apoſtles, except Peter's. This (*c*) ſeems to be moſt agreeable to St. Luke's expreſſions.

Upon the death of Stephen *there aroſe a great perſecution againſt the church that was at Jeruſalem:* inſomuch that all the believers in general *were ſcattered abroad throughout the regions of Judea and Samaria, except the Apoſtles. Then Philip*, one of the Seven, *went down to Samaria, and preached Chriſt to them.* And many of the people there believed. *Now when the Apoſtles, which were at Jeruſalem, heard, that Samaria had received the word of God, they ſent unto them Peter and John*, that they might confer upon them the gift of the Holy Ghoſt. Which they did by prayer, and laying on of their hands. Here Peter reproved Simon of Samaria, as he is called: who himſelf was a believer for a while, but had given proofs of inſincerity. Theſe two Apoſtles then returned to Jeruſalem, and in their way thither *preached the goſpel in many villages of the Samaritans*, ch. viii. 1. . . . 25.

St. Paul, who informs us of his return to Jeruſalem, three years after his converſion, has aſſured us, that he then ſaw Peter and James, and no other of the Apoſtles. Gal. i. 18. 19. And St. Luke having given the hiſtorie of St. Paul's oppoſition to the diſciples, and of his converſion, and return from Damaſcus to Jeruſalem, ſays, that *Barnabas brought him to the Apoſtles.* Acts ix. 1. . . 30. Theſe two accounts are eaſily reconciled. Paul ſaw only Peter and James. But they received him in the name, and with the approbation of all the Apoſtles, and thus he had communion with them.

It follows in St. Luke's hiſtorie. Acts ix. 31. *Then had the churches reſt throughout all Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria, and were edified. And walking in the fear of the Lord, and in the comfort of the Holy Ghoſt, were multiplied.* This reſt, as was formerly ſhewn, commenced in the year 40. and probably continued a year, or more. This ſeaſon, as we may well ſuppoſe, was improved by all the Apoſtles, and by Peter, in particular. Of whom it is ſaid, that he paſſed through all parts of the countrey, *and came down alſo to the ſaints that dwelt at Lydda.* Here, in the name of Jeſus Chriſt, he healed Eneas, who had the palſie, and had kept his

(*c*) Omnibus accurate perpenſis, illorum opinionis magis ſumus, qui ſoli Petro, id auctoritatis conceſſum fuiſſe putant, ut ipſius umbrâ ægroti a morbis ſuis recreerentur. Neque id obſcure Lucas indicat. Præmiſſis enim Apoſtolorum prodigiis, ſubinde hoc addit. *In plateas efferebant ægrotos et ponebant in lectis, ut veniente Petri vel umbra inumbraret aliquem eorum.* Cur non dixit, *ut per manus Apoſtolorum vel umbra* ſi facultatem ejuſmodi a Chriſto nacta fuit? &c. *Buſaeg. Ann.* 34. n. xviii.

his bed eight years. Whilſt he was in that place, a Chriſtian woman, named Tabitha, died at Joppa, which was not far off. The diſciples therefore ſent to Peter, deſiring him without delay to come to them. Which he did, and there reſtored her to life. *And he tarried many days at Joppa, with one Simon, a tanner.* ch. ix. 32. . . . 43.

Whilſt Peter was there, Cornelius, of *Ceſarea by the ſea-ſide*, (the city, where the Roman Governour had his reſidence) a Centurion, a worſhipper of God, but not of the houſe of Iſrael, nor a Jewiſh proſelyte, had a viſion. Wherein he was directed by an angel, to ſend to Joppa, *for Simon, whoſe ſurname was Peter:* from whom he would receive farther information in the things of religion. When the viſion was over, he called two of his ſervants, and a pious ſoldier, and ſent them to Joppa. The day after, as they drew near the city, Peter went up to the top of the houſe, to pray, about the ſixth hour of the day, or noon. There he fell into a tranſe, or extaſie, and had a viſion. A veſſel deſcended, wherein were all ſorts of living creatures, wild and tame, clean and unclean. *And there came a voice to him, ſaying: Kill and eat. But Peter ſaid: Not ſo, Lord. For I have never eat any thing that is common or unclean. And the voice ſpake unto him again the ſecond time: What God hath cleanſed, that call not thou common. . . . While Peter thought on the viſion, the Spirit ſaid unto him: Behold, three men ſeek thee. Ariſe therefore, and get thee down, and go with them, doubting nothing. For I have ſent them. . . . On the morrow Peter went away with them, and certain brethren from Joppa,* ſix in number, *accompanied him.* The next day they arrived at Ceſarea, and entered into the houſe of Cornelius, where were alſo many others, his relations, and intimate friends, whom Cornelius had invited to come thither. *Peter ſaid unto them: Ye know, how that it is an unlawful thing for a Jew, to keep companie, or to come unto one of another nation. But God has ſhewn me, that I ſhould not call any man common or unclean.* . . . While Peter was preaching, and ſpeaking to them the things concerning Jeſus Chriſt, and before he had finiſhed, *the Holy Ghoſt fell on all of them that heard the word. And they of the circumciſion, which believed, were aſtoniſhed, as many as came with Peter, becauſe that on the Gentils alſo was poured out the gift of the Holy Ghoſt. For they heard them ſpeak with tongues, and magnify God. . . . Peter therefore commanded them to be baptized in the name of the Lord. Then prayed they him to tarry certain days.* ch. x.

Thus the door of faith, or the kingdom of heaven, or of the Meſſiah, was opened to Gentils, and they were received into the church of God. And, if I may ſay it, God now cleanſed all Gentils, and ſhewed with full evidence, and divine atteſtations, that all men, of every nation, who became worſhippers of God, and believed in Jeſus, were accepted of him, as his people, and the members of his Church, and in the way of ſalvation, without circumciſion, or taking upon them the obſervation of the rituals of the law of *Moſes*.

While Peter tarried at Ceſarea, *the Apoſtles and brethren, that were in Judea, heard that the Gentils alſo had received the word of God. And when Peter was come up to Jeruſalem, they that were of the circumciſion contended with him, ſaying: Thou wenteſt in to men uncircumciſed, and didſt eat with them.* But Peter gave them an account of the tranſaction from the begining,

begining, and all were satisfied. *When they heard those things, they held their peace, and glorified God, saying: Then hath God also to the Gentils granted repentance unto life.*

An opinion has obtained among Christians in late ages, that Cornelius was a proselyte of the gate. Which opinion is founded upon a supposition, that there were among the Jews two sorts of proselytes: some called proselytes of the covenant, or of righteousnesse, who were circumcised: and others, called proselytes of the gate: who, though they were not circumcised, observed some things, not obligatorie in themselves, as is supposed, in order to facilitate commerce between the Jews and them. What those things were, or are supposed to be, I do not now inquire.

However, for clearing up this matter I would observe, that there was but one sort of proselytes among the Jews: and that Cornelius was not a proselyte, but a Gentil.

First. There was but one sort of proselytes among the Jews. They were circumcised. So they became Jews by religion, and were admitted to eat the passover, and to partake of all religious privileges, as the Jews by descent did. They were called *strangers, or proselytes within the gates,* and *sojourners*, as they were allowed to dwell, or sojourn among the people of Israel. And they were so called, because they could not possess land. For according to the law of Moses, all the land of Canaan was to be given to the twelve tribes of Israel, the descendants of the Patriarch Jacob. Which enables us to discern the propriety of the expression, just mentioned.

What has been now said, may be illustrated by some texts. Which, though well known, shall be alleged here.

Exod. xii. 48. *And when a stranger shall sojourn with thee, and will keep the passover to the Lord, let all his males be circumcised. And then let him come near, and keep it. And he shall be as one born in the land.* 49. *One law shall be to him that is home-born, and to the stranger that sojourneth among you.*

Lev. xvii. 8. *Whatsoever man there be of the house of Israel, or of the strangers, which sojourn among you, that offereth a burnt-offering, or sacrifice . . .* ver. 12. . . . *children of Israel, neither any stranger, that sojourneth among you.* The same again, ver. 13. and ver. 15. *One of your own countrey, or a stranger.*

Numb. ix. 14. *And if a stranger shall sojourn among you, and will keep the passover to the Lord . . . ye shall have one ordinance, both for the stranger, and for him that was born in the land.*

Num. xv. 15. *One ordinance shall be both for you of the congregation, and also for the stranger that sojourneth with you . . as ye are, so shall the stranger be before the Lord.* 16. *One law, and one manner shall be for you, and for the stranger that sojourneth among you.*

In all these places by *stranger*, and *stranger that sojourneth among you*, I suppose to be meant men circumcised, according to the law of Moses.

Perhaps, it may be here asked: Could none then dwell among the Israelites in the land of Canaan, but proselytes, or circumcised men? To which I answer: It seems to me, that no other had the privilege of a settled abode, or residence there, that is, to sojourn in the land. However,

However, I think, there muſt have been an exception for travellers, paſſing through the countrey, even though they were idolaters, and for ſome, whoſe traffick was needfull, and therefore allowed of. As Patrick ſays upon Deut. xiv. 21. "There were ſome called Nocherim, which "we here tranſlate *aliens:* who were mere Gentils, and not ſuffered to "have an habitation among them, but only to come and go in their "traffick with them."

And, if I miſtake not, an argument of the Apoſtle may be hence illuſtrated. Eph. ii. 13. *But now, in Chriſt Jeſus, ye, who ſome time were far off, are made nigh,* very nigh, even to a coaleſcence, *by the blood of Chriſt.* ver. 19. *Now therefore ye are no more ſtrangers, and foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the ſaints, and of the houſhold of God.* The Apoſtle alludes to the ſtate of things in the Jewiſh Commonwealth. *Now therefore,* ſays he, *ye are no more ſtrangers, and foreigners.* Thoſe are not terms of diſtance, as they ſeem to be in our tranſlation, and as ſome have ſuppoſed, but of nearneſſe. They are expreſſive of all the favour and privilege, which could be vouchſafed to any, not of the natural ſeed of Iſrael, before the manifeſtation of the goſpel. "*Now* (*d*) *therefore ye are no longer gueſts.* Such you might be, and be well, and civilly entertained (*c*) for a while, though you were aliens: *and ſojourners,* as the Jewiſh proſelytes were, who might live in the countrey, but had few privileges, they not being allowed to poſſeſs land, nor to have any ſhare in the government of it: *but ye are fellow-citizens with the ſaints:* you have equal rights of citizenſhip with the people, and natives of the countrey: *and are God's domeſticks.* You are brought into the court and familie of the King of the countrie, and are admitted to his preſence, and to attend upon his perſon." The whole of this is much the ſame with what is ſaid 1 Pet. ii. 9. 10. and Rev. i. 8. I place below a Latin verſion (*e*) of this text, which appears to me to be right.

Proſelyte is a word of Greek original, equivalent to ſtranger, long ſince become a technical word, denoting a convert to the Jewiſh religion, or a Jew by religion.

In the fourth commandment they are called *thy ſtranger within thy gates.* Ex. xx. 14. and Deut. v. 4.

According to the Jewiſh way of reckoning, agreeably to the law of Moſes, there were three ſorts of men in the world: *Iſraelites,* called alſo *home-born,* or natives: *ſtrangers within their gates,* and *aliens.* So Deut. xiv. 21. *Ye ſhall not eat any thing that dieth of itſelf. Thou ſhalt give it to the ſtranger that is in thy gates, that he may eat it: or thou mayeſt ſell it to*

(*d*) Ἄρα οὖν οὐκέτι ἐστὲ ξένοι, καὶ πάροικοι ἀλλὰ συμπολῖται τῶν ἁγίων, καὶ οἰκεῖοι τοῦ θεοῦ.

(*c*) The Greek word ξένος, like the Latin word, *hoſpes,* ſignifies both a *hoſt,* and a *gueſt,* an entertainer, and him that is entertained, et qui domo ſuſcipit, et qui ſuſcipitur. In Rom. xvi. 23, it is uſed in the former, here in the latter ſenſe.

(*e*) Nempe igitur non amplius eſtis hoſpites, et inquilini, ſed concives ſanctorum, ac domeſtici Dei.

to an alien. Or, otherwiſe, there were two ſorts of men, circumciſed and uncircumciſed, Jews and Gentils, or Heathens.

A proſelyte, as before ſaid, is a man circumciſed according to the law of Moſes, or a Jew by religion. This is the ſenſe of the word in all the texts of the New Teſtament, where it is uſed, Matt. xxiii. 15. *Ye compaſs ſea and land to make one proſelyte.* Acts ii. 10. *Jews and proſelytes.* Acts vi. 5. *Nicolas, a proſelyte of Antioch.* xiii. 43. *religious proſelytes.* There never was any doubt about preaching to theſe, and receiving them into the Church. Such were among St. Peter's hearers of his firſt ſermon. And one ſuch perſon at leaſt was among the ſeven Deacons in the church of Jeruſalem.

In this ſenſe the word is always underſtood by ancient Chriſtian writers. Says Bede in his Expoſition of the ſecond chapter of the Acts; "They (*f*) called thoſe proſelytes, that is, ſtrangers, who being of Gentil original, had embraced circumciſion, and Judaiſm." To the like purpoſe (*g*) another Latin writer, of the ninth centurie, in his Commentarie upon St. Matthew's Goſpel. So likewiſe (*h*) Theodoret, and (*i*) Euthymius. Nor do I believe, that the notion of two ſorts of Jewiſh proſelytes can be found in any Chriſtian writer before the fourteenth centurie, or later.

Cornelius is not called a proſelyte in the New Teſtament. It is ſaid of him, that (*k*) he was *a devout man, and one that feared God with all his houſe:* that is, he was a truly good man. What is there ſaid of him is only his perſonal character. Here is not any thing, denoting a religious denomination, as ſome have thought. And it is plain, that, notwithſtanding his piety, he was an alien. Peter would not have converſed with him, if he had not been directed by an expreſs command. The reaſon is, that there is no appointment in the law of Moſes for receiving any men into covenant with God, or to communion with his people, but by circumciſion: which implied an obligation to obey all the laws of the Moſaic inſtitution.

Let us now go over, and obſerve the moſt remarkable particulars of this hiſtorie.

Cornelius,

(*f*) *Judæi quoque et proſelyti.*] Proſelytos, id eſt, advenas, nuncupabant eos, qui de Gentibus originem ducentes, circumciſionem et judaiſmum eligere malebant. Non ſolum ergo, inquiunt, [f. inquit,] qui naturâ ſuâ Judæi ex diverſo orbe convenerant: verum et ii, qui de præputio nati, eorum adhæſere ritui. *Bed. Expoſ. in Act. Ap. cap. ii.*

(*g*) Proſelytus dicebatur Græce advena: quia de alia gente ad legem ipſorum convertebatur, ut fuit Jethro, et Achior. Et multa millia vivorum fuerunt, qui de Gentibus circumciſi fuerunt, et Deum cœli crediderunt. *Chriſtian. Druthmar. Grammatic. Exp. in Matth. ap. Bib. PP. Tom.* 15. *p.* 156. *A.*

(*h*) Οἱ ἐξ ἐθνῶν προσελήλυθότες, καὶ κατὰ τὸς σὸς νόμος ποθήσαντες πολιτέυεσθαι, τὴν ἀδικὸν παρ' αὐτῶν σφαγὴν ὑπομένουσι· προσηλύτους γὰρ τούτους ὠνόμασε. *Theod. in Pſ. xciii. al. xciv. ver.* 6. *Tom. i. p.* 775. Conf. Suid. V. Προσήλυτος.

(*i*) Proſelytum vero Judæi appellabant, qui ex Gentili effectus fuiſſet Judæus. *Euthym. in Pſ. xciii. p.* 396, *ap. Bib. PP. T.* 19.

(*k*) Εὐσεβὴς καὶ φοβούμενος τὸν θεὸν, σὺν παντὶ τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ.

Cornelius, and his friends, are called Gentils. ch. x. 45. xi. 1. and 18. xv. 7. that is, *gojim*, a Hebrew word, very frequent in the Old Teſtament, and rendered by us *nations*, or *heathen*, or *heathens*. And in our verſion of the New Teſtament likewiſe is ſeveral times put *heathen* inſtead of *the nations*, or *the gentils*. 2 Cor. xi. 26. Gal. ii. 9. iii. 8.

In the next place we take notice of the veſſel let down from heaven, and ſet before Peter. There were in it *all manner of four-footed beaſts of the earth, and wild beaſts, and creeping things, and fowls of the air:* ſome of them altogether abominable, and exceeding filthie in the eye of Jews. Hereby are repreſented the people, who had ſent for Peter, though pious, becauſe they were uncircumciſed. But it is likely, that herein are alſo included, and repreſented Gentils of all ſorts, men of every nation, all men uncircumciſed in general, whether worſhippers of God, or not. ver. 13. 14. *And there came a voice to him, ſaying: Ariſe, Peter, kill, and eat. But Peter ſaid: Not ſo, Lord. For I have never eaten any thing that is common or unclean. And the voice ſpake unto him again the ſecond time: What God has cleanſed, that call not thou common. This was done thrice. And the veſſel was received up again into heaven. . . .*

What God has cleanſed, that call not thou common: denoting, that thoſe people, which were moſt impure in Jewiſh eſteem, were now cleanſed, or to be cleanſed, and to be received as pure and holy.

Omitting ſome other things, in the next place we obſerve Peter's addreſſe at the houſe of Cornelius. ver. 28. *Ye know, how that it is an unlawful thing for a man that is a Jew, to* (D) *keep companie, or to come to a man of another nation.* The people therefore, to whom Peter had been ſent, and among whom he now was, were ſuch, as no Jew might converſe with, according to the law of Moſes, and their eſtabliſhed cuſtom. *A man of another nation:* ἀλλοφύλῳ: an alien, or foreigner. Jerome obſerves, that (*l*) though the Greek word ſignifies in general a man of another

(D) "Κολλᾶσθαι ἢ προσέρχεσθαι ἀλλοφύλῳ. By which words is not to be underſtood, as if a Jew might have no dealing at all with a Gentil, and traffick with them: for it was next to impoſſible to do otherwiſe, they living, very many of them, in Heathen cities. And Gentils came continually, in the way of trade, to Jeruſalem. Neh. xiii. 16. What was unlawfull, was converſing with Gentils in near and cloſe ſociety, as the word κολλᾶσθαι ſignifies, and that eſpecially in theſe two things, *not to eat with them*, and *not to go into their houſes*. And this is that, for which they of the circumciſion excepted at Peter upon his return. *Thou wenteſt in to men uncircumciſed, and didſt eat with them.* ch. xi. 3." So *Lightfoot* in his Commentarie upon the Acts of the Apoſtles. Vol. i. p. 844. Where follow other things, relating to this ſubject, very worthie of obſervation.

(*l*) Pro Philiſthiim ſemper lxx. alienigenas interpretati ſunt, nomen commune pro proprio: quæ eſt hodie gens Palæſtinorum, quaſi Philiſtinorum. *Hieron. in Iſ. cap. ii. 6. Tom. 3. p. 24.*

Philiſtæos autem, ut ſæpe diximus, Palæſtinos ſignificat, quos alienigenas vulgata ſcribit editio: quum hic non unius gentis, ſed omnium ceterarum gentium vocabulum ſit. *Id. in Iſ. xiv. 29. p. 116.*

Videamus autem, quid Philiſthiim, et urbes ejus peccaverint, quos ſeptuaginta ſemper alienigenas tranſtulerunt. Ubiquumque enim in veteri teſtamento

another nation; the seventy Translators of the Old Testament constantly made use of it, to denote the Philistins, or heathen people of the land of Palestine. That observation is repeated by him. And I have transcribed below several of his passages. This character, *an alien*, or *a man of another nation*, satisfies us, that the people, to whom Peter was now sent by divine order, had not been before received into the Jewish church, or admitted to communion with them, but were aliens from their commonwealth.

It follows in the same address of Peter: *But God has shewed me, that I should not call any man common or unclean.* Those expressions are as general and comprehensive, as any that can be used: plainly including all mankind, who now were cleansed, or to be cleansed, and purified by faith, and received into the church of God without circumcision.

Cornelius having declared the occasion of sending for him, *Peter opened his mouth, and said: Of a truth, I perceive, that God is no respecter of persons: but in every nation, he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him.* These expressions are as general and comprehensive, as the former, including men of all nations, without exception.

The conclusion of St. Peter's discourse at the house of Cornelius is this: *To him give all the Prophets witness, that through his name, whosoever believeth in him, shall receive remission of sins.* Which, so far as I am able to perceive, is preaching the gospel as clearly, as ever it was preached by Paul himself.

While Peter yet spake these words, the Holy Ghost fell on all them that heard the word. Or, as St. Peter himself expressed it, rehearsing the matter at Jerusalem. ch. xi. 15. *As I began to speak, the Holy Ghost fell on all them, as on us at the begining.* Whereupon Peter ordered them to be baptized, and so received into the Church. And, as he says in the defense of himself: *Forasmuch then, as God gave them the like gift, as he did unto us, who believed on the Lord Jesus Christ: what was I that I could withstand God?*

That very extraordinarie manifestation, the coming down of the Holy Ghost immediatly from heaven upon these persons, leads us to think, that the transaction at the house of Cornelius was a very important thing, and no less, than cleansing the whole Gentil world: or encouraging the preaching of the gospel to them, and receiving them to communion, without the rites of the law. And from this time forward it was so preached to them, as appears from the historie in the Acts.

I suppose, that what I have now said is agreeable to the sense of all Christians in ancient times. Who call Cornelius (*m*) the first-fruits of the

mento ἀλλοφύλες, id est, *alienigenas*, legimus, non commune nomen omnium externarum gentium, sed proprie Philisthiim, qui nunc Palæstini vocantur, accipiendi sunt. *Id. in Amos. cap. i. ib. p.* 1376.

(*m*) Ex quibus esse arbitror etiam Cornelium illum, qui Cæsarienſis ecclesiæ cum iis cum quibus Spiritum Sanctum meruit accipere, primitiæ merito dicitur. Et non solum hujus ecclesiæ, sed fortassis et omnium gentium primitiæ Cornelius appellandus est. Primus enim credidit ex gentibus, et primus Sancto Spiritu repletus est. Et ideo rectæ primitiæ gentium appellabitur. *Origen. in Num. hom. xi. p.* 306. *T.* 2. *Bened.*

he Gentils, and (*n*) the begining of the Gentils. And fay, that (*o*) n him all Gentils were cleanſed and ſanctified, and that (*p*) the living creatures of all kinds, which were in the veſſel let down to Peter, and held by four corners, repreſented all Gentils throughout the world.

Many learned men of late times make a great difference between preaching the goſpel to what they call *devout gentils*, or *proſelytes of the gate*, and *idolatrous gentils*. But I do not perceive, that Chriſtians in ancient times had any notion of this. Nor is there any foundation for it in the New Teſtament. But all men, uncircumciſed, whether worſhippers of God, or idolatrous, are called gentils. That Cornelius, and his familie, and friends, are called gentils, though pious, has been lately ſeen. And in almoſt innumerable places of St. Paul's epiſtles the ſame word is uſed of ſuch as then were, or had been idolaters.

Nor can I conceive, how there ſhould be an objection againſt preaching to idolatrous gentils, in order to convert them from idolatrie. It is well known, that the Jewiſh people were very diligent in making proſelytes to their religion. Our Lord himſelf has taken notice of it. Matt. xxiii. 15. The obſtructions given to Paul were not owing to his converting men from idolatrie, but to his manner of receiving them. If he had taught, and required them to be circumciſed, and keep the law, all had been well. For certain, I think, there could have been no offenſe taken by any believers from among the Jews, however bigotted. *And I, brethren*, ſays the Apoſtle to the Galatians, *if I yet preach circumciſion, why do I yet ſuffer perſecution? Then is the offenſe of the croſſe ceaſed.* Gal. v. 11.

Theſe thoughts, which are now propoſed to public conſideration, are not new. A thorough examination of this point was occaſioned by the *Miſcellanea Sacra*, which was publiſhed in 1725. And in a few years I came to a full determination. Nor have I concealed my ſentiments. They have been communicated to ſeveral. And by ſome they have been approved.

Nor

(*n*) Ὅτας πόθεν ἡ ἀρχὴ γίνεται τῶν ἐθνῶν. *Chryſ. in Act. Ap. hom.* 22. *T.* 9. *p.* 180.

(*o*) Sub Apoſtolis vero, cum ii, qui in Chriſtum ex circumciſione crediderant, eos qui gentiles erant, dicebanturque præputium, juſtificationem gratiæ arbitrarentur participes eſſe non poſſe, docet B. Apoſtolus Petrus, quam indiferetus apud Deum uterque ſit populus, ſi in unitatem fidei denuo convenirint. *Cum autem inquit, cœpiſſem loqui*, &c. *De Vocatione Gentium. Lib.* 2. *cap.* 18.

(*p*) Etenim Eccleſia necdum erat in gentibus. In Judæa crediderunt ex Judæis, et putabant . . . ſolos ſe pertinere ad Chriſtum. Miſſi ſunt Apoſtoli ad gentes, prædicatum eſt Cornelio. . . Diſcus ille, qui habebat omnia animalia, ſignificabat omnes gentes. Ideo autem quatuor lineis pendebat, quia quatuor ſunt partes orbis, unde futuri populi erant. *Auguſt. Enarr. in Pſ. xcvi. num.* 13. *Tom. iv.*

Siquidem cum Sanctus Petrus per viſionem omne genus animalium, de baptizando Cornelio, ac periade de omnibus gentibus doceretur, atque ille immundum et indiferetum cibum Judaica obſervantia recuſaret, trina ad eum vox facta ſit, dicens: Quæ Deus mundavit, tu ne commune dixeris. *Prosper. ep. ad Ruffin. cap. vi. ap. Aug. T. x. in Append. Ed. Bened.*

Nor do I make any queſtion, but that others likewiſe are of the ſam opinion. I ſhall therefore here tranſcribe a paragraph of a letter from my honored friend, Mr. Joſeph Hallett, of Exeter, received from him i the year 1735. "It is certain fact, ſays he, that the Scripture neve "mentions the difference between preaching to devout Gentiles, an "idolatrous Gentiles, which ſome do. The original inſtruction was "*Go, diſciple all nations.* Matt. xxviii. 19. *Preach the goſpel to ever* "*creature.* Mark xvi. 5. The order, in which the Apoſtles were t "preach the goſpel, was in *Jeruſalem, in all Judæa, in Samaria, and t* "*the uttermoſt parts of the earth.* Acts i. 8. In theſe, and all othe "places, *one* and the ſame character comprehends *all* Gentiles. When St "Peter ſtuck at preaching the goſpel to Cornelius, the plain reaſon was "becauſe he was *uncircumciſed.* See Acts xi. 3. Neither he at firſt "nor they that afterwards quarrelled with him, would have any mor "heſitated to preach to idolaters, than to Cornelius. Only in that caſe "they muſt have begun with proving the unity of God. Which the "had no need to do in the caſe of Cornelius, ſince he already believe "it."

And as I have this opportunity, I ſhall now communicate to the pub lic ſome other thoughts of Mr. Hallett, relating to the ſame ſubject which I received from him at the ſame time. "That the decree i "Acts xv. relates to the idolatrous Gentiles in particular is manifeſt "Indeed it is demonſtrable from ver. 19. where St. James ſpeaks o "thoſe, *who from among the Gentiles are turned to God.* Their being "*turned to God* here is the ſame, as their becoming Chriſtians. The "were not turned to God before. And therefore they were (not de "vout, but) idolatrous Gentiles. They were plainly of the ſame ſor "with the Theſſalonians, who *turned to God from Idols.* 1 Theſſ. i. o "who are acknowledged to be idolatrous Gentiles. The ſame characte "then will prove, that the others were ſo too. The ſame thing is de "monſtrable from ver. 17. For the expreſſion, *all the Gentiles*, can "never be reſtrained to a few proſelytes of the gate. Farther, the lett "ter of the church of Jeruſalem was directed and ſent to the believing "Gentiles in Antioch, &c. ver. 23. to decide a diſpute, which wa "raiſed there. But the diſpute there was about idolatrous Gentiles i "particular. ver. 2. 3. 5. Conſequently, the letter muſt be interprete "to ſpeak of the ſame perſons. Nay the church at Antioch was comp "poſed of ſuch as had been idolatrous Gentiles. And therefore th "letter muſt relate to that ſort of men. And when Paul went throug "Syria, Cilicia, Derbe, Lyſtra, &c. (where, it is allowed, there wer "converts from among the idolatrous Gentiles,) *he delivered the decree* "*to them*, i. e. the ſaid idolatrous Gentiles, to *keep*. ch. xvi. 1. 4. So Mr. Hallett.

Dr. Doddridge, in the third volume of his *Family-Expoſitor*, whic is upon the Acts of the Apoſtles, has many acute and judicious obſerva tions, relating to this ſubject. And I am well ſatisfied, that he intende to write a Diſſertation concerning Jewiſh Proſelytes. Which is alſ acknowledged by (*q*) the learned editor of his poſthumous volumes, though

(*q*) *See the note at the bottom of p.* 218. *of the ſixth volume of the Family Expoſitor.*

though no such thing has been found among his papers. And in his general Introduction to the first epistle of St. Peter, Dr. Doddridge freely declares, "that there is no sufficient ground to suppose, that there ever "were any such persons, as Proselytes of the gate." And he thinks, "that what he has suggested in his notes upon the Acts may convince "an attentive reader." And indeed I am of the same opinion concerning what he has said in those notes. For which reason I do not so much regret the losse of the Dissertation, as otherwise I should.

Says Sueur, speaking of St. Peter's vision of the sheet: "God (*r*) thereby shewed unto his servant, that thence forward he would have all the people of the world, without exception, called to partake in his gracious covenant in his son Jesus Christ, and to the knowledge of salvation by him." That it was so understood by the primitive Christians, we have lately seen. And that this whole transaction was so understood by the Apostles, and by the Evangelists, their fellow-labourers, is manifest from the sequel of the history in the book of the Acts.

For removing difficulties, and fully clearing up this point, it may be needful to consider that text. Gal. ii. 1. 2. *Then fourteen years after, I went up again to Jerusalem, with Barnabas, and took Titus with me also. And I went up by revelation, and communicated unto them that Gospel, which I preach among the Gentils, but privately to them which were of reputation, lest by any means I should run, or had run in vain.*

Some * who contend for the supposition of two sorts of Proselytes among the Jews, and think, that the Gospel was preached several years to such as they call *proselytes of the gate*, before it was preached to idolatrous Gentils, and understand the decree of the Council of Jerusalem, to bind those proselytes only, say, that the conversion of idolatrous Gentils was unknown to the church at Jerusalem, when that decree was made, and explain the above cited words after this manner: "That † Paul communicated what he had preached to the Gentils, only to James, and Peter, and John, the three renowned Apostles of the circumcision, and that under the seal of the greatest secrecy."

But that cannot be St. Paul's meaning. For most, if not all the converts at Antioch, must have been idolaters. But, supposing for the present, that they had been devout Gentils; it is universally allowed, that before the controversie arose at Antioch about circumcising the Gentils that believed, the gospel had been preached for a good while by Paul and Barnabas to idolatrous Gentils in Cyprus, Perga, Antioch in Pisidia, Iconium, Lystra, Derbe, and other places: of which a particular account is given Acts xiii. xiv. And presently after, St. Luke, relating the journey of Paul and Barnabas to Jerusalem, says ch. xv. 3. 4 *And being brought*

(*r*) Et puisque Dieu rompoit cette separation, il montroit à son serviteur, que de là en avant il vouloit appeller indifferement tous les peuples de la monde à son alliance de grace en son fils Jesus Christ, et à sa salutaire connoissance. *J. Sueur Hist. de l'Eglise, &c. A. C.* 41. *Tom. i. p.* 165.

* *See Miscellanea Sacra in the Prefaces and Essay iv. and Dr. Benson's History of the first planting the Christian Religion, vol. 2. chap. iii. sect. 1 ii. &c.*

† *Miscell. Sacr. Ess. iv. p.* 52. *Dr. Benson, as before, Vol. 2. p.* 52. *2d. ed.*

brought on their way by the church [of Antioch] *they passed through Phenice, and Samaria, declaring the conversion of the Gentils.* [or Heathens.] *And they caused great joy to all the brethren. And when they were come to Jerusalem, they were received by the church, and by the Apostles, and Elders. And they declared all things, that God had done with them.* In which must have been included their preaching not only at Antioch, in Syria, but also in all the other countreys and cities mentioned just before. Of this they gave an account to the church of Jerusalem in general, and particularly to the Apostles and Elders.

And Acts xv. 12. in the Council. *Then all the multitude kept silence, and gave audience to Barnabas and Paul, declaring what miracles God had wrought among the Gentils by them.*

And ver. 25. 26. the Apostles and Elders in their Epistle speaking of Barnabas and Paul, say, *they were men that had hazarded their lives for the name of the Lord Jesus Christ.* Intending, as may be reasonably supposed, the dangers, and sufferings, which they had met with, when preaching the gospel to idolaters at Antioch in Pisidia, Iconium, and Lystra, of which St. Luke has given an account Acts xiii. near the end, and ch. xiv. to which St. Paul also refers. 2 Tim. iii. 11. These things Paul and Barnabas, or the brethren that went up with them from Antioch, had related to the church at Jerusalem, and to the Apostles and Elders. For we hence plainly perceive, that these things were well known there.

That is St. Luke's historie. Let us now observe St. Paul's own words in this text. *Then fourteen years after I went up again to Jerusalem. . . And I went up by revelation, and communicated to them that gospel, which I preach among the Gentils:* meaning, as seems to me, the church, or the believing brethren there. So say all the best interpreters in general. Dr. Hammond's paraphrase is in these words: "And by God's "appointment, either first signified, or afterwards confirmed to me by vi- "sion, (such as Paul had about several matters,) I went up at this time "to Jerusalem, and gave the church there an account of my preaching, "and the successe of it among the Gentils. This I thought fit to do, "and yet first to do it to those that were the principal men among "them." So Hammond. To the like purpose Estius, whom †* I transcribe below. Le Clerc's French version is to this purpose. "*And* †† *I explained* in public *to the saints the gospel which I preach among the Gentils: the which I also did in particular to them who were in reputation.* And Beausobre's *I* ‡* *went thither by revelation, and I conferred with the faithful*

†* *Et contuli cum illis evangelium, quod prædico in Gentibus.* Augustinus legit: *Et exposui illis.* Sed intellige, more conferentis. Id enim vult, etiam Hieronomo teste, quod in Græco est, ἀνεθέμην αὐτοῖς. Nam sensus est: Communicavi cum illis qui Jerosolymis erant, de evangelio, quod prædico inter Gentes, deque tota ratione doctrinæ meæ quam tradidi, et etiam nunc trado Gentibus, quarum sum Apostolus. Non itaque discendi studio, quod supra negavit, evangelium suum nunc demum cum Ecclesia Jerosolymitana confert. &c. *Est. ad Gal. ii. 2.*

†† J'y allai. . . . . et j' expliquai *en public* aux saints l'evangile, que j'annonce parmi les Gentils: ce que je fis aussi en particulier à ceux qui étoient le plus en reputation. *Le Clerc.*

‡* Or j'y allai par revelation, et je conferai *avec les fidelles* touchant l'evangile,

faithfull about the goſpel, which I preach among the Gentils. I conferred about it alſo in particular with thoſe who were moſt eſteemed among them. ***

It follows in the ſame verſe: *Leſt by any means I ſhould run, or had run in vain.* That is: "This I thought fit to do, in order to ſecure the ſucceſſe of my miniſtrie: for removing obſtacles in the way of my preaching for the future, and that the minds of converts already made might not be unſettled. With thoſe views I conferred with the believers at Jeruſalem in public, and alſo in private with thoſe who were moſt eſteemed."

Ver. 3. *But neither Titus, who was with me, being a Greek, was compelled to be circumciſed.* The Apoſtle's taking ſuch particular notice of Titus in a letter to Chriſtians converted from idolatrie, and calling him a Greek, lead us to think, that he was originally idolatrous.

Ver. 4. *And that becauſe of falſe brethren, unawares brought in, who came in privily to ſpy out our liberty in Chriſt Jeſus, that they might bring us into bondage.* 5. *To whom we gave place by ſubjection, no not for an hour: that the truth of the goſpel might continue with you.*

Where St. Paul ſeems to refer to the riſe of the diſpute at Antioch, which is thus related by St. Luke. Acts. xv. 1. *And certain men, which came down from Judea, taught the brethren, and ſaid: Unleſs ye be circumciſed after the manner of Moſes, ye cannot be ſaved.* Theſe, as the Apoſtle here ſays, had intruded themſelves into the church of Antioch, that they might bring them into ſubjection to all the burdenſome obſervances of the law of Moſes. Upon that account, and for defeating their deſign, he went up to Jeruſalem, and there acted, as juſt ſhewn.

This text, and the explication now given of it, may receive illuſtration from the account, which St. Luke gives of Paul's coming to Jeruſalem afterwards, where he firſt converſes with *the brethren*, and then has a conference with James, and the Elders. The reſult of which is ſoon made known to all. Acts xxi. 17. *And when we were come to Jeruſalem, the brethren received us gladly.* 18. *And the day following Paul went in with us unto James. And all the elders were preſent.* 19. *And when he had ſaluted them, he declared to them* * *particularly what things God had wrought among the Gentils by his miniſtrie.* Certainly St. Paul here intends heathens

ile, que je prêche parmi les Gentils. J'en conferai en particulier avec les ius celebres entre eux. *Beauſ.*

*** The interpretation given by me of St. Paul's phraſe καθ' ἰδίαν, as quivalent to *ſeparatly, particularly*, may be much confirmed by a paſſage of ibanius, which I here tranſcribe. Ἐγὼ δὲ σοι μετὰ τῆς ὅλης σπουδῆς ἔδιδα χάριν. Διὰ γάρ με καὶ αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς παρ' ἐκείνοις εἶναι γράμμασι· καὶ πάλιν ἰδίᾳ ταυτὸν ἐκεῖνο. Liban. [ad Maximum.] Ep. 1157. p. 553. ed. Wolf. To which may added another from Joſephus. Ἐπεὶ δ' ὑπέσχημαι τὴν ἀρχαιολογίαν ἀπάντων ἐν συγγράμμασι παραδώσειν, εἰς τόπον καὶ τὴν περὶ αὐτῆς ἐξήγησιν ἀναβαλοῦμαι. Antiq. l. i. cap. i. §. 1.

Accordingly, the Latin Vulgate is thus: *Seorſum autem iis, qui videbantur aliquid eſſe. . . .* And, in the margin of ſome of our Bibles, for *privatly* is put *peculiarly*. Which I think to be the true meaning.

* . . . ἐξηγεῖτο καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον ὧν ἐπράξαν ὁ θεὸς ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι διὰ τῆς διακονίας αὐτοῦ.

thens and idolaters. Ver. 20. *And when they heard it, they glorified the Lord, and said to him.* . . . Ver. 25. *As touching the Gentils which believe we have written, and concluded, that they observe no such thing.* . . . The connexion leads us to suppose, that they speak of all Gentils whatever, idolatrous, as well as others.

Upon the whole the Apostle assures the Christians, his converts, in Galatia, that his going to Jerusalem, his declaring there to all the gospel which he preached among the Gentils, and his conferring in private with the Apostles, particularly, with those who were reckoned the chief of them, were all done with a view to their benefit, *that the truth of the gospel might continue with them*, and other Gentils. And the event, as related by St. Luke, and as represented by the Apostle himself in this epistle, was entirely to his satisfaction.

St. Paul in this epistle most earnestly exhorts the *Galatians, to stand fast in the liberty, with which Christ has made us free, and not be entangled again with the yoke of bondage.* ch. v. 1. and he severely censures instability in the genuine faith of the gospel. It would be, as seems to me, very strange, to suppose him to say, that when he was at Jerusalem, a few years only before writing this epistle, he had studiously concealed the doctrine, which he preached among the Gentils, from all but some few Apostles. His so doing, whether through fear, or from prudential considerations, or any reasons whatever, must have been a great discouragement to those, to whom he is writing. How could it be expected that they should openly assert before all the world the true evangelical liberty, if himself had been upon the reserve upon a late and important occasion?

St. Paul's having a private conference with some of the Apostles, is no proof, that he had any secrets, with-held from the knowledge of others. But it might be a proper piece of respect, to discourse with those who were in great esteem, about what was to be communicated to all.

If St. Paul had desired to conceal his preaching to idolatrous Gentils, he could not have done it. His preaching at Antioch, and his and Barnabas's peregrination in divers other countreys, related in Acts xiii. xiv. were well known to all the Christians at Antioch. And when Paul and Barnabas went thence to Jerusalem about the question that had been started there; it is very likely, that some went to Jerusalem upon the same occasion, who were on the imposing side of the question. If Paul had endeavoured to conceal any thing of an offensive nature, they would not have failed to divulge it.

We now proceed in the history.

Peter having by divine appointment and direction performed that important service at the house of Cornelius in Cesarea, and having received Gentils into communion by baptism, without circumcision according to the law of Moses: and his conduct having been approved by the Apostles and brethren at *Jerusalem: they who had been scattered abroad upon the persecution that arose about Stephen*, and had hitherto preached the word to none but Jews only, having heard of this transaction, when they came to *Antioch, spake unto the Greeks* there, *preaching the Lord Jesus. And the hand of the Lord was with them. And a great number believed, and turned*

unto

unto the Lord. Then tidings of these things came unto the ears of the church which was at Jerusalem. And they sent forth Barnabas, that he should go as far as Antioch. He afterwards brought Paul thither. And from that time forward the Gospel was freely preached to Gentils, as well as Jews, and with great successe. Acts xi. 19. . . . 26.

Soon after the conversion of Cornelius, it is likely that *the rest of the churches*, before mentioned, was abated, till it was quite interrupted. However, Peter, and the other Apostles, still continued in Judea. And according to the utmost of their power, as the circumstances of things allowed, employed themselves in confirming the believers, and making additions to their number.

Toward the end of his reign *Herod Agrippa* became an open persecutor of the believers. *And killed James, the brother of John, with the sword. And because he saw, it pleased the Jews, he proceeded farther, to take Peter also.* [*Then were the days of unleavened bread.*] *And when he had apprehended him, he put him in prison, and delivered him to four quaternions of soldiers to keep him*; that is, sixteen in all, four of which were by turns to watch him: *intending after Easter, to bring him forth to the people.* Acts x. 1. . . . 4.

The conversion of Cornelius happened, as I suppose, in the year 41. of our Saviour's nativity, according to the vulgar computation. And the Easter, or Passover, here mentioned, was, probably, the Passover of the year 44.

Peter therefore was kept in prison. But prayer was made without ceasing of the church unto God for him. ver. 5. And he was delivered out of prison in a miraculous manner, as related ver. 6. . . . 11. The Divine Being did not allow, that a period should be yet put to the life of that Apostle. One thing very observable in this historie is the composure of Peter's mind in a great extremity, and in the near apprehension of death. For it is said ver 6. *And when Herod would have brought him forth, the same night Peter was sleeping between two soldiers, bound with two chains.* In that posture the angel found him, who at that instant was sent to assist his escape.

Having informed some of his intimate friends, assembled at the house of Marie, in Jerusalem, of his wonderful deliverance out of prison, *he departed, and went to another place.* ver. 17. Meaning either another house in Jerusalem, or else some city, or village, not far from it. Where, probably, he lived privatly, till the death of Herod Agrippa, which happened before the end of that year.

Some have thought, that Peter now went to Antioch, or Rome. But there is no good evidence of either of those opinions. Says Mr. Lenfant upon the place: "If St. Peter had gone to some celebrated city, for "instance, Antioch, according to some, or Rome, according to others, "no doubt St. Luke would have mentioned it, and some of the brethren "would have accompanied him according to custom. From the man- "ner, in which St. Luke expresseth himself, nothing is more natural, "than to suppose, that St. Peter, that he might not expose to danger the "faithfull at the house where he first called, and where many were as- "sembled, retired to some other place in Jerusalem."

In the year 49. or 50. was assembled the Council of Jerusalem, con-

cerning the queſtion, *whether it was needful to circumciſe the Gentils, who believed, and to command them to keep the law.* At this aſſemblie Peter was preſent, and in the debate clearly declared his opinion, that *the yoke of the law ſhould not be laid upon the neck of the diſciples* from among the Gentils. As a cogent argument for his opinion, he reminded the aſſemblie, how by divine appointment he had preached the word of the goſpel to Gentils, at Ceſarea, and that God, *who knoweth the hearts of all men*, had ſhewn his acceptance of them by giving to them the Holy Ghoſt, though uncircumciſed. By which it had been made manifeſt, that they might be ſaved by faith in Jeſus Chriſt, without the rituals of the law.

Whilſt Paul was this time at Jeruſalem, James, Peter, and John, *gave to Paul and Barnabas the right hands of fellowſhip*, that they might proceed in preaching to the Gentils: whilſt they, and the other Apoſtles, ſtill continued in Judea to preach to thoſe of the circumciſion. Gal. ii. 6. . . . 10.

He goes to Antioch, where he is reproved by St. Paul.

III. Some ſhort time afterwards, as it ſeems, Peter was at Antioch, as we learn from St. Paul. Gal. ii. 11. . . . 16. I place this journey of Peter to Antioch, after the Council of Jeruſalem, according to the general opinion. But Baſnage argues, that (*s*) it was before it. If it was not till after it, (as I rather think,) it could not be long. For Barnabas was now at Antioch. Whereas in a ſhort time after their return thither from Jeruſalem, he and Paul parted. Here Peter at firſt converſed freely with the Gentil converts. But when there came thither from Judea ſome Jewiſh believers, zealous for the law, *he ſeparated himſelf, fearing them of the circumciſion.* Herein Peter acted contrarie to his own judgement, and declared opinion, through fear of the diſpleaſure of others. St. Paul therefore repreſents his conduct, as *diſſimulation*, or hypocriſie. What he now did, in compliance with the zealots for the law, was a thing of very bad tendence. St. Paul therefore juſtly *withſtood him*: and ſo ſhewed him to be blamable, that Peter acquieſced. Hereby, as Paul expreſſeth it, *he* (E) *compelled the Gentils to judaize*, or become Jews. For

(*s*) Illud nobis veroſimilius, Concilii Hieroſolymitani celebrationi anteceſſiſſe Petrinam hanc in Syriæ metropoli commorationem. Argumento eſt diſceptatio Pauli cum Petro, cujus diſſimulationem obruiſſet autoritate Synodi, ſi jam coacta fuiſſet. Quin immo nulla Petro, et timendi Judæos, eorum gratiâ ſeſe ſeparandi a Gentibus cauſſa fuit, ſi tum temporis promulgata fuiſſet Concilii Hieroſolymitani Epiſtola: quo veluti clypeo, ad omnes telorum Judaicorum ictus tutus erat. *Baſnag. Ann.* 46. *num.* xxv.

(E) *He compelled the Gentils to judaize*, or become Jews.] Our tranſlation is: *Why compelleſt thou the Gentils to live as do the Jews?* But it is far from being exact. Τί τὰ ἔθνη ἀναγκάζεις ἰουδαΐζειν; To judaize is to become a Jew, or proſelyte to the Jewiſh religion. Eſther viii. 17. *And many of the people of the land became Jews.* Or, as in the Seventy . . . . *were circumciſed, and judaized.* Καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν περιετέμνοντο, καὶ ἰουδαΐζον. The Greek word is uſed in the ſame ſenſe by *Joſephus. De B. J.* l. 2. cap. 18. n. 2. Ἀπεσκευάσθαι γὰρ τὸν ἰουδαϊκὸν διαίτης ἕκαστοι, τὸν ἰουδαΐζοντας εἶχον ἐν ὑποψίᾳ. To chriſtianize, arianize, ſabellianize, is to become a Chriſtian, an Arian, a Sabellian. And to judaize is to become a Jew. Which, if I may be allowed to ſay it, ſhews the impro-

For his separating from them, as unfit for converse and communion with the Apostles of Christ, and the believers from among the Jews, implied, that they were not acceptable in the sight of God, nor in the way of salvation: and that in order to be saved, it was needful for them to be circumcised, and keep the law.

It was, as I suppose, soon after the Council, and the year 50. in which Peter came to Antioch. And I imagine, that he now first of all went abroad out of Judea into Gentil countreys. It is very likely that he was desirous to see the Christian people at Antioch. But hitherto he had been little used to converse with Gentils. And when some zealous Jewish believers came to Antioch from Jerusalem, he was alarmed: recollecting, it is likely, how some at Jerusalem had contended with him after he was come from Cesarea, because he had been with men u circumcised, and *did eat with them.* Acts xi. 23. and very well knowing, from long and frequent experience, the prevailing temper of the people of his countrey. But it is reasonable to think, that Peter never more shewed the like unsteadiness, but was firm ever afterwards.

This is the last time, that Peter is expressly mentioned in the New Testament, excepting in his own epistles, and 1 Cor. i. 12. and iii. 22. From which texts Pearson concludes, that (*t*) St. Peter had been at Corinth, before St. Paul wrote his first epistle to the church there. But others think that (*u*) there were some at Corinth, who had heard Peter preach in Judea: and some, who had seen Peter in prison. They who said, *I am of Cephas, or of Christ,* must be supposed to have been Jews, either by descent or religion.

I do not think, these words can prove that Peter had been at Corinth, before Paul wrote this epistle. At ch. iii. 6. St. Paul says: *I have planted. Apollos watered.* He makes no mention of Peter's labours among the Corinthians. Peter may have been at Corinth afterwards, in his way to Rome. But I do not see any proof from this epistle of his having been there.

IV. We

impropriety of the use of the word, *Judaizer,* now very common among learned moderns, as denoting a man, who is for imposing Judaism upon others.

(*t*) At certissimum est, Petrum non minus quam Paulum Corinthi fuisse, et quidem antequam S. Paulus primam conscripsit ad Corinthios. Ita enim Apostolus loquitur. 1 Cor. i. 12. Unde colligitur, non minus Cephan, et Apollo, quam Paulum Corinthi fuisse. *Pearf. Op. Post. Diss. i. cap. vii. p.* 37.

(*u*) Alii ergo Corinthi ab Apollo instituti post Pauli abitum, alii ab ipso Paulo, alii qui ex Judæa venerant a Petro, sub illis nominibus, alia atque alia dogmata tradebant. . . . *Ego autem Christi.* Venerant enim ex Judæa quidam, qui ipsum Christum docentem audierant. *Grot. ad 1 Cor. i. 12. Vid. et Witsf. de Vita Pauli. sect. 7. num. xx. Miletem. p.* 104. 105.

Sunt viri docti qui existimant, Petrum Apostolum hoc anno Corinthum venisse, dum in ea urbe etiamnum esset Apollos. . . . Sed propensio in Petrum esse potuit, licet Corinthum pedem non intulisset. Nihil enim vetat fuisse Christianos Corinthi, qui cum Petrum in Judæa aut alibi audivissent, magistrum eum suum dictitarent, et Paulo præferrent. Itaque iter hoc Petri nimis levi conjecturâ nititur. *Cleric. H. E. ann.* 55. *num.* 9.

His Travels, and the Time of his coming to Rome.

IV. We have no where any very diſtinct account of this Apoſtle's travels. He might return to Judea, and ſtay there a good while after having been at Antioch, at the time ſpoken of by St. Paul in the epiſtle to the Galatians. However, I formerly quoted Epiphanius, ſaying, that (*x*) Peter was often in the countreys of Pontus, and Bithynia. And by Euſebius we are aſſured, that Origen in the third tome of his Expoſition of the book of Geneſis, writes to this purpoſe: "Peter (*y*) is ſuppoſed to have preached to the Jews "of the diſperſion in Pontus, Galatia, Bithynia, Cappadocia, and "Aſia. Who at length coming to Rome, was crucified with his "head downwards, himſelf having deſired it might be in that manner."

For the time of Peter's coming to Rome, no ancient writer is now more regarded by learned moderns, than Lactantius, or whoever is the author of the book Of the Deaths of Perſecutors. Who ſays, that (*z*) Peter came thither in the time of Nero. Inſomuch that (*a*) Pagi aſſents to this account: and has ſhewn it to be altogether improbable, that (*b*) St. Peter came thither in the time of Claudius. He likewiſe (*c*) obſerves ſome difficulties, which they are liable to, who ſuppoſe, that he firſt came to Rome in the reign of Claudius, and afterwards in the reign of Nero. But though Peter did not come to Rome before the reign of Nero, which began in the year of Chriſt 54. we cannot ſay exactly the time, when he came thither, as is alſo (*d*) acknowledged by the ſame excellent chronologer.

However, it appears to me very probable, that St. Peter did not come to Rome before the year of Chriſt 63. or 64. nor till after St. Paul's departure thence, at the end of his two years impriſonment in that city.

The books of the New Teſtament afford a very plauſible, and probable, if not a certain argument for it. After our Lord's aſcenſion we find Peter with the reſt of the Apoſtles at Jeruſalem. He and John were ſent by the Apoſtles from Jeruſalem to Samaria, whence they returned to Jeruſalem. When Paul came to Jeruſalem three years after his converſion, he found Peter there. Upon occaſion of the tranquillity of the churches in Judea, Galilee, and Samaria, near the end of the reign of Caligula, Peter left Jeruſalem, and viſited the churches in the ſeveral parts of that countrey, particularly, at Lydda, and Joppa, where *he tarried many*

(*x*) *Vol. viii. p.* 310.

(*y*) Πέτρος δὲ ἐν πόντῳ . . . κεκηρυχέναι τοῖς ἐν διασπορᾷ Ἰουδαίοις ἔοικεν. Ὃς καὶ ἐπὶ τέλει ἐν ῥώμῃ γενόμενος, ἐνεσκολοπίσθη κατὰ κεφαλῆς, ἐτως αὐτὸς ἀξιώσας παθεῖν. *Euſeb. H. E. l.* 3. *cap.* 1.

(*z*) . . . et per annos xxv. uſque ad principium Neroniani imperii per omnes provincias et civitates Eccleſiæ fundamenta miſerunt. Cumque jam Nero imperaret, Petrus Romam advenit, et editis quibuſdam miraculis, quæ virtute ipſius Dei, data ſibi ab eo poteſtate, faciebat, convertit multos ad juſtitiam, Deoque templum ſolide ac ſtabile collocavit. Quâ re ad Neronem delatâ . . . et primus omnium perſecutus Dei ſervos, Petrum cruci adfixit, et Paulum interfecit. *De Mort. Perſec. cap.* 2.

(*a*) *Critic. in Baron. ann.* 43. *num.* iii.

(*b*) *Ibid. num.* ii. (*c*) *Ibid. num.* iii.

(*d*) . . . cum verus ejus adventûs annus nos lateat. *Id. ann.* 54. *num.* ii.

many days. Thence he went to Ceſarea by the ſea-ſide, where he preached to Cornelius, and his companie. Thence he returned to Jeruſalem. And ſome time afterwards he was impriſoned there by Herod Agrippa. This brings down the hiſtorie of our Apoſtle to the year 44. A few years after this he was preſent at the Council of Jeruſalem. Nor is there any evidence, that he came thither barely for that occaſion. It is more probable, that he had not yet been out of Judea. Soon after that Council he was at Antioch, where he was reproved by St. Paul.

The books of the New Teſtament afford no light for determining, where Peter was for ſeveral years after that. But to me it appears not unlikely, that he returned in a ſhort time to Judea from Antioch: and that he ſtaid in Judea a good while, before he went thence any more. And it ſeems to me, that when he left Judea, he went again to Antioch the chief city of Syria. Thence he might go into other parts of the continent, particularly, Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Aſia, and Bithynia, which are expreſsly mentioned at the begining of his firſt epiſtle. In thoſe countreys he might ſtay a good while. It is very likely, that he did ſo: and that he was well acquainted with the Chriſtians there, to whom he afterwards wrote two epiſtles.

When he left thoſe parts, I think, he went to Rome: but not till after Paul had been in that city, and was gone from it. Several of St. Paul's epiſtles furniſh out a cogent argument of Peter's abſence from Rome for a conſiderable ſpace of time. St. Paul, in the laſt chapter of his epiſtle to the Romans, writ, as we ſuppoſe, in the begining of the year 58. ſalutes many by name, without mentioning Peter. And the whole tenour of the epiſtle makes it reaſonable to think, that the Chriſtians there had not yet had the benefit of that Apoſtle's preſence, and inſtructions. During his two years confinement at Rome, which ended, as we ſuppoſe, in the ſpring of the year 63. St. Paul wrote four, or five epiſtles, thoſe to the Epheſians, the ſecond epiſtle to Timothie, to the Philippians, the Coloſſians, and Philemon: in none of which is any mention of Peter. Nor is any thing ſaid, or hinted, whence it can be concluded, that he had ever been there.

I think therefore, that Peter did not come to Rome before the year 63. or perhaps 64. And, as I ſuppoſe, he obtained the crown of martyrdom in the year 64. or 65. Conſequently, St. Peter could not reſide very long at Rome, before his death.

It is very remarkable, that (*e*) Nicephorus, at the begining of the ninth centurie, in his Chronographie, computes St. Peter's epiſcopate at Rome to have been of two years duration only. For that paſſage I am indebted to (*f*) Baſnage, whoſe argument upon it I have placed below. Nicephorus,

(*e*) Οἱ ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐπισκοπήσαντες ἀπὸ χριστοῦ, καὶ τὸν χρόνον,

α Πέτρος ἀποστολος; ἔτη β.

Ap. Scalig. Theſ. Temp. p. 308.

(*f*) Lactantius Euſebio paullo antiquior Petrum non Claudio quidem, ſed Nerone imperante Romam veniſſe tradit. . . . Neque Lactantio propria chronologia haec eſt. In Nicephori enim Chronographia legimus: *Qui Romae epiſcopatum geſſerunt a Chriſto et Apoſtolis. Petrus annis duobus.* Quibus conſequens

phorus, therefore, (and probably others likewiſe,) muſt have ſuppoſed that Peter did not come to Rome, till near the end of his life.

As the foregoing is the moſt likely account of St. Peter's travels which I have been able to form; I do not ſee any reaſon to believe, that he ever was in Chaldea. Coſmas, of Alexandria, who thought, that by (*g*) Babylon at the end of St. Peter's firſt epiſtle is meant Babylon in Perſia, muſt have ſuppoſed, that this Apoſtle was in that countrey. And learned men (*h*) who underſtand Babylon in the ſame ſenſe, take it for granted, that St. Peter travelled into that part of the world. But I do not perceive them to ſupport their opinion by teſtimonies of ancient writers. Which ſurely would have been of advantage to it.

And there are ſome paſſages of ancient authors, where it would be reaſonable to expect an account of ſuch a journey, if there had been in thoſe times any knowledge of it, or well atteſted tradition about it.

Origen, in the paſſage cited by (*i*) Euſebius, and already quoted by us likewiſe from him, ſays: "Peter is ſaid to have preached to the Jews of the diſperſion in Pontus, Galatia, Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Aſia. Who at length coming to Rome was crucified."

Euſebius, in his Chronical Canon, as publiſhed by Scaliger, ſays, in the Greek, "that (*k*) Peter having founded the church in Antioch, went away "to Rome preaching the goſpel."

Jerome, in his book of Illuſtrious Men, in like manner ſays: "that (*l*) Peter having been at Antioch, and preached to the Jews of the diſperſion in Pontus, and the neighboring countreys, went to Rome." In another place Jerome ſays: "that (*m*) Chriſt was with the Apoſtles in all the places whither they went. He was with Thomas in India, with Peter at Rome, with Paul in Illyricum, with Titus in Crete, with Andrew in Achaia." Why does he not alſo ſay, that Chriſt was with Peter in Babylon?

Ephraim

conſequens eſt, Petrum biennium circiter ante mortem iter in urbem direxiſſe. Secus diuturniorem ei epiſcopatum vindicaſſet Nicephorus. *Baſn. ann.* 42. *num.* x.

(*g*) *See vol.* xi. 275.

(*h*) . . . Verum ego priorem ſententiam tanquam longe veriſimiliorem amplector, tum quod in Babylone Parthicâ magna eſſet Judæorum frequentia, qui ἀιχμαλωτάξχην ſuum habuerunt: tum quod Petro Antiochiâ diſcedenti facilior ac commodior eſſet in hæc loca tranſitus, in quibus cum diu prædicaſſe, nemo, opinor, facile negabit. *Cav. H. L. in Petro. p.* 6. *Et Conſ. Baſnag. Ann.* 57. *num. iii. et ann.* 46. *num. xxv.*

(*i*) *Vid. Euſ. H. E. l.* 3. *cap.* i.

(*k*) Πέτρος ὁ κορυφαῖος τὴν ἐν ἀντιοχείᾳ πρώτην θεμελιώσας ἐκκλησίαν εἰς ῥώμην ἄπεισι κηρύττων τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. *Chr. Can. p.* 204.

(*l*) Simon Petrus, . . . princeps Apoſtolorum, poſt epiſcopatum Antiochenſis eccleſiæ, et prædicationem diſperſionis eorum, qui de circumciſione crediderant, in Ponto . . . ſecundo Claudii Imperatoris anno, ad expugnandum Simonem Magum, Romam pergit. *De V. I. cap.* i.

(*m*) *Tom. iv. P. i. p.* 167. *ad Marcell. ep.* 148.

Ephraim the Syrian says, "that (*n*) Peter preached at Rome, John at Ephesus, Matthew in Palestine, and Thomas in the Indies."

Gregorie Nazianzen (*o*) speaks of Paul, as having for his province all the Gentils in general, Peter Judea, Luke Achaia, Andrew Epirus, John Ephesus, Thomas the Indies, and Mark Italie.

Why do none of these writers take in Babylon, or Persia, or Chaldea, as the Apostle Peter's province?

Once more. Says Chrysostom: "This (*p*) is one prerogative of our city, (Antioch,) that we had at the begining the chief of the Apostles for our master. For it was fit, that the place, which was first honoured with the name of Christians, should have the chief of the Apostles for its Pastour. But though we had him for a master a while, we did not detain him, but resigned him to the royal city, Rome. Or rather, we have him still. For though we have not his body, we have his faith." I might refer to other places of Chrysostom, where he speaks of Peter's having been at Rome. But why does he not also mention Babylon?

I therefore relye upon the account before given of St. Peter's travels, as most likely. And in particular I observe, that we have not in ancient Christian writers any good assurance of his having ever been in Persia, or Parthia. A learned writer of our time, who contends that he was there, and that his first epistle was writ at the Assyrian Babylon, acknowledgeth, that (*q*) from that epistle of S. Peter alone we have any assurance of his having been at Babylon.

The Time of his Death.

V. In the historie of St. Paul I have already shewn it to be probable, that he and Peter suffered martyrdom at Rome in 64. or 65.

Cave (*r*) likewise, in his life of St. Peter, writ in English, in 1676. placeth the death of this Apostle in 64. or 65. Nor was his mind much altered, when he published his Historia Literaria in 1688. For there also

(*n*) *See Vol. ix. p.* 211. (*o*) *Orat.* 25. *p.* 438. *A.*

(*p*) Εν γαρ κῃ τοῦτο πλεονέκτημα τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως, τὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων κορυφαῖον λαβεῖν ἐν ἀρχῇ διδάσκαλον. . . . Αλλα . . . οὐκ εἰς τέλος κατεσχομεν, ἀλλα παρεχωρησαμεν τῇ βασιλιδι χώρᾳ. κ. λ. *In Principp. Act. Ap. hom.* 2. *T.* 3. *p.* 70.

(*q*) Supereſt aliquid, quod ex hoc Petri loco diſcamus. Primum igitur cognoſcimus hic, quod aliunde non conſtat, Babylone etiam fuiſſe Petrum, magnamque ibi meſſem fuiſſe Chriſto meſſem. *Heumann. Nova Sylloge Diſſ. Part.* 2. *p.* 113.

(*r*) "The date of his death is differently assigned by the ancients. . . . That which seems to me most probable, is, that it was in the tenth of Nero, or the year lxv. Which I thus compute. Nero's burning of Rome is placed by Tacitus under the Consulship of C. Lucanus, and M. Licinius, about the month of July, that is, A. Ch. lxiv. This act procured him the hatred and clamours of the people. Which having in vain endeavored several ways to remove and pacify, he at last resolved upon this project, to derive the odium upon the Christians. Whom therefore, both to appease the Gods, and please the people, he condemned as guilty of the fact, and caused to be executed with all manner of acute and exquisite tortures. This persecution began, as we may suppose, about the end of that, or the begining of the following year. And under this persecution, I doubt not, it was, St. Peter suffered, and changed earth for heaven." *Cave's Life of St. Peter, ſect. xi.*

alſo he ſuppoſeth, that (*s*) St. Peter died a martyr at Rome, in the year of Chriſt 64. at the begining of Nero's perſecution. And indeed expreſſeth himſelf with a great deal of aſſurance and poſitiveneſſe.

Jerome concludes his article of St. Peter, ſaying: "He (*t*) was buried at Rome in the Vatican, near the triumphal Way, and is in veneration all over the world." We likewiſe formerly (*u*) ſaw a paſſage of Caius, about the year 212. where he ſpeaks of the tombs of the two Apoſtles, Peter and Paul, at Rome. And Chryſoſtom, in a paſſage lately cited, ſuppoſes St. Peter to have been buried in that city.

Things hitherto omitted.

VI. I ſhall now take notice of a few things hitherto entirely omitted, or but ſlightly touched upon. His Epiſcopate at Antioch, his having been five and twenty years Biſhop of Rome, his children, his wife's martyrdom, ſaid to have happened at Rome, the manner of his crucifixion.

1. We have ſeen ſeveral authors, who ſpeak of Peter's having been at Antioch. Chryſoſtom ſeems to have ſuppoſed, that (*x*) he was there a good while. This may be alſo implied in the paſſage of Jerome before cited (*y*) from his Book of Illuſtrious Men, where he ſpeaks of Peter's epiſcopate of Antioch. And in his Commentarie upon the epiſtle to the Galatians he ſays, that (*z*) Peter was at firſt Biſhop of Antioch, and afterwards Biſhop of Rome. Euſebius ſpeaking of Ignatius, and his epiſtles, calls (*a*) him the ſecond Biſhop of Antioch after Peter. Jerome (*b*) calls Ignatus the third Biſhop after Peter. They both ſuppoſe Euodius, of whom (*c*) Euſebius ſpeaks elſewhere, to have been the firſt Biſhop of Antioch, or the firſt after Peter.

What real foundation there is for all this, is hard to ſay: whether it be built entirely upon what St. Paul writes Gal. ii. 11. . . . 16. or whether there was ſome other ground for it.

But, as before ſaid in the account above given of St. Peter's travels, I think, that St. Peter did not ſtay long at Antioch, the firſt time he was there, which is mentioned by St. Paul, but returned to Judea, and after ſome time leaving that countrey, he went to Antioch again. Where he might

(*s*) Tandem ſub Nerone, forſan circa annum 63. Romam venit, fideles, quos ibi repperit, in ordinem redegit, eccleſiam conſtituit, auxit, et mox ſanguine ſuo locupletavit. . . . . Obiit igitur ſanctus Petrus anno Chriſti 64. Neronis 10. ſub initium perſecutionis Neronianæ, ut in opere vernaculo, *De Vitis Apoſtolorum*, latius diſſeruimus. Etenim cum Nero ob grande illud ſcelus, Romanæ Urbis incendium, in odium omnium veniſſet, abolendo rumori, inquit Tacitus, crimen conjecit in Chriſtianos, eoſque hâc de cauſſâ quæſitiſſimis pœnis affecit. Quin hâc occaſione rapti ſint ad martyrium Apoſtoli, nemo, cui ſanum ſinciput, dubitare poteſt. *Hiſt. Lit. de Petro. p.* 5.

(*t*) *See Vol. x. p.* 131. (*u*) *Vol. iii. p.* 23.

(*x*) *See p.* 427. (*y*) *See before, p.* 426. *note* (*l*).

(*z*) Denique primum Epiſcopum Antiochenæ eccleſiæ Petrum fuiſſe accepimus, et Romam exinde tranſlatum, quod Lucas penitus omiſit. *Hieron. in ep. ad Gal. cap.* 2. 11. . . . 13. *T.* 4. *P. i. p.* 244.

(*a*) . . . τῆς κατ' ἀντιόχειαν πέτρου διαδοχῆς δεύτερος τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν κεκληρωμένος. *H E. l.* 3. *cap.* 36. *p.* 106. *D.*

(*b*) Ignatius Antiochenæ eccleſiæ tertius poſt Petrum Apoſtolum Epiſcopus. *De V. I. cap.* 16.

(*c*) *H. E. l.* 3. *cap.* 22.

might ſtay a while, and then go and preach in the countreys mentioned at the beginning of his firſt epiſtle, and then go to Rome.

2. It has been ſaid, that Peter was Biſhop of Rome five and twenty years. This is ſaid by Jerome in (*d*) his book of Illuſtrious Men, and (*e*) in his Chronicle, or his Latin edition of Euſebe's Greek Chronicle, or Chronicle Canon, as it is ſometimes called: where (*f*) he added divers things not ſaid by Euſebius himſelf.

But this is inconſiſtent with the hiſtory in the Acts. Nor is it any where expreſsly ſaid by Euſebius, though, perhaps, it might be argued from ſome things ſaid by him. How the origin of this notion is accounted for by (*h*) Pagi, and (*i*) Baluze, both Romaniſts, may be ſeen in their own words, which I tranſcribe below. I refer likewiſe to (*k*) Baſnage, and (*l*) Dodwell. In all whom are good obſervations relating to this point.

Clement

(*d*) Poſt epiſcopatum Antiochenſis eccleſiæ, et prædicationem diſperſionis eorum, qui de circumciſione crediderant in Ponto. . . . Romam pergit: ibique viginti quinque annis cathedram ſacerdotalem tenuit, uſque ad ultimum annum Neronis, id eſt, decimum quartum. *De V. I. cap. i.*

(*e*) Petrus Apoſtolus, quum primus Antiochenam eccleſiam fundaſſet, Romam mittitur, ubi evangelium prædicans xxv. annis ejuſdem urbis Epiſcopus perſeverat. *Chron. p.* 160.

(*f*) . . . *Ibid. xxv. annis ejuſdem urbis epiſcopus perſeverat.*] Adjecta ſunt ab Hieronymo, et ab eodem repetuntur in Catalogo Scriptor. Ecc. Græca enim non habent. Ab Aſſumptione Domini, ad id tempus, quo Petrus conjectus fuit in vincula ab Herode Agrippa. . . Petrus ſemper fuit in Palæſtina, aut Syria. Herodes obiit quarto anno Claudii. Quomodo igitur anno ſecundo Claudii profectus eſt Romam? Quomodo viginti quinque annos Romæ perſeveravit? *Scaliger. Animadv. p.* 189.

(*h*) Præſtat hic Lactantii citati verba in medium afferre. *Apoſtoli per annos xxv. uſque ad principium Neroniani Imperii per omnes provincias et civitates Eccleſiæ fundamenta miſerunt. Cumque Jam Nero imperaret, Petrus Romam advenit.* . . . . Ex his viginti quinque annis, qui ad prædicationem omnium Apoſtolorum ex æquo pertinent, orta videtur opinio de xxv. annis, qui vulgo tribuuntur S. Petro in ſede Romanâ. *Pagi. ann.* 43. *num. iii.*

(*i*) Fortaſſis ergo ex his viginti quinque annis, qui ad prædicationem omnium Apoſtolorum æque pertinent, orta eſt opinio de viginti quinque annis, quos quidam veteres, et innumerabile recentiorum agmen, ſanctо Petro apoſtolo tribuunt in ſede Romana. Sane licet fruſtra et ſupervacaneè a nonnullis negari putem adventum ejus ad urbem Romam, qui clariſſimis veterum teſtimoniis comprobatus eſt, de tempore tamen multum ambigo, cum videam tot tantaſque difficultates habere eorum ſententiam, qui illum Romam veniſſe volunt Claudio imperante, ut coacti ſint duplicare profectionem ejus in urbem, et duplex item ejus cum Simone Mago certamen comminiſci, primo quidem temporibus Claudii, dein principatu Neronis. Quæ res quam abſurda ſit, cum id a nullo veterum proditum ſit memoriæ literarum, pervident iſtarum rerum periti. . . . Itaque ſi fas eſſet recedere a vulgari, et in animis hominum inſita opinione, ei Lactantianam lubenter præferrem; id eſt, Petrum quidem Romæ prædicaſſe evangelium facile concederem, non ſub Tiberio Claudio, ut vulgo putant, ſed ſub Nerone Claudio. &c. *Steph. Baluz. annot. ad libr. de M. P. cap.* 2.

(*k*) *Ann.* 42. *n. x. xi.*

(*l*) *Diſſ. Singularis. cap. iii. n.* 1. *p.* 13.

Clement of Alexandria (*m*) reckons Peter among those Apoſtles, who had children. According to him, Philip was another. Epiphanius ſays, that (*n*) Peter came to Chriſt after he was married, and had children. Jerome, in his firſt book againſt Jovinian, takes notice, that (*o*) in the Circuits, probably meaning the Recognitions, mention was made both of Peter's wife and daughter. But, ſays he, that is not a canonical book. And ſtill we have a paſſage in the Recognitions, where St. Peter's wife is mentioned: but, as (*p*) Cotelerius obſerves, what was ſaid of Peter's daughter is wanting. Poſſibly theſe things may illuſtrate the words of Peter, recorded Matt. xix. 27. *Behold, we have forſaken all, and followed thee. What ſhall we have therefore?* And indeed Origen, in his Commentarie upon St. Matthew ſays: "It (*q*) ſeems, that Peter did not leave nets only, but alſo a houſe, and a wife, whoſe mother the Lord healed of a fever, and, as may be ſuppoſed, children, and poſſibly likewiſe ſome ſmall eſtate."

4. Farther, Clement of Alexandria (*r*), cited alſo by (*s*) Euſebius, informs us: "It was ſaid, that the bleſſed Peter, ſeeing his wife led forth to death, rejoiced for the grace of God vouchſafed to him: and calling to her by name, exhorted, and comforted her, ſaying: *Remember the Lord.*"

If time and place had been mentioned, it would have added to the credibility of the ſtorie. However ſhe might be at Rome, as we know Peter was. And if ſo, ſhe might ſuffer about the ſame time with him. For Nero's perſecution took in people of both ſexes, and all conditions, as we know from the account given by Tacitus. And we learn from St. Paul, that Peter was attended by his wife in his travels. 1 Cor. ix. 5.

5. It is alſo ſaid, that "(*t*) St. Peter being impriſoned at Rome, or being in ſome imminent danger of ſuffering, the brethren there entreated him to

(*m*) . . . ἢ οὐ ἀποστόλους ἀποδοκιμάζεσι; Πέτρος μὲν γὰρ καὶ φίλιππος ἐπαιδοποιήσαντο. *Clem. Strom. l. 3. p. 448. D. et ap. Euſeb. H. E. l. 3. cap. 30.*

(*n*) Μετὰ γὰρ τὸ γῆμαι, καὶ τέκνα κεκτῆσθαι, καὶ πενθερὰν ἔχειν, συνέτυχε τῷ σωτῆρι, ἐξ ἰουδαίων ὁρμώμενος. *Hær. 30. num. 22. p. 147. B.*

(*o*) Poſſumus autem et de Petro dicere, quod habuerit ſocrum eo tempore quo credidit, et uxorem non habuerit: quamquam legatur in Περιόδοις et uxor ejus et filia. Sed nunc nobis de canone omne certamen eſt. *Contr. Jovin. l. 1. T. IV. P. 2. p. 168. in.*

(*p*) *Die autem poſterâ ſedens cum uxore Petri.*] Teſtatur Hieronymus contra Jovinianum ſcribens, legi in Periodis et uxorem Petri et filiam. Ea igitur Circuituum pars, in quâ de Petri filiâ (Petronillam illam vocant) ſermo erat, nunc deſideratur. Uxorem autem memorant præterea Clem. A. Str. 7. ubi et martyrium illius refert verbis, quæ citantur ab Euſebio. iii. 30. Origines ad Matt. xix. 27. Epiphanius H. 30. n. 22. Hieronymus ep. 34. *Coteler. ad Recognit. l. 7. cap. 25.*

(*q*) *Origen. in Matt. Tom. xv. p. 682. T. 3. Bened.*

(*r*) *H. E. l. 3. cap. 30.*

(*s*) Φασὶ γάρ, τὸν μακάριον πέτρον θεασάμενον τὴν αὐτῷ γυναῖκα ἀγομένην τὴν ἐπὶ θάνατον, ἡσθῆναι τῆς κλήσεως χάριν. . . . ἐπιφωνῆσαι δὲ ἓν μάλα πρωτρεπτικῶς καὶ παρακλητικῶς ἐξ ὀνόματος προσείποντα· Μέμνησο ὦ ἄντη τῷ κυρίῳ. *Str. 7. p. 736. B.*

(*t*) Idem Petrus poſtea, victo Simone, cum præcepta Dei populo ſeminaret, excitavit animos Gentilium: quibus eum quærentibus, Chriſtianæ animæ

o conſult his ſafety by flight, and to reſerve himſelf for farther ſervice nd uſefulneſſe. At length he was perſuaded, and went out in the dark ight. But when he came to the gate, he ſaw Chriſt entering into the ity. Whereupon he ſaid: *Lord, whither art thou going?* Chriſt anwered, *I am come hither to be crucified again.* By which Peter apprenended himſelf to be reproved, and perceived, that Jeſus ſpake of his eath, and that now he was to be crucified in his ſervant. Accordingly eter turned back, and gave ſatisfaction to the brethren. And being oon after taken up, he was crucified."

This ſtorie is in Ambroſe, Biſhop of Milan, in the fourth centurie. Tillemont (*u*) has endeavoured to find ſome grounds for it, or references o it, in more ancient authors. But they are very obſcure, and doubtful. Baſnage (*x*) has ſome remarks upon it, which may be read by ſuch s have leiſure.

6. St. Peter's death, and the manner of it, we ſaw juſt now in a paſage cited from (*y*) Origen, and likewiſe, that when he was to be crucified, he deſired, it might be in that way. So likewiſe Jerome, "that (*z*) he was crucified by order of Nero, and ſo crowned with martyrdom, is head downward, and his feet lifted up, ſaying: He was unworthie to e crucified, as his maſter was." To the like purpoſe (*a*) Prudentius. Chryſoſtom alſo ſeveral times ſpeaks (*b*) of Peter's being crucified with his ead downwards.

And

eprecatæ ſunt, ut paullisper cederet. Et quamvis eſſet cupidus paſſionis, amen contemplatione populi precantis inflexus eſt. Rogabatur enim, ut ad ſtituendum et confirmandum populum ſe reſervaret. Quid multa? Nocte uros egredi cœpit. Sed videns ſibi in portâ Chriſtum occurrere, urbemque gredi, ait: Domine quo vadis? Reſpondit Chriſtus: Venio iterum crucii. . . . Intellexit ergo Petrus, quod iterum Chriſtus crucifigendus eſſet in rvulo. Itaque ſponte remeavit. Interrogantibus Chriſtianis reſponſum ddidit, ſtatimque correptus, per crucem ſuam honoravit Dominum Jeſum. *Ambr. Serm. contr. Aux. T. 2. p. 867. A. B. ed. Bened.*

(*u*) *S. Pierre. art. 35. et note 39. Mem. Tom. i.*

(*x*) *Ann. 65. num. xi.* (*y*) *See p. 424.*

(*z*) A quo et affixus cruci, martyrio coronatus eſt, capite ad terram verſo, t in ſublime pedibus elevatis: aſſerens, ſe indignum, qui ſic crucifigeretur, t Dominus ſuus. *De V. I. cap. i.*

(*a*) Primum Petrum rapuit ſententia, legibus Neronis,
Pendere juſſum præminente ligno.
Ille tamen veritus celſæ decus æmulando mortis
Ambire tanti gloriam magiſtri:
Exigit, ut pedibus merſum caput imprimant ſupinis,
Quo ſpectet imum ſtipitem cerêbro.

Περὶ στεφ. *cap.* 12.

(*b*) . . . ἅτε δὴ καὶ πλείονος λαοῦ δύναμιν καὶ μεῖζον τὸ θάρσος ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων ἀποκινῶν, καὶ τῷ σαυτοῦ κατὰ κεφαλῆς προσομιλήσαι. κ. λ. *Chr. in. Pr. Act. hom. 4. T. 3. p. 93. E.*

Ἐπὶ τίνος δὲ καὶ πέτρος ἠχθὴ ὃς μὲν ἀποτμηθείς, ὃς δὲ ἀπ' ἐναντίας τῷ δεσπότῃ τὴν τιμωρίαν δεξάμενος, ὅτῳ μείζων τῆς παρούσης ζωῆς; *In Gen. hom. 66. T. 4. p. 630. A.*

Ὁ χριστὸς ἐσταυρώθη· ἔδει ἕμελλεν ἀποκεφαλίζεσθαι· ὁ πέτρος κάτωθεν ἀνέσκολοπίσθη. *In 2 Tim. hom. 5. T. xi. p. 687. D.*

And it is unqueſtioned, that (*c*) among the Romans ſome were ſo crucified, to add to their pain and ignominie. Nevertheleſs ſome ancient writers, who ſpeak of Peter's martyrdom by crucifixion, do (*d*) not take notice of that circumſtance. Which has induced (*e*) Baſnage to diſpute the truth of it. Allowing, that (*f*) Peter was crucified in that manner, he thinks it not reaſonable to ſuppoſe, it was at his own requeſt. And it muſt be acknowledged, that his reaſoning is plauſible.

It ſeems to me, that Peter might be crucified in that manner, and that it might be owing to the ſpite and malice of thoſe, who put him to death. The ſaying, that it was at his own deſire, may have been at firſt only the oratorical flight of ſome man of more wit than judgement. But the thought was pleaſing, and therefore has been followed by many.

That he was at Rome, and ſuffered Martyrdom there.

VII. Some learned men have denied, that Peter ever was at Rome, as (*g*) Scaliger, (*h*) Salmaſius, (*i*) Frederick Spanheim, and ſome others. Mr. Bower is much of the ſame mind. His words are: "From "(*k*) what has been hitherto ſaid every impartial judge muſt conclude, that it is at beſt very much to be doubted, whether St. Peter ever was at Rome." Nevertheleſs there have been many learned men among the Proteſtants, as well as Romaniſts, whoſe impartiality was never queſtioned, who have believed, and argued very well, that Peter was at Rome, and ſuffered

(*c*) *Vid. Baſnag. ann.* 65. *num. xiv.*

(*d*) Ubi Petrus paſſioni dominicæ adæquatur. *Tertull. Pr. cap.* 36. *p.* 245. Tunc Petrus ab altero cingitur, quum cruci adſtingitur. *Id. Scorp. cap.* 15. *p.* 633.

. . . . Petrum cruci adfixit, et Paulum interfecit. *De Mort. Perſec. cap.* 2.

(*e*) *Ubi ſupra. num. xiv.*

(*f*) Conceſſo, ut plures teſtantur, ſublimibus Petrum veſtigiis affixum cruci, quin ex Prætoris mandato irrogatum hoc ſupplicii, quo pereunti adderetur dolor et ludibrium, non credere non poſſumus. . . Præpoſtera ſane et vana ea videtur eſſe modeſtia, quam aſcribunt Petro. . . Neque priſcorum aliquem martyrum, qui in crucem acti fuerunt, ſimilis unquam inceſſit humilitas. . . Præterea certo certius eſt, atrocius eorum fuiſſe ſupplicium, qui inverſo, quam qui recto capite figebantur cruci. . . Martyris autem eſt, imperatam ſibi mortem perferre fortiter, non vero poſcere, ut intendantur a carnifice tormenta. *Id. ib. num. xv.*

(*g*) Quum igitur Petrus ad περιτομὴν miſſus eſſet, videtur in διασπορᾷ Aſiana periiſſe, ſi conjecturæ locus eſt. Nam de ejus Romam adventu, ſede 25 annorum, et ſupremo capitis ſupplicio, ibidem, nemo qui paullo humanior fuerit, credere poſſet. *Joſ. Scal. annot. ad Joh. xviii.* 31.

(*h*) De Petro vero a Nerone ſublato non conſtat. Si non poteſt probari Romæ illam fuiſſe unquam, quomodo ibi crucifixus? Putem ego cum Salmaſio Babylone martyrium paſſum eſſe, ſi quid divinare in re incerta licet. *Gallæus ad Lact. Inſtit. l.* 4. *cap.* 21. *Vid. et de Salmaſii ſententiâ Pearſon. De Succeſſ. prim. Rom. Epiſcop. Diſſ. i. cap. viii.*

(*i*) *Diſſ. de ficta profectione Petri Ap. in urbem Romam. Opp. Tom.* 2 *p.* 331. *&c.*

(*k*) *Hiſtory of the Popes. Vol. i. p.* 5.

fered martyrdom there. I refer to some: (*l*) Cave, (*m*) Pearson, (*n*) Le Clerc, (*o*) Basnage, (*p*) Barratier.

I shall therefore remind my readers of some testimonies of ancient writers, relating to this matter, making also a few remarks upon them. And then let every one judge.

I begin with Clement of Rome, who wrote an epistle to the Corinthians, before the year of Christ 70. as some think, or about the year 96. as others suppose. In that epistle are these expressions. "But (*q*) not to "insist any longer, says he, upon examples of former times, let us come "to those worthies, that are nearest to us, and take the brave examples "of our own age. Through zeal and envie they who were the most "righteous pillars of the church (*r*) have been persecuted even to a "cruel death. Let (*s*) us set before our eyes the excellent Apostles. "Peter through unrighteous zeal underwent not one or two, but many "labours, till at last being martyred he went to the place of glorie that "was due to him. Through (*t*) zeal Paul obtained the reward of pa-"tience. Seven times he was in bonds, he was whipped, he was sto-"ned. He preached both in the East and in the West. And having "taught the whole world righteousnesse, and (*u*) coming to the borders "of the West, and suffering martyrdom under the Governours, so he "departed out of the world, and went to the most holy place, being a "most eminent pattern of patience.

"To (*x*) these men, who lived a divine life, was joyned a great mul-"titude of choice ones, who having undergone through zeal many re-"proaches and torments, became an excellent example among us."

From these passages I think it may be justly concluded, that Peter and Paul were Martyrs at Rome in the time of Nero's persecution. For they suffered among the Romans, where Clement was Bishop, and in whose name he was writing to the Corinthians. They were Martyrs, when many others were an *example*, or *pattern*, of a like patience *among them*. To *these Apostles*, says Clement, *was joyned a great multitude of choice ones*, or elect, that is, Christians. This is a manifest description of Nero's persecution at Rome, when a multitude of Christians there were put to death

(*l*) *Hist. Lit. in Petro.*

(*m*) *De Successione primorum Romæ Episcoporum. Diss. i. cap. vii. et viii.*

(*n*) *Hist. Eccl. ann.* 67. *n. i. et ann.* 68. *n.* 1. 2.

(*o*) *Ann.* 64. *num. ix. x. xi.*

(*p*) *De Successione Episc. Roman. cap. i.*

(*q*) *Clem. ep. ad Cor. cap. v. vi.*

(*r*) . . . ἐδιώχθησαν καὶ ἕως θανάτου διῶξαι.

(*s*) Λάβωμεν πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἡμῶν τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἀποστόλους. Πέτρος διὰ ζῆλον ἄδικον . . . καὶ ἔτι μαρτυρήσας ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὸν ὀφειλόμενον τόπον τῆς δόξης.

(*t*) Διὰ ζῆλον ὁ παῦλος ὑπομονῆς βραβεῖον ἔσχεν.

(*u*) Καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως ἐλθών, καὶ μαρτυρήσας ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων, οὕτως ἀπηλλάγη τοῦ κόσμου καὶ εἰς τὸν ἅγιον τόπον ἐπορεύθη, ὑπομονῆς γενόμενος μέγιστος ὑπο-δείγματος.

(*x*) Τούτοις τοῖς ἀνδράσιν θείως πολιτευσαμένοις συνηθροίσθη πολὺ πλῆθος ἐκλεκτῶν, οἵτινες πολλαῖς αἰκίαις καὶ βασάνοις διὰ ζῆλον παθόντες ὑπόδειγμα κάλλιστον ἐγένοντο ἡμῖν.

death under grievous reproaches, and exquisite torments, as we are assured by Tacitus. These were joyned to the excellent Apostles, Peter and Paul, before mentioned. Therefore Peter and Paul had suffered at that place, and at that time: and, as it seems, according to this account, at the begining of that persecution. Which may be reckoned not at all improbable.

When Clement says, that Paul *suffered martyrdom under the Governours*, he may be understood to mean *by order of the magistrate*. It cannot be hence inferred, that Peter and Paul did not die by Nero's order, or in virtue of his edict against the Christians. It should be considered, that Clement is not an historian. He is writing an epistle, containing divers exhortations. It was not needfull for him to be more particular. He does not name the city, in which either Peter, or Paul died, nor the death, which they underwent. But he intimates, that they suffered a cruel death, together with many choice ones *among them*. Which must mean Rome. And he plainly represents these Apostles as Martyrs, who had suffered through envie and unrighteous zeal. The place and the manner of their death were well known to the Christians at Corinth, to whom Clement was writing.

If we consider, where Clement was, he may be reasonably excused from naming the Emperour, or being otherwise more particular. This epistle was writ soon after some troubles, which the Christians at Rome had met with, as appears plainly from the begining of it: meaning, it is likely, either the persecution of Nero, or of Domitian, the next persecutor of the Christians. It is not at all strange, that at such a time Clement should think himself obliged to circumspection in the manner of his expressions.

Indeed the primitive Christians were always very carefull, not to speak disrespectfully of Heathen Princes, or other Magistrates, how much soever they suffered from them. The epistle begins in this manner. *The calamities and afflictions, brethren, which have befallen us, have somewhat retarded our answer to your inquiries.* Those *afflictions* intend, as before said, the persecution of Nero, or Domitian. And if so, certainly there is much mildnesse in the expressions. But a very different stile is used presently after in speaking of the dissension, which there was among the Christians at Corinth. It is called *a wicked and ungodly sedition, unbecoming the elect of God, fomented by a few rash and self-willed men.*

Bp. Pearson has argued from this place, that (*y*) Peter and Paul did not die by order of Nero himself, but by order of the Prefects of the City, when Nero was absent, and, particularly, on Febr. 22. in the year of Christ 68. and the last year of Nero. And he says, that (*z*) the Greek word

(*y*) S. Paulus (cum Petro) ultimo Neronis anno martyrium fecit. Factum autem id est sub Præfectis in Urbe, ut testatur Clemens Romanus, absente scilicet Nerone, Februarii die 22. *Ann. Paulin. p.* 25. *A. D.* 68.

(*z*) Quod si Romam diserte non expresserit, Neronem certe multo minus delineavit. Dicit enim Paulum ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων. . . . Neque enim ἡγούμενοι Imperatores dicti sunt: sed qui sub Imperatore, in provinciis præsertim. Præsidium loca sub variis nominibus obtinebant. . . . Neque hæc vox tantum in provinciis solennis fuit, sed etiam Romæ. . . . Tales erant Romæ, ultimi Neronis

word, which I have rendered *Governours* or *Magistrates*, never denotes the Emperour, but only the Prefects of the city, or of the provinces.

But Pearson was very unhappy in that observation. For Nero was at Rome in the begining of the year 68. Pagi (*a*) and Basnage (*b*) have shewn, that whereas Nero was absent from Rome almost two years, the greatest part of 66. and 67. he arrived at Rome from Greece in December 67.

And the word, which I have rendered *Governours*, is often used, not only for Prefects, but also for Kings, and Emperours, or other supreme magistrates. Of (*c*) which I place several instances in the margin.

However, both the noun and the verb are general words, and are used concerning Governours supreme and subordinate. As is apparent from that well known text, Luke iii. 1. *Now (d) in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cesar, Pontius Pilate being Governour of Judea.* As the words are well rendered in our version. But, literally, they might be translated in this manner. *Now in the fifteenth year of the government of Tiberius Cesar, Pontius Pilate being Governor of Judea.*

As for the word being in the plural number: it is no uncommon thing to prefer that to the singular, when we are obliged to be cautious, and intend, as I suppose Clement did, to speak in a general way. In short Clement shews, that Peter and Paul had died by martyrdom, and not in a tumult of the people, but by order of the magistrate, meaning the Emperour, though he is not named.

So that I must take the liberty to say, that Pearson's observation, that Peter and Paul were put to death, not by Nero, but by the Prefects of Rome, or some other great officer, in the absence of the Emperour, appears

Neronis anno, duo Præfecti Prætorii, Tigellinus et Sabinus, et cum summa potestate Helius. *De Successione. prim. Romæ Episcop. Diss. i. cap.* 3. §. *ix.*

(*a*) *Ann.* 67. *num. ii.*

(*b*) *Ann.* 66. *num. vi. et* 67. *n. v.*

(*c*) 1 Kings xv. 13. it is said of *Asa: And also Maachah, his mother, he removed from being Queen.* In the lxx. it is thus: Καὶ τὴν ἀνὰ τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ μετέστησε τοῦ μὴ εἶναι ἡγεμόνα. 2 Chron. vii. 18. When God appeared to *Solomon*, he said: *Then will I establish the throne of thy kingdom. There shall not fail thee a man to be Ruler in Israel.* Οὐκ ἐξαρθήσεταί σοι ἡγούμενος ἀνὴρ ἐν Ισραήλ. 2 Chr. ix. 26. *And he reigned over all the Kings from the river.* Καὶ ἦν ἡγούμενος πάντων τῶν βασιλέων ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ. When St. *Matthew* ch. ii. 6. quotes the words of the Prophet Micah: *Out of thee shall come a Governour,* ἡγούμενος, *that shall rule my people Israel:* he does not mean a Governour of inferior rank, but the Messiah himself. I shall add only a like instance or two from *Josephus*, and from a Greek classic, though many might be mentioned. . . μέχρι τοῦ; δωδεκάτου τῆς νέρωνος ἡγεμονίας. *Joseph. Ant. l.* 20. *cap. x. sect. ult. n.* 2. . . δωδεκάτῳ μὲν ἔτει τῆς νέρωνος ἡγεμονίας. *D. B. I. l.* 2. *cap.* 14. *n.* 4. . . τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν αὐτῶν ἀπουδείξαι ῥωμαίων ἡγεμόνα. *Dion. Hal. l.* 4. *cap.* 4. *p.* 202. *ed. Hudson.*

(*d*) Ἐν ἔτει δὲ πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ τῆς ἡγεμονίας τιβερίου καίσαρος, ἡγεμονεύοντος ποντίου πιλάτου τῆς ἰουδαίας.

pears to be of no value. And it is deſtitute of all authority from hiſtorie. For we ſhall ſee, as we proceed, that the death of theſe two Apoſtles is continually aſcribed to Nero by all who ſpeak diſtinctly about it.

One thing more I muſt take notice of. From theſe paſſages of Clement it has been argued, that Peter never was at Rome, in (*e*) this manner. "Clemens Romanus (who was perſonally acquainted with the A-
" poſtles, and knew very well where they traveled,) writes a letter from
" Rome to Corinth, and mentions St. Paul's traveling very far to ſpread
" the goſpel: but in the ſame ſection, though he mentions St. Peter's
" ſufferings and martyrdom, yet he ſays nothing of his traveling much,
" nor one word of his ever having been at Rome."

Upon which I beg leave to obſerve, *firſt*. It ſeems to me, that Clement ſays, Peter and Paul ſuffered martyrdom at Rome. For ſpeaking of the *great multitude of the elect, who had been an excellent example of patience among them*, meaning the Romans, he ſays, *they* (*f*) *were joyned to* or with *the good Apoſtles*, before mentioned. Therefore the Apoſtles had ſuffered in the ſame place. Certainly Clement, who wrote this, did not think, that Peter died at Babylon in Meſopotamia, and Paul at Rome in Italie. *Secondly*. The reaſon why Clement ſo particularly mentions St. Paul's travels, probably, was, becauſe the extent of his preaching was very remarkable. And it is likely, that Clement refers to Rom. xv. 19. *Thirdly*. His omitting to ſpeak of Peter's travels is not a denial of his having traveled a great deal. Nor does it imply, that he had not been at Rome. St. Paul muſt have been twice in the Weſt, and at Rome, if he ſuffered martyrdom there. But Clement does not ſay ſo, though he knew it very well. As did the Corinthians likewiſe. But when we ſpeak or write of things well known, (as theſe things were at that time) there is no need to be very particular. It was ſufficient, if Clement mentioned ſuch things, as would render his exhortations effectual.

I ſhall now tranſcribe below (*g*) ſome like obſervations of Pearſon, in his confutation of Salmaſius.

Upon

(*e*) *See Dr. Benſon's Preface to St. Peter's firſt epiſtle, ſect. iii. p.* 157. *2d. ed.*

(*f*) τούτοις . . . συνηθροίσθη πολὺ πλῆθος ἐκλεκτῶν.

(*g*) Denique manifeſtum eſt, nihil hic a Clemente de Urbe, vel de Imperatore diſerte et expreſſim dictum eſſe, quia a Romanis ad Corinthios ſcripſit, qui hæc omnia, non minus quam ipſe, noverunt. Imo Clemens mentionem loci non fecit, non quia ipſe ignorabat, ſed quia illi cognoverunt. Nam ſi ignoraſſet quo in loco, qua in regione, aut qua in orbis parte, mortuus eſt Petrus, quomodo aſſerere potuit, eum martyrio coronatum fuiſſe? . . . Proculdubio hæc loci omiſſio non ex ignorantiâ cujuſpiam, aut ſcriptoris alterius, ſed ex certiſſimâ omnium, ad quos ſpectabat hæc epiſtola, tum Romanorum, tum Corinthiorum, aliorumque fidelium cognitione et exploratâ ſcientiâ, quæ ulteriorem expoſitionem minime requirebat. Ac tandem argumentum hoc negativum ex Clemente productum, non eorum ſed noſtrûm eſt. Clemens optimè novit, et ubi, et quomodo paſſus eſt S. Petrus. Idem etiam bene noverunt tum Romani, tum Corinthii. Aliter eos eâ de re certiores feciſſet Clemens. *Pearſon. de Succeſſ. prim. Romæ Epiſc. Diſſ. i. cap.* 8. *ſect. ix.*

Upon the whole, I cannot but think, that these passages of Clement bear a testimonie to the martyrdoms both of Peter and Paul, and that at Rome, which cannot be evaded.

Ignatius, about 108. writing to the Romans, says: "I (*h*) do not "command you, as Peter and Paul. They were Apostles. I am a "condemned person." Ignatius must have supposed, that the Christians at Rome had been instructed by Peter, as well as by Paul. The observations of (*i*) Pearson, and (*k*) Barratier, upon this place, which I put below, appear very just.

The Preaching of Peter, or of Peter and Paul, quoted by several ancient writers, (as has been shewn in this work,) though not as a book of authority, composed (*l*) about the middle of the second centurie, or sooner, makes mention of Peter's being at Rome, in this manner, as cited by Lactantius. "After (*m*) his resurrection Christ opened to his disciples all things that should come to pass, which things Peter and Paul preached at Rome." And what follows. There (*n*) is another large quotation of this book in the Author of Rebaptizing, writ about 256. where it is supposed, that Peter and Paul were together at Rome.

Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth about 170. in a letter to the church of Rome, inscribed to Soter their Bishop, as cited by Eusebius, takes notice, "that (*o*) Peter and Paul going to Italie, taught there, and suffered martyrdom about the same time."

Irenæus about 178. speaks of the church of Rome, "(*p*) as founded and

(*h*) Οὐχ' ὡς πέτρος καὶ παῦλος διατάσσομαι ὑμῖν. Ἐκεῖνοι ἀπόστολοι, ἐγὼ κατάκριτος. *Ad Rom. cap.* 4.

(*i*) Quid enim ex his verbis ad Romanos scriptis apertius, quam sanctissimum Martyrem in eâ sententiâ fuisse, quod Petrus, non minus quam Paulus, Romæ evangelium prædicavit, et passus sit? *Pearson. ib. cap.* 7. *n.* ii.

(*k*) Ignatius, . . Romanis scribens, negat se ipsis, tanquam Petrum et Paulum, præcipere velle. Cur Petrum et Paulum unà nominat, nisi quod uterque Romæ fuerit? Cur Petrum, si cum Romanis nullum nexum habuerit? Si enim Romæ non fuerit, tum Romanis non scripserit, nil magis cum iis commune habebat, vel iis præceperat, quam Jacobus, vel Judas, vel Joannes. Manifestum est Ignatium Romanum Petri iter noviisse. *Barrat. ubi supr. num. iii. p.* 5.

(*l*) *See note* (F).

(*m*) Sed et futura aperuit illis omnia, quæ Petrus et Paulus Romæ prædicaverunt. Et ea prædicatio in memoriam scripta permansit. *Lactant. Inst. l.* 4. *cap.* 21. *p.* 422.

(*n*) *See Vol. iv. p.* 889. 890.

(*o*) Ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐν ἰταλίαν ὁμόσε διδάξαντες ἐμαρτύρησαν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρόν. Ap. Euseb. l. 2. cap. 25. p. 68. The same passage is largely quoted Vol. i.

(*p*) Sed quoniam valde longum est in hoc tali volumine omnium ecclesiarum enumerare successiones; maximæ, et antiquissimæ, et omnibus cognitæ, a gloriosissimis Apostolis, Petro et Paulo, Romæ formatæ et constitutæ ecclesiæ, eam quam habet ab Apostolis traditionem, et annuntiatam omnibus fidem. &c. *Adv. Hær. l.* 3. *cap.* 3.

and eſtabliſhed by the two great Apoſtles Peter and Paul." In another place he ſays, "that (*q*) Matthew wrote his goſpel, whilſt Peter and Paul were preaching at Rome, and eſtabliſhing the church there." Irenæus, who was as likely to know as moſt, had no doubt about theſe things. And ſome of his arguments with heretics are partly built upon them: well knowing, that they could not be conteſted, and that they were generally allowed.

According to Clement of Alexandria, who flouriſhed about the year 194. St. Mark's Goſpel (*r*) was writ at the deſire of St. Peter's hearers at Rome.

Tertullian, about the year 200. and after, often ſpeaks (*s*) of Peter being at Rome, and teaching there, and ſuffering martyrdom together with Paul, or about the ſame time.

Caius, about 212. obſerves, that (*t*) in his time were to be ſeen at Rome the tombs of the Apoſtles, Peter and Paul, who had eſtabliſhed that church.

Origen, about 230. as cited by Euſebius, ſays, that (*u*) Peter having preached in Pontus, Galatia, and other places, at length came to Rome, where he was crucified.

Cyprian (*x*) at Carthage, about 248. and afterwards, always ſuppoſeth the church of Rome to have been eſtabliſhed by Peter. So (*y*) likewiſe does Firmillian, in Cappadocia, in his letter, writ in 258.

Lactantius

(*q*) *Adv. Hær. l.* 3. *cap.* 1. *et ap. Euſeb. l.* 5. *cap.* 8.

(*r*) *Vid. Euſeb. H. E. l.* 2. *cap.* 15. *et lib. vi. cap.* 14. *and of this work Vol. ii.*

(*s*) Si autem Italiæ adjaces, habes Romam. . . . Iſta quam felix eccleſia, cui totam doctrinam Apoſtoli cum ſanguine ſuo profuderunt! Ubi Petrus paſſioni Dominicæ adæquatur: ubi Paulus Joannis exitu coronatur. *De Præſcr. Hær. cap.* 36. *p.* 245.

Nec quicquam refert inter eos, quos Joannes in Jordane, et quos Petrus in Tiberi tinxit. *De Baptiſm. cap.* 4. *p.* 257.

Videamus quod lac a Paulo Corinthii hauſerint . . . Quid etiam Romani de proximo ſonent, quibus evangelium et Petrus et Paulus ſanguine quoque ſuo ſignatum reliquerunt. *Adv. Marcion. l.* 4. *cap.* 5. *p.* 505. *B.*

Orientem fidem Romæ primus Nero cruentavit. Tunc Petrus ab altero cingitur, quum cruci adſtringitur. Tunc Paulus civitatis Romanæ conſequitur nativitatem, quum illic martyrii renaſcitur generoſitate. *Scorpiac. cap.* 15. *p.* 633. *B.*

(*t*) . . . εὑρήσεις τὰ τρόπαια· τῶν ταύτην ἱδρυσαμένων ἐκκλησίαν. *Ap. Euſeb. H. E. l.* 2. *cap.* 25. *p.* 68. *in. And ſee in this work Vol. iii. p.* 371.

(*u*) *Ap. Euſeb. l.* 3. *cap.* 1.

(*x*) Factus eſt autem Cornelius epiſcopus de Dei et Chriſti ejus judicio . . . cum nemo ante ſe factus eſſet, cum Fabiani locus, id eſt, cum locus Petri, et gradus cathedræ ſacerdotalis vacaret. *Cyprian. ad Antonian. ep.* 55. *p.* 104.

Poſt iſta adhuc inſuper pſeudo-epiſcopo ſibi ab hæreticis conſtituto, navigare audent, et ad Petri cathedram, atque eccleſiam principalem . . . a ſchiſmaticis et profanis literas ferre. . . . *Cyprian. Cornelio. ep.* 59. *p.* 135. *Oxon.* 1682.

(*y*) Atque ego in hac parte juſte indignor ad hanc tam apertam et manifeſtam

Lactantius (z) about 306. in his Inſtitutions, aſcribes the death of Peter and Paul to Nero at Rome.

The ſame Lactantius, or whoever is the Author of the book of the Deaths of Perſecutors, is very clear, that (*a*) in the reign of Nero, Peter came to Rome, and that by his order Peter was crucified, and Paul alſo put to death.

Euſebius, both in his Demonſtration, and in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorie, bears witneſſe to the ſame things. Not now to inſiſt on his Chronicle. In the former (*b*) he ſays, "that Peter was crucified at Rome with his "head downward, and Paul beheaded." In his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorie, ſpeaking of Nero, "as (*c*) the firſt perſecutor of the Chriſtians, he ſays, "that he put to death the Apoſtles, at which time Paul was beheaded at "Rome, and Peter crucified, as hiſtorie relates. And the account, he "ſays, is confirmed by the monuments ſtill ſeen in the cemetries of "that city, with their names inſcribed upon them." And what follows. In another chapter of the ſame work he ſays: "that (*d*) Linus was the firſt Biſhop of Rome after the martyrdom of Paul and Peter." It is needleſs to refer to any more of the many places of this learned Biſhop of Ceſarea, where he appears to have been fully perſuaded, that theſe two Apoſtles accompliſhed their martyrdom at Rome.

Athanaſius (*e*) ſuppoſes both Peter and Paul to have ſuffered martyrdom in that city.

Ephraim the Syrian, about 370. ſays, that (*f*) Peter taught at Rome.

Epiphanius, as may be remembered, ſays, "that (*g*) Matthew wrote firſt,

feſtam Stephani ſtultitiam, quod qui ſic de epiſcopatus ſui loco gloriatur, et ſe ſucceſſionem Petri tenere contendit . . . multas alias petras inducat. . . . Stephanus, qui per ſucceſſionem cathedram Petri habere ſe prædicat, nullo adverſus hæreticos zelo excitatur. *Firmilian. ep. Cyprian.* 75. *p.* 225.

(z) Itaque poſt illorum obitum, cum eos Nero interemiſſet, Judæorum nomen et gentem Veſpaſianus exſtinxit, fecitque omnia, quæ illi futura prædixerant. *Inſtitut. l.* 4. *cap.* 21. *p.* 423.

(*a*) Cumque jam Nero imperaret, Petrus Romam advenit. . . et convertit multos ad juſtitiam. . . . Quâ re ad Neronem delatâ . . . et primus omnium perſecutus Dei ſervos, Petrum cruci adfixit, et Paulum interfecit. *De Mort. Perſec. cap.* 2.

(*b*) Καὶ πέτρος δὲ ἐπὶ ῥώμης κατὰ κεφαλῆς σταυροῦται, παῦλος δὲ ἀποτέμνεται. *Dem. Ev. l.* 3. *p.* 116. *C.*

(*c*) Τοῦτον γὰρ δυτος θεόμαχος ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα πρῶτος ἀνακηρυχθεὶς, ἐπὶ τὰς κατὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐπήνθη σφαγάς. Παῦλος δὴ οὖν ἐπ' αὐτῆς ῥώμης τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτμηθῆναι, καὶ πέτρος ὡσαύτως ἀνασκολοπισθῆναι κατ' αὐτὸν ἱστορεῖται. κ. λ. *H. E. l.* 2. *c.* 25. *p.* 67. *Vid. et l.* 2. *cap.* 22. *fin. p.* 62. *D.*

(*d*) Τῆς δὲ ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας μετὰ τὴν παύλου καὶ πέτρου μαρτυρίαν, πρῶτος κληροῦται τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν λῖνος. *H. E. l.* 3. *cap.* 2.

(*e*) Πέτρος δὲ ὁ διὰ τὸν φόβον τῶν ἰουδαίων κρυπτόμενος, καὶ παῦλος ἐν σαργάνῃ χαλασθεὶς, καὶ φυγὼν, ἀκούσαντες, εἰς ῥώμην δεῖ ὑμᾶς μαρτυρῆσαι, ὃν ἀνεβάλοντο τὴν ἀποδημίαν. *Apol. pro fugâ ſuâ, p.* 331.

(*f*) *See in this work Vol.* ix. *p.* 211. *et opp. Syr. Tom.* i. *p.* 553.

(*g*) *See vol.* viii. *p.* 303. *from Hær.* 51. *num.* vi.

firſt, and Mark ſoon after, being a companion of Peter at Rome." In another place (*h*) he ſpeaks of Peter and Paul, as the firſt Apoſtles and Biſhops of Rome. After whom, he ſays, were Linus, Cletus, Clement.

Jerome's opinion is well known from his article of St. Peter, in his book of Illuſtrious Men, where he ſays, "that (*i*) Peter was crucified at Rome in the fourteenth year of Nero's reign:" and from (*k*) his chapter of St. Mark, "whom he calls the diſciple and interpreter of Peter, and ſays, that at the deſire of the brethren at Rome he wrote a ſhort Goſpel, according to what he had heard from Peter." Not now to refer to any other places.

We lately ſaw, how (*l*) Chryſoſtom ſays, that Peter having been at Antioch, afterwards went to Rome. In another place he ſays, that (*m*) after Peter and Paul Ignatius alſo ſuffered martyrdom at Rome. And he thinks it a wiſe diſpoſal of Providence, that ſo many ſhould bear the moſt ſignal teſtimonie to truth in a place, which was then the chief ſeat of impiety and ſuperſtition.

According to Sulpicius Severus, who wrote about the year 401. Paul (*n*) and Peter ſuffered martyrdom at Rome in Nero's perſecution.

Prudentius, about 405. has ſeveral times celebrated the martyrdoms of Peter and Paul at Rome. One place was tranſcribed from him not long (*o*) agoe.

To him I ſubjoyn P. Oroſius (*p*) about 416.

And Theodoret, about 423 well obſerves, that (*q*) though Nero put to death two of the principal Chriſtian Lawgivers, Peter and Paul, he could not aboliſh their laws.

I omit Auguſtin, and many others, who ſpeak to the like purpoſe. But I would add, for ſhewing how general this tradition is, that Abdias Babylonius, as he is called, in his Apoſtolical Hiſtorie, ſuppoſes Peter (*r*) to have been at Rome, and to have ſuffered martyrdom there.

Nor can any of my readers forbear to recollect the general, and almoſt unanimous

(*h*) Ἐν ῥώμῃ γὰρ γεγόνασι πρῶτοι πέτρος καὶ παῦλος οἱ ἀποστολοι καὶ ἐπίσκοποι, εἶτα λῖνος, κ. λ. *Hær. 27. num. vi.*

(*i*) *See Vol. x. p.* 130. (*k*) *The ſame. p.* 92.

(*l*) *See before. p.* 427.

(*m*) Οἱ δὲ τὴν ῥώμην οἰκοῦντες, ἅτε πολλῆς τότε ἀσεβείας ὕσης ἐκεῖ, πλείστος ἔχεηζον βοηθείας. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ πέτρος καὶ παῦλος, καὶ μετ' ἐκείνους οὗτος ἐκεῖ πάντες ἐθεσπισαν. *Chr. hom. in S. Ignat. Mart. T. 2. p.* 599. *A.*

(*n*) Tum Paulus ac Petrus capitis damnati. Quorum uni cervix gladio defecta, Petrus in crucem ſublatus eſt. *Sul. Sev. Hiſt. Sacra, l. 2. cap.* 29. *al.* 41.

(*o*) *See before. p.* 431.

(*p*) Nam primus Romæ Chriſtianos ſuppliciis et mortibus adfecit, ac per omnes provincias pari perſecutione excruciari imperavit. Ipſumque nomen extirpare conatus, beatiſſimos Chriſti apoſtolos, Petrum cruce, Paulum gladio occidit. *Oroſ. Hiſt. l. 7. cap.* 7.

(*q*) *See of this work Vol. xi. p.* 105. *from Theod. Serm.* 9. *De Legibus Tom.* 4. *p.* 611. *D.*

(*r*) *Apoſtol. Hiſt. de Petro.* §. *xvi. &c. Ap. Fabr. Tom.* 2.

unanimous teſtimonie of ancient writers concerning St. Mark: that he was a diſciple of St. Peter, that his Goſpel is the ſubſtance of St. Peter's preaching, and that it was writ at Rome.

It is not needful to make many remarks upon this tradition. But it is eaſie to obſerve, that it is the general, uncontradicted, diſintereſted teſtimonie of ancient writers, in the ſeveral parts of the world, Greeks, Latins, Syrians. As our Lord's prediction concerning the death of Peter is recorded in one of the four Goſpels, it is very likely, that (*s*) Chriſtians would obſerve the accompliſhment of it. Which muſt have been in ſome place. And about this place there is no differen e among Chriſtian writers of ancient times. Never any other place was named, beſide Rome. Nor (*t*) did any other city ever glory in the martyrdom of Peter. There were in the ſecond and third centuries diſputes between the Biſhop of Rome and other Biſhops and churches about the time of keeping Eaſter, and about the baptiſm of heretics. Yet (*u*) none denied the Biſhop of Rome to have what they called the chair of Peter.

It is not for our honour, nor our intereſt, either as Chriſtians, or Proteſtants, to deny the truth of events, aſcertained by early and well atteſted tradition. If any make an ill uſe of ſuch facts, we are not accountable for it. We (*x*) are not, from a dread of ſuch abuſes, to overthrow the credit of all hiſtorie. The conſequence of which would be fatal.

Fables and fictions have been mixed with the accounts of Peter's being

(*s*) Non infirmanda eſſe eâ de re antiquitatis teſtimonia, multa monent. . . . Convenientiſſimum ſane fuit ſciri locum, ubi Petro mors oblata eſt, ad illuſtrandum Chriſti de ſervi ſui martyrio oraculum. . . . Locus autem in ignoratione jacet, ſi in Romanâ civitate Petrus cruci ſuffixus non fuit. *Bajnag. ann.* 64. *n.* x.

(*t*) Gloria decorique maximo eccleſiis fuit, quod et doctrinâ et ſanguine Apoſtolorum conderentur. Hinc exclamabat olim Tertullianus: *Felix eccleſia, cui totam doctrinam Apoſtoli cum ſanguine ſuo profuderunt.* Qui fit ergo, ut nulla præter Romanam eccleſia in morte Petri exultârit et triumphârit? *Id. ib.*

(*u*) Cum graviſſimos in adverſarios inciderint olim Epiſcopi Romani, Cyprianos, Firmilianos, alioſque bene multos, nonne eorum aliquis eam perſtrinxiſſet: et gloriationem, quâ Romana ſe efferebat eccleſia, utpote quæ nunquam præſentiâ Petri, ſanguineque floruerit, etſi ad ravim uſque utroque ornamento ſuperbiret? *Id. ib.*

(*x*) Neque ulla unquam traditio fuit, quæ majore teſtium numero elegatur: ut de Petri in urbem adventu dubitari non poſſit, quin omnia hiſtoriæ fundamenta convellantur. *Baſn. ann.* 64. *n.* ix.

Tantus hac in re omnium conſenſus fuit, ut ſane miraculo debuerit eſſe, noſdam noſtris ſeculis ortos, factum adeo manifeſtum negare præſumſiſſe. *Barrat. de Succeſſ. Ep. Rom. cap.* i. *num.* i.

Verum hi omnium veterum patrum teſtimonio refelluntur. . . . Quæ, malum, impudentia eſt, id quidem quod nemo veterum dixit, temere affirmare: etrum ſcilicet ſedem fixiſſe Babylone: id vero quod veteres omnes eccleſiici ſcriptores diſertiſſime prodiderunt, adventum videlicet Petri Apoſtoli in bem Romam pertinaciter negare. Atqui nihil in tota hiſtoria eccleſiaſtica luſtrius, nihil certius, atque teſtatius, quam adventus Petri Apoſtoli in urbem Romam. *Valeſ. Annot. ad Euſeb. l.* 2, *c.* 15.

being at Rome. But they are not in the moſt early writers. They have been added ſince. And it is well known, that fictions have been joyned with hiſtories of the moſt certain and important facts.

The two traditions, concerning Peter's being at Rome and Paul's preaching in Spain, ought not to be compared together. They are not at all alike. The later is not atteſted by ſo many, nor ſo early writers, as the other. And is, probably, a mere conjecture, without any foundation, but the words of Rom. xv. 28. Which are no proof at all.

This argument may be cenſured by ſome as prolix, and even needleſs. But as ſome, of our own times, as well as formerly, have denied or diſputed this point; I have thought it expedient, to let my readers ſee the evidences of what appears to myſelf, as well as to many other Proteſtants, very certain: that St. Peter was at Rome, and ſuffered martyrdom there.

CHAP. XIX.

The two Epiſtles of St. Peter.

I. *Their Genuinneſſe ſhewn from Teſtimonie, and internal Characters.* II. *The People, to whom they were ſent.* III. *The Place, where.* IV. *The Time, when they were writ.* V. *Remarks upon* 1 Pet. v. 13.

HAVING writ the hiſtorie of the Apoſtle Peter, I now proceed to his epiſtles. Concerning which three or four things are to be conſidered by us: their genuinneſſe, the perſons to whom they were ſent, the place where, and the time when they were writ.

Their Genuinneſſe. I. The firſt epiſtle was all along received by catholic Chriſtians, as authentic, and genuine. This we learn from (*a*) Euſebius. Who likewiſe ſays: "Of (*b*) the controverted books of the New Teſtament, but yet well known, and approved by many, are that called the epiſtle of James, and that of Jude, and the ſecond of Peter, and the ſecond and third of John." And in another place: "One (*c*) epiſtle of Peter, called the firſt, is univerſally received. This the Preſbyters of ancient times have quoted in their writings, as undoubtedly genuine. But that called his ſecond, we have been informed, [by tradition,] has not been received as a part of the New Teſtament. Nevertheleſs appearing to many to be uſeful, it has been carefully ſtudied with the other ſcriptures." By which, I think, we may be aſſured, that a great regard was ſhewn to this epiſtle by many Chriſtians in the time of our learned Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorian.

Jerom

(*a*) *See Vol. viii. p.* 96. 97. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 113. 114. 156. 157.
(*b*) *Vol. viii. p.* 96. (*c*) *P.* 99.

Jerome ſays: "Peter (*d*) wrote two epiſtles, called catholic: the ſecond of which is denied by many to be his, becauſe of the difference of the ſtile from the former."

And Origen before them, in his Commentaries upon the Goſpel of St. Matthew, as cited by (*e*) Euſebius, ſays: "Peter (*f*) on whom the "church is built, has left one epiſtle [univerſally] acknowledged. Let "it be granted, that he alſo wrote a ſecond. For it is doubted of."

What thoſe learned writers of the third and fourth centuries ſay of theſe two epiſtles, we have found agreeable to the teſtimonie of more ancient writers, whom we have conſulted. For the firſt epiſtle ſeems to be referred to by (*g*) Clement of Rome. It is plainly referred to by (*h*) Polycarp ſeveral times. It is alſo referred to by the (*i*) Martyrs at Lyons. It was received by (*k*) Theophilus, Biſhop of Antioch. It was quoted (*l*) by Papias. It is quoted in the remaining writings of (*m*) Irenæus, (*n*) Clement of Alexandria, and (*o*) Tertullian. Conſequently, it was all along received. But we do not perceive the ſecond epiſtle to be quoted by (*p*) Papias, nor (*q*) by Irenæus, nor (*r*) Tertullian, nor (*s*) Cyprian.

However, both theſe epiſtles were generally received in the fourth, and following centuries, by all Chriſtians, except the Syrians. For they were received by Athanaſius, Cyril of Jeruſalem, the Council of Laodicea, Epiphanius, Jerome, Ruſin, Auguſtin, and others. As may be ſeen in the alphabetical table, in St. Peter, at the end of the twelfth volume, to which the reader is referred.

Such are the teſtimonies of ancient writers concerning theſe two epiſtles. If we conſult the epiſtles themſelves, and endeavor to form a judgement by internal evidence; I ſuppoſe, it will appear very probable, that both are of the ſame author. And it may ſeem ſomewhat ſtrange, that any of the ancients heſitated about it, who had the two epiſtles before them. For with regard to ſome of the moſt ancient writers, it may be ſuppoſed, that the ſecond epiſtle had not been ſeen by them, it not having come to their hands together with the firſt.

The firſt epiſtle being allowed to be St. Peter's, we can argue in favour of the other alſo after this manner. It bears in the inſcription the name of the ſame Apoſtle. For ſo it begins: *Simon Peter, a ſervant, and an Apoſtle of Jeſus Chriſt.* And in ch. i. 14. are theſe words: *Knowing, that ſhortly I muſt put off this my tabernacle, even as our Lord Jeſus Chriſt has ſhewed me.* The writer of this epiſtle may have had a particular revelation concerning the time of his death, not long before writing this. But it is probable, that here is a reference to our Lord's predictions concerning St. Peter's death, and the manner of it, which are recorded in John xxi. 18. 19.

From

(*d*) *Vol. x. p.* 130. (*e*) *H. E. l.* 6. *cap.* 25. *p.* 227. *A.*
(*f*) *See Vol. iii. p.* 236. (*g*) *See Vol. i. p.* 97. *and* 100.
(*h*) *Vol. i. p.* 215. . . . 218. *See alſo p.* 192.
(*i*) *Vol. i. p.* 340. (*k*) *Vol. ii. p.* 434. *and* 447.
(*l*) *Vol. i. p.* 242. 250. 253. (*m*) *Vol. i. p.* 374.
(*n*) *Vol. ii. p.* 508. (*o*) *Vol. ii. p.* 616.
(*p*) *Vol. i. p.* 250. (*q*) *Vol. i. p.* 374. 375. 381.
(*r*) *Vol. iii. p.* 617. . . . 622. (*s*) *Vol. iv. p.* 829.

From ch. i. 16. 17. 18. it appears, that the writer was one of the diſciples, who were with Jeſus in the mount, when he was transfigured in glorious manner. This certainly leads us to Peter, who was there, and whoſe name the epiſtle bears in the inſcription.

Ch. iii. 1. *This ſecond epiſtle, beloved, I now write unto you: in both which I ſtir up your pure minds by way of remembrance:* plainly referring to the former epiſtle, which has been always acknowledged for Peter's. Theſe words are expreſs. But it might have been argued with ſome degree of probability from ch. i. 12. . . . . 15. that he had before writ to the ſame perſons.

Once more, ch. iii. 15. 16. he calls Paul brother, and otherwiſe ſpeaks of him, and his epiſtles, as muſt needs be reckoned moſt ſuitable to an Apoſtle.

The writer therefore is the Apoſtle Peter, whoſe name the epiſtle bears in the inſcription.

So that we are here led to that obſervation, which Wall placed at the head of his notes upon this ſecond epiſtle. "It is, ſays (*t*) he, a good "proof of the cautiouſneſſe of the ancient Chriſtians in receiving any "book for canonical, that they not only rejected all thoſe pieces forged "by heretics, under the names of Apoſtles: . . . but alſo, if any good "book affirmed by ſome men, or by ſome churches, to have been writ-"ten, and ſent by ſome Apoſtle, were offered to them, they would not, "till fully ſatisfied of the fact, receive it into their canon." He adds: "There is more hazard in denying this to be Peter's, than there is in "denying ſome other books to be of that author, to whom they are by "tradition aſcribed. For they, if they be not of that Apoſtle, to whom "they are imputed, yet may be of ſome other Apoſtle, or apoſtolical "man. But this author is either the Apoſtle, or elſe by ſetting his "name, and by other circumſtances, he does deſignedly perſonate him. "Which no man of piety and truth would do." And then he concludes: "This epiſtle being written by him but a little before his death, "ch. i. 14. and perhaps no more than one copy ſent; it might be a good "while, before a number of copies, well atteſted, came abroad to the "generality of the Chriſtian churches."

What has been juſt ſaid is ſufficient to confute the opinion advanced by Grotius, that (*u*) this ſecond epiſtle was writ by Simeon, Biſhop of Jeruſalem after James, the Lord's brother. Indeed that opinion cannot be admitted. It is deſtitute of all authority from antiquity, and is inconſiſtent with the whole tenour of the epiſtle itſelf, or at leaſt with many things in it. As has been well obſerved by (*x*) Vitringa, and has been now ſhewn by us.

Jerome, in his article of St. Peter, in his book of Illuſtrious Men, as already

(*t*) *Critical Notes upon the N. T. p.* 358. 359.

(*u*) Scriptorem autem hujus epiſtolæ arbitror eſſe Simeonem, Epiſcopum poſt Jacobi mortem Hieroſolymis, ejuſdemque Jacobi, cujus epiſtolam habemus, ſucceſſorem et imitatorem, &c. *Grot. in 2 ep. S. Petri.*

(*x*) Verum quacumque etiam ſpecie ſe commendet conjectatio hæc Grotiana, hactenus animum inducere non potui, ut eam probem. Epiſtola Petri poſterior talis eſt, ut ſcripta cenſeri nequeat ab impoſtore. Eſt enim gravis, et ſancto viro digniſſima. Quod ſi ita eſt, certiſſime Petro erit vindicanda, quia

ready ſeen, ſays: "Peter (*y*) wrote two epiſtles called catholic: the cond of which was by many denied to be his, becauſe of it's differing ſtile from the former." Of (*z*) this he ſpeaks likewiſe in his epiſtle Hedibia. Baſnage (*a*) ſays, he is not able to diſcern ſuch difference of ile in the two epiſtles. However, Dr. Sherlock, now Biſhop of London, as largely treated of this point in his Diſſertation concerning the autho-ty of the ſecond epiſtle of St. Peter. Who obſerves, p. 203. "that e firſt and third of the three chapters, into which the epiſtle is now vided, agree in ſtile with the firſt epiſtle. The only difference is in e ſecond chapter, the ſtile of which is no more like to that of the other vo, than it is to that of the firſt epiſtle. The occaſion of this difference ems to be this, that in the ſecond chapter there is a deſcription of the lſe prophets and teachers, who infeſted the Church, and perverted the octrines of the goſpel. Some ancient Jewiſh writer had left behind him deſcription of the falſe prophets of his own, or perhaps earlier times. Vhich deſcription is applied both by St. Peter and St. Jude to the falſe achers of their own times." It is added by his Lordſhip, p. 204. St. Jerome ſuppoſed, and others have followed his opinion, that St. eter made uſe of different interpreters; to expreſs his ſenſe in his two piſtles. But had that been the caſe, the difference of ſtile would have ppeared in the whole, and not in one part of it only. Which is the reſent caſe. And I ſee no reaſon to think, that St. Peter did not write oth his epiſtles himſelf."

That is the account, which his Lordſhip gives of the difference of the ile. Which all will allow to be ingenious, whether they admit it to e right, or not. For ſome may think, that (*b*) all this difference of ile ariſes from the ſubject treated of in the ſecond chapter.

I conclude therefore, that the two epiſtles, generally aſcribed to the poſtle Peter, are indeed his.

Mr. Oſtervald, of Neufchatel, ſpeaking of the firſt of theſe epiſtles, ys: "It contains very weighty inſtructions, and is one of the fineſt ooks of the New Teſtament." Of the ſecond he ſays: "It is a moſt xcellent epiſtle, as well as the foregoing, and is writ with great ſtrength nd majeſty."

Certainly,

ia præter præfationem, non temere rejiciendam, alia per hanc epiſtolam arſa ſunt, quæ perſonam Petri nobis digito quaſi monſtrant, ut cap. i. 18. . 15. *Vitring. Obſervat. Sacr. l.* 4. *cap.* 9. *num. xlii.*

(*y*) Scripſit duas epiſtolas, quæ catholicæ nominantur: quarum ſecunda pleriſque ejus eſſe negatur, propter ſtili cum priore diſſonantiam. *De V. i. 0. i.*

(*z*) Habebat ergo Titum interpretem, ſicut et beatus Petrus Marcum: jus Evangelium Petro narrante, et illo ſcribente, compoſitum eſt. Denique duæ epiſtolæ, quæ feruntur Petri, ſtilo inter ſe et charactere diſcrepant, ructuâque verborum. Ex quo intelligimus, pro neceſſitate rerum diverſis m uſum interpretibus. *Ad Hedib. Q. xi. T.* 4. *P. i. p.* 183. *al. ep.* 150.

(*a*) Nos ſtili diſcrimen deprehendere non poſſumus. Neque continet ali-id, quod Apoſtolo ſit indignum. *Diſſuag. A.* 63. *num. iii.*

(*b*) *Concerning this ſee more hereafter in the Remarks upon St. Jud.'s epiſtle. ap. xxi. near the end.*

Certainly, these epistles, and the discourses of Peter recorded in the Acts, together with the effects of them, are monuments of a divine inspiration, and of the fulfilment of the promise, which Christ made to him when he saw him, and his brother Andrew employed in their trade, and casting a net into the sea: *Follow me*, said he, *and I will make you fishers of men.* Matt. iv. 18.

To whom sent. II. Concerning the persons, to whom these epistles were sent, there have been different opinions among both ancients and moderns.

Eusebius (*c*) speaking of St. Peter's first epistle, as universally acknowledged, says: "It is inscribed by him to the Hebrews, *scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia.*" They who are desirous to know Jerome's opinion, may consider what is transcribed from him Vol. x. p. 130. . . . 133. For he does not seem to me to have any settled judgement about the persons, to whom Peter wrote. Didymus of Alexandria, supposed, (*d*) St. Peter's first epistle to have been sent to Jews scattered abroad in several countreys. To the same purpose Oecumenius, not only in his argument of the epistle referred to by me (*e*) formerly, but also in his commentarie (*f*) upon the begining of the epistle.

Among the moderns not a few are of the same opinion, as Beza and Grotius in their notes upon the first verse of the first epistle, and Mill (*g*) in his Prolegomena. Cave says, St. Peter's (*h*) two epistles were written chiefly to Jewish Christians. Tillemont, speaking of the first epistle, says it (*i*) is addressed particularly to the converted Jews, in those countreys: but it speaks also to the Gentils, who had embraced the faith.

But though some of the ancients, as just seen, say, that St. Peter wrote to the believers of the circumcision, we have in the course of this work observed divers others, who say, he wrote to Gentils: as (*k*) the Author of the Calling of the Gentils, by some supposed to be Prosper of Aquitain: the (*l*) Author of the Divine Promises and Predictions: (*m*) Junilius. Cassiodorius in one place (*n*) speaks of Peter's writing to the Gentils, in another (*o*) to believing Jews. Augustin has twice said, that (*p*) Peter wrote to Gentils. In like manner another author (*q*) in a sermon joyned with his works, who may be supposed to have been his disciple Gregorie the i. Bishop of Rome, expresseth himself, as if he thought, that St

(*c*) *See Vol. viii. p.* 103.
(*d*) *See Vol. ix. p.* 173. (*e*) *Vol. xi. p.* 414.
(*f*) Τοῖς ἐκ περιτομῆς ὄυτος ἐπιστέλλει, ὡς ὁ μακάριος Ἰάκωβος· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος ἀορίστως πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπὸ τὴν οἰκουμένην κατοικοῦσιν Ἰουδαίοις ὁπωσδήποτε οὖσιν. Οὗτος δὲ ἀφωρισμένως τοῖς κλίμασι φάσκει. κ. λ. *Oecum. T.* 2. *p.* 482. *C. D.*
(*g*) *Num.* 60.
(*h*) Reliquit post se epistolas duas, Judæis Christianis præcipue inscriptas. *H. L. T. i. p.* 5.
(*i*) Il l'addresse particulierement aux Juifs convertis dans toutes ces provinces; quoiqu'elle parle aussi aux Gentils qui avoient embrassé la foy. *S. Pierre art.* 33. *Mem. T. i.*
(*k*) *Vol. xi. p.* 136. (*l*) *P.* 139.
(*m*) *P.* 297. 299. (*n*) *Vol. xi. p.* 308.
(*o*) *P.* 313. (*p*) *Vol. x. p.* 248.
(*q*) *The same.*

r) St. Peter's epiſtles were ſent to all Chriſtians in general, both Jews nd Gentils, in the countreys mentioned at the begining of the firſt piſtle. Bede, in his prologue to the ſeven catholic epiſtles, largely cited y us formerly, ſays, that (*f*) St. Peter's epiſtles were ſent to ſuch as had een proſelyted from Gentiliſm to Judaiſm, and after that were converted o the Chriſtian Religion. He ſpeaks again to the like purpoſe at the egining of his Expoſition of St. Peter's firſt epiſtle. But the Greek vord, rendered by us *ſtrangers*, is not equivalent to proſelytes: as was bſerved long ago by (*s*) Occumenius upon the place, and ſince by (*t*) Baſnage.

Mr. Wetſtein argues from divers texts, that (*u*) the firſt epiſtle was ent to Gentils. Mr. Hallett in his learned Introduction to the epiſtle o the Hebrews, obſerves: "Some, ſays he, go upon the ſuppoſition, that t. Peter's epiſtles were written to Jews. But it ſeems to me abunantly more natural to ſuppoſe, that they were written to Gentil Chriſians, if we conſider many paſſages of the epiſtles themſelves." Where (*x*) he proceeds to allege many paſſages, and, in my opinion, very perinently. Some of which will be alſo alleged by me by and by.

Dr. Sykes (*y*) has lately declared himſelf in favour of the ſame ſentiment, nd argued well for it.

Mr. Baſnage ſuppoſed, that (*z*) St. Peter's epiſtles were writ to Jews nd Gentils, chiefly the former.

To

(*r*) *Vol. xi. p.* 353. 354. (*f*) *The ſame. p.* 388.

(*s*) Σημαίνει δὲ τὸ ὄνομα ὐ ταυτὸν τῷ προσηλυτῷ κ. λ. *Oecum. Vol.* 2. *p.* 83. *D.*

(*t*) Fallitur egregie Beda. . . . A qua ſe ſententia revocaſſet, ſi vocem a Petro adhibitam, ἐπίδημος, attendiſſet, quâ religionis proſelytus numquam deignatur. *Baſn. An.* 57. *n. iv.*

(*u*) Ad eos, qui ex Gentibus electi ſunt, ut Chriſto et veritati obedirent. Cap. i. 8. 18. 21. 22. ii. 10. iv. 3. *Wetſten. N. T. Tom.* 2. *p.* 681.

(*x*) *See his Introduction. p.* 23. . . . 25.

(*y*) "This epiſtle of St. Peter, ſays he, was writ to the ſtrangers ſcattered hrough ſeveral parts of the Leſſer *Aſia*. And it is plain, that he meant by hem Gentils converted in thoſe parts of the world to Chriſt. He does not nean Jews, but ſuch as were *elect, according to the foreknowledge of God the Father*. Such, *of whoſe ſalvation the Prophets inquired, who propheſied of the grace that ſhould come unto them*, ch. i. ver. 10. ſuch, *for whom Chriſt was manifeſted in theſe laſt times*. ver. 20. ſuch as were λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν, *an acquired people, who had not obtained mercy*: ch. ii. 9. 10. *as ſheep going aſtray, but now returned*. ver. 25. as men, *who in the time paſt of their life had wrought the will of the Gentils*. iv. 3. Theſe are marks ſufficient to deſcribe the people, to whom St. Peter wrote. . . . The Gentils were *now begotten in Chriſt to a lively hope*. They were become now what the Jews formerly were, *a choſen generation, a royal prieſthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people. &c.*" *The Scripture doctrine of the Redemption of Man by Jeſus Chriſt. Ch. iii. ſect.* 252. *p.* 62. 63. *ſee likewiſe ch. v. num.* 832. *p.* 306. 307.

(*z*) Ut noſtra fert opinio, ad utroſque ſcripta eſt, præcipue tamen ad Judæos, qui ſub apoſtolatum Petri ceciderant. Ad gentes quoque epiſtolam ſcriptam fuiſſe, ex his explorate percipitur: *Qui quondam eratis non populus, nunc eſtis populus Dei.* 1 ep. ii. 10. Quæ Ethnicorum præcipue ſunt. . . Præterea Ethnicorum idololatria his perſtringitur: *Inceſſimus in neſariis idolorum cultibus.* . . 3. *Baſn. ann.* 57. *num. iv.*

To me it ſeems, that St. Peter's epiſtles were ſent to all Chriſtians in general, Jews and Gentils, living in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Aſia, and Bithynia: the greateſt part of whom muſt have been converted by Paul, and had been before involved in ignorance, and ſin, as all people in general were, till the manifeſtation of the goſpel of Chriſt.

That St. Peter wrote to all Chriſtians in thoſe countreys, is apparent from the valedictorie bleſſing, or wiſh, at the end of the epiſtle. 1 ep. v. 14. *Peace be with you all that are in Chriſt Jeſus.* Lewis Cappell, who thought, that St. Peter's firſt epiſtle was writ to Jewiſh believers, allows, that (*a*) the ſecond epiſtle was writ to all Chriſtians in general, and particularly to Gentils, induced thereto by the comprehenſiveneſſe of the addreſſe at the begining of that epiſtle: *to them that have obtained like precious faith with us.* He ſhould have concluded as much of the firſt epiſtle likewiſe. For they were both ſent to the ſame people, as is evident from St. Peter's own words. 2 ep. iii. 1.

Moreover, the inſcription of the firſt epiſtle ſeems to be as general, as that of the ſecond. Let us obſerve it diſtinctly.

To the elect. ἐκλεκτοῖς. Says Wall upon the place: "He uſeth the word ἐκλεκτὰ, *choice ones*, juſt as St. Paul does the word ἁγίοις *ſaints*, for the word *Chriſtians*. And as St. Paul directs almoſt all his epiſtles *to the ſaints*, that is, the *Chriſtians*, of ſuch a place; ſo St. Peter here, *to the elect*, or *choice ones*, that is, *Chriſtians*, ſojourning in the diſperſions of Pontus, Galatia, and Bithynia."

Strangers, παρεπιδήμοις. Good men, though at home, are ſtrangers, eſpecially, if they meet with oppoſition, trouble, and affliction, as thoſe Chriſtians did, to whom St. Peter is here writing. For he ſpeaks of their *trials, and temptations.* ch. i. ver. 6. 7. and exhorts them. ch. ii. 11. *as ſojourners, and ſtrangers*, ὡς παροίκους καὶ παρεπιδήμους, *to abſtain from fleſhly luſts.* Says Oecumenius upon ch. i. ver. 1. 2. "He calls (*b*) them "*ſtrangers*, either on account of their diſperſion, or becauſe that all "who live religiouſly, are called *ſtrangers* on this earth, as David alſo "ſays: *I am a ſojourner with thee, and a ſtranger, as all my fathers were.*" Pſ. xxxix. 12.

Scattered throughout Pontus . . . . or, *of* (*c*) *the diſperſion of Pontus, Galatia.* . . . So he calls them, not becauſe they had been driven out from their native countrey, but becauſe he writes to the Chriſtians of divers countreys, who alſo were but a few, or a ſmall number, in every place, where they dwelled.

This

(*a*) Ad poſteriorem autem B. Petri epiſtolam. . . . . Nec fuit ea ſcripta, quemadmodum prior, ſolis Judæis τοῖς ἐκ διασπορᾶς, ſed omnibus in univerſum fidelibus, tum ex Judæis, tum ex Gentibus, ad Chriſtum converſis. Quod liquet tum ex ver. 1. cap. 1. τοῖς ἰσότιμον ἡμῖν λαχοῦσι πίστιν. (quod de Gentibus proprie dicitur) tum ex eo quod cap. iii. 15. 16. dicit Paulum ad eos ſcripſiſſe in omnibus ſuis epiſtolis. Atqui pleræque omnes Pauli epiſtolæ ſcriptæ ſunt ad Gentes ad fidem Chriſti converſas. *Cappell. Hiſt. Apoſt. p.* 44.

(*b*) Ἐκλεκτοῖς παρεπιδήμοις.] Τὸ παρεπιδήμοις, ἤτοι διὰ τὴν διάσπορὰν εἶπεν, ἢ καὶ ὅτι πάντες οἱ κατὰ θεὸν ζῶντες παρεπιδήμοι λέγονται τῆς γῆς ὡς καὶ δαβὶδ φησιν. κ. λ. *Oecum. T.* 2. *p.* 483.

(*c*) Ἐκλεκτοῖς παρεπιδήμοις διασπορᾶς πόντου. . . .

This may ſuffice for ſhewing, that theſe two epiſtles were ſent to all Chriſtians in general, living in the countreys, mentioned at the begining of the firſt epiſtle.

I ſhall now ſhew, that theſe Chriſtians were for the moſt part of gentil ſtock and original.

1 Pet. i. 14. *As obedient children, not faſhioning yourſelves, according to the former luſts in your ignorance.* This might be very pertinently ſaid to men, converted from Gentiliſm to Chriſtianity. But no ſuch thing is ever ſaid by the Apoſtles, concerning the Jewiſh people, who had been favored with Divine revelation, and had the knowledge of the true God. And ver. 20. and 21. he ſays, that *through Chriſt they did now believe in God.* Therefore they were not worſhippers of God, till they were acquainted with the Chriſtian revelation. In like manner ch. ii. 9. St. Peter ſpeaks of thoſe to whom he writes, as *having been called out of darkneſſe into God's marvellous light.* Moreover, they once were not God's people. ver. 10. *Which in time paſt were not a people, but are now the people of God: which had not obtained mercie, but now have obtained mercie.* Words reſembling thoſe of St. Paul, Rom. ix. 24. 25. where he is unqueſtionably ſpeaking of Gentil converts.

There are alſo other expreſſions, which plainly ſhew, that theſe perſons had been Gentils, and had lived in the ſins of Gentiliſm. ch. i. 18. *Foraſmuch as ye know, that ye were redeemed from your vain converſation, received by tradition from your fathers.* And ch. iv. 3. *For the time paſt of our life may ſuffice us, to have wrought the will of the Gentils: when we walked in laſciviouſneſſe, luſts, exceſſe of wine, revellings, banquetings, and abominable idolatries.* St. Peter does not charge himſelf with ſuch things. But they to whom he writes had been guilty in thoſe reſpects. And by way of condeſcenſion, and for avoiding offenſe, and for rendering his argument more effectual, he joyns himſelf with them.

Once more, when St. Peter repreſents the dignity of thoſe to whom he writes, upon account of their Chriſtian vocation, ch. ii. 9. as *a choſen generation, a peculiar people, a royal prieſthood:* certainly, the expreſſions are moſt pertinent, and emphatical, if underſtood of ſuch as had been brought from Gentiliſm to the faith of the goſpel, as indeed they plainly were. For he there ſays, *they were to ſhew forth the praiſes of him, who had called them out of darkneſſe into his marvellous light.*

To all which might be added, what was hinted before, that the perſons, to whom Peter writes, were for the moſt part the Apoſtle Paul's converts. This muſt be reckoned probable from the accounts, which we have in the Acts of St. Paul's travels and preaching. Whence we know, that he had been in Galatia, and the other countreys, mentioned by St. Peter at the begining of his firſt epiſtle. Moreover he obſerves 2 ep. iii. 15. that *his beloved brother Paul had written unto them.* We may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that he thereby intends St. Paul's epiſtles to the Galatians, the Epheſians, and Coloſſians, all in thoſe countreys, and for the moſt part Gentil believers. Nor do I ſee reaſon to doubt, but that Peter had before now ſeen, and read St. Paul's two epiſtles to Timothie. And if we ſhould add them, as here intended alſo, it would be

no prejudice to our argument. For thoſe epiſtles likewiſe were deſigned for the uſe and benefit of the churches in thoſe parts.

To me theſe conſiderations appear unanſwerable. I ſhall therefore take notice of but one objection only, which is grounded upon ch. ii. 12. *Having your converſation honeſt among the Gentils: that whereas they ſpeak againſt you as evil-doers, they may by your good works, which they ſhall behold, glorify God in the day of viſitation.*

Upon the firſt clauſe in that verſe Beza ſays, that (*d*) this place alone is ſufficient to ſhew, that this epiſtle was ſent to Jews. But, I think not. From St. Paul may be alleged a text of the like ſort. 1 Cor. x. 32. *Give no offenſe, neither to the Jews, nor to the Gentils,* [καὶ ἕλλησι,] *nor to the Church of God.* It might be as well argued from that text, that the Corinthians were by deſcent neither Jews, nor Greeks, as from this, that the perſons, to whom St. Peter wrote, were not originally Gentils. In the text of St. Paul, juſt alleged, by Jews, and Gentils, or Greeks, are intended ſuch as were unbelievers. So it is likewiſe in the text of St. Peter, which we are conſidering: as is apparent from the later part of the verſe, above tranſcribed at large. St. Peter had a right to diſtinguiſh thoſe, to whom he writes, from the Gentil people, among whom they lived: as he had at the begining of his epiſtle called them *elect*, or *choice ones*, and *ſtrangers*, and they likewiſe went by the name of Chriſtians, as we perceive from ch. iv. 16.

St. Peter's two epiſtles, then, were ſent to all Chriſtians in general, living in thoſe countreys: the greateſt part of whom had been converted from Gentiliſm, or Heatheniſm.

The Place, where they were writ.

III. Our next inquire is, concerning the place, where theſe epiſtles were writ.

At the end of the firſt epiſtle St. Peter ſays: *The church that is at Babylon, elected together with you, ſaluteth you.* Which text, underſtood literally, has been thought by ſome to denote Babylon in Aſſyria, or Babylon in Egypt. By others it is interpreted figuratively, and ſuppoſed to denote Jeruſalem, or Rome. So that there are four opinions concerning the place, where this epiſtle is dated. All which muſt be conſidered by us.

1. Pearſon by Babylon ſuppoſes to be meant (*e*) a town, or city, of that name in Egypt. But it ſeems to me, that (*f*) little can be ſaid for this opinion.

(*d*) *Inter Gentes,* ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.] Vel unus hic locus tribubus illis diſperſis proprie fuiſſe inſcriptam hanc epiſtolam convincit. *Bez. in loc.*

(*e*) Explodatur figurata, admittatur literalis expoſitio. Non opus erit, ut in Aſſyriam nos conferamus, ſi nudo urbis nomine ſtandum eſſe arbitremur. Alia enim erat urbs Babylonis nomine inſignita, eaque Judææ multo vicinior, a Babyloniis poſt dira Prophetarum vaticinia, Ptolomæorum permiſſu condita et habitata. *Pearſon. de Succ. Rom. Epiſc. Diſſ. i. num. vii. &c.*

(*f*) Duas enim vetus terrarum orbis habuit Babylones, alteram clariſſimam illam Chaldæorum regiam, alteram caſtellum quoddam Ægypti a Babyloniis conditum. Poſteriorem hic nominari, nemo crediturus fuiſſe videtur, niſi fama fuiſſet vulgata, prioris Babylonis ætate nihil ſuperfuiſſe, certe nullos prorſus ei fuiſſe incolas. *Heumann. Nova Sylloge Diſſertat. P. 2. p. 106.*

opinion. Babylon in Egypt is an obscure place. It was a frontier town, or strong castle, with a garrison, as it is described by (*g*) Strabo: in whose time, the reign of Tiberius, was quartered one of the three Roman Legions, appointed to keep the Egyptian people in order. In such a place, as may be supposed, there (*h*) were but few Jews, and not many inhabitants of any sort, beside soldiers. This opinion likewise is altogether without the authority of ancient Christians. If St. Peter had writ an epistle in Egypt, in all probability, it (*i*) would have been dated at Alexandria. But there is not in early antiquity any intimation, that (*k*) the Apostle Peter was at all at Alexandria, or in any part of Egypt. If St. Peter had been at Babylon in Egypt, and had founded a church there, it would have been a church of great renown among Christians: whereas (*l*) there is not for the first four centuries any notice taken of a church, or Bishop in that place.

Le Clerc, who (*m*) follows Pearson, says, in his notes upon 1 Pet. v. 13. "Thereby (*n*) is to be understood, not Babylon, which lay on the east side of the Euphrates, and where Peter never was, but a city in Egypt,

(*g*) Ἀναπλεύσαντι δ' ἐστὶ Βαβυλὼν φρούριον ἐρυμνὸν . . νυνὶ δ' ἐστὶ στρατόπεδον ἑνὸς τῶν τριῶν ταγμάτων τῶν φρουρούντων τὴν Αἴγυπτον. *Strab. l.* 17. *p.* 807. *al. p.* 1160.

(*h*) Abundasse Judæis Ægyptiacam Babylonem, vix probabile videtur, propter et constitutum in ea civitate Romanorum præsidium, cum signis et aquilis suis, quæ Judæis odio erant, et vicinitatem Alexandriæ, in qua libentius degebant. *Basnag. Ann.* 46. *num. xxvii.*

(*i*) Si Petrus in Ægyptiaca Babylone versatus est, cui probabile fiet, non petiisse Alexandriam, civitatem totius orbis secundum Romam nobilissimam, magnoque Judæorum numero frequentem: cum Alexandriæ in vicinia exstaret Babylon, et moris esset Apostolorum, aliqua in regione vestigium ponentium, Metropoles adire, ut majus theatrum haberet evangelii prædicatio, quæ inde veluti ex fonte manabat urbibus provincialibus irrigandis. *Id. ibid.*

(*k*) Quod vero in Ægypto unquam versatus fuerit, ne levissima quidem antiquitatis umbra obtendi potest. *Cav. de Petro. H. L. p.* 6.

Quis vero Veterum dixit, Petrum se Alexandriam contulisse? Hoccine dissimulassent tot eruditi scriptores, quos Alexandrina peperit ecclesia? *Basnag. ib.*

(*l* Liquet omnes ecclesias apostolicas magnæ existimationis fuisse Veteribus. Hinc illud Tertullianum: *Percurre ecclesias Apostolicas, apud quas ipsæ adhuc cathedræ Apostolorum suis locis præsident.* Proinde ecclesia, quæ Memphitica Babylone fuit, apostolicis esset inferenda, et multo honore cumulata fuisset, utpote a Petro fundata. Jam vero tam obscura fuit Babylonica illa ecclesia, ut labentibus quadringentis amplius annis, in antiquitatis monumentis nullo vestigio reperiatur: nullâ fuit Episcoporum successione, nullâ Martyrum passione nobilis. Quod de ecclesiâ apostolicâ, et in Imperio Romano constitutâ, vix cogitatione fingi potest. *Bajn. ut supra.*

(*m*) *Vid. ejus H. E. anno.* 61. *num. vii. et Annot. ad Hammondi Præmonitionem in 1 Petri epistolam.*

(*n*) Il faut entendre non la Babylone, qui étoit à l'orient de l'Euphrate, et où S. Pierre n'a jamais été: mais une ville d'Egypte, qui se nommoit ainsi, et qui n'étoit pas loin de lieu où est bâti le Caire. *Le Clerc. sur 1 ep. de S. Pierre. v.* 13.

gypt, ſo called, and lying not far from the place, where now is Cairo." But what proof is there of Peter's ever having been in Egypt, more than of his having been in Aſſyria?

2. Lewis Cappell conjectured, that (*o*) by Babylon is to be underſtood Jeruſalem. But it is a mere conjecture, quite deſtitute of foundation in antiquity. And therefore, in my opinion, no more to be received, than the preceding interpretation.

3. Divers other learned men think, that by Babylon is meant Babylon in Aſſyria. So (*p*) Beza, (*q*) Lightfoot, (*r*) Baſnage. Cave, who ſuppoſeth (*s*) the firſt epiſtle of St. Peter to have been writ at Babylon in Aſſyria, thinks, that (*t*) his ſecond epiſtle was writ at Rome.

They who reject this opinion, ſay, that (*u*) the Aſſyrian Babylon was at that time almoſt deſerted. On the contrarie, they who embrace it, ſay, there (*x*) were multitudes of Jews in that countrey. Which may be true. For there were many Jews in moſt countreys. But it would have been more to the purpoſe, to produce ſome evidence from antiquity, that Peter was in that countrey. The primitive Chriſtians had in their hands St. Peter's firſt epiſtle. And it was univerſally received, as his. And it is dated at Babylon. And yet eccleſiaſtical hiſtorie affords no accounts, that this Apoſtle was in Aſſyria, or Chaldea. Is not this a proof, that (*y*) there was not any very ancient tradition, that he was in that

(*o*) Ego potius conjicerem Jeroſolymæ fuiſſe ſcriptam, et Jeroſolymam a Petro fuiſſe dictam figurate Babylonem: quod tum temporis Jeruſalem non eſſet amplius urbs ſancta, ſed ſpiritualis quædam Babylon, in quâ eccleſia Dei captiva quaſi tenebatur, et gravi ſervitute premebatur, quatenus pridem a Judæis perſecutionem pati cœperat. *Capp. Hiſt. Ap. p.* 42.

(*p*) Babylona proprie accipio pro celebri illa Aſſyriæ urbe, in quâ tum eſſet Petrus, circumciſionis Apoſtolus. *Bez. in* 1 *Pet. v.* 13.

(*q*) *See his Sermon upon* 1 *Pet. v.* 13. *Vol.* 2. *p.* 1141—1147. *and many other places in his works.*

(*r*) *Baſn. Ann.* 46. *num. xxvii.*

(*s*) Verum ego priorem ſententiam tanquam longe veriſimiliorem amplector, tum quod in Babylone Parthica magna eſſet Judæorum frequentia. &c. *Cav. in Petro. H. L. p.* 6.

(*t*) Epiſtola ſecunda Romæ, ut videtur, paullo ante mortem ſcripta. *Id. ibid.*

(*u*) An urbem illam S. Petrus adire maxime concupivit, quam Prophetarum vaticinio, et juſto Dei judicio percuſſam eſſe novit? *Pearſon. ubi ſupr. §. iv.* Paullatim igitur defecit Babylon, a Regibus primo, deinde a populo deſerta. *Ib. num. v.*

(*x*) In Aſſyria, ubi Babylon, immenſa fuit Judæorum multitudo, quos ſub Petrinum eccidiſſe apoſtolatum, certum, exploratumque eſt: ut nuſquam gentium provinciam adminiſtrare ſuam felicius potuerit. *Baſnag. ann.* 46. *num. xxvii.*

(*y*) Sunt qui in dicta Petri epiſtola Babylonis nomine non Romam, ſed Babylonem ipſam, quæ caput fuit Aſſyriorum, deſignari contendunt. Verum hi omnium veterum patrum teſtimonio refelluntur. Certe qui Petrum Babylone ſediſſe volunt, oſtendant nobis oportet ſucceſſionem Epiſcoporum, qui Babylonis eccleſiam poſt Petrum adminiſtrarunt.———Quæ, malum, impudentia eſt, id quidem quod nemo veterum dixit, temere affirmare: Petrum ſcilicet ſedem fixiſſe Babylone: id vero quod veteres omnes ſcriptores diſertiſſime prodiderunt, pertinaciter negare! *Val. ſ. Annet. in Euſeb. l.* 2. *cap.* 15. *p.* 33.

Negant

that country? We juſt now obſerved paſſages of Origen, Epiphanius, Gregorie Nazianzen, Jerome, Chryſoſtom, relating to St. Peter's travels. But none have mentioned Babylon, as a place, where he traveled, and preached the goſpel.

Says Mr. Beauſobre: "As (z) Peter was the Apoſtle of the Jews "ſcattered abroad among the Gentils, St. James having ſtayed in Judea, "he went to Babylon, where a great number of the Iſraelites had re-"mained." But may I not take the liberty to aſk a queſtion, and ſay: Who aſſigned to theſe Apoſtles thoſe ſeveral provinces, with ſuch limitations? St. James ſtaid in Judea. It is allowed. We are certain of it from the hiſtoire in the Acts. Nevertheleſs he did not confine his regards to the Jews in the land of Iſrael. For he wrote an epiſtle, addreſſed *to the twelve tribes ſcattered abroad.* And if Peter alſo was an Apoſtle, chiefly, of the circumciſion; it was not of thoſe only, who were in Gentil countreys, but of thoſe likewiſe, who were in Judea: where, as I apprehend, he ſpent the greateſt part of his life, even after our Saviour's aſcenſion.

Mr. Beauſobre ſays, "Peter went to Babylon, where a great number of Iſraelites had remained." That is, he imagined, that he did ſo. And it was fit for him ſo to do. As Baſnage, in a paſſage (a) cited not long ago, ſays: "There was a multitude of Jews in Aſſyria, where was Babylon. Nor could he any where more ſucceſsfully execute his apoſtolical commiſſion." And becauſe we imagine, that Peter might very fitly preach the goſpel in Aſſyria, we conclude, that he went thither. But ſuch reaſonings, if calmly conſidered, are of no weight. It would be much better to allege ſome ancient teſtimonies, in behalf of St. Peter's Journey into Aſſyria, or Parthia.

Mr. Wetſtein thinks, that St. Peter's firſt epiſtle was writ in the countrey of Babylon, in Meſopotamia. As there is ſomewhat new in his argument, I place below (b) a large part of it. In particular, he ſays, that when

Negant enim, Petrum Romæ fuiſſe: quod teſtatur antiquitas. Affirmant autem Babylone fuiſſe, vel in Ægypto, vel in Chaldæa. Quod nulla prodit hiſtoria. *Eſt. in* 1 *Pet. v.* 13.

(z) Comme il étoit l'Apôtre des Juifs diſperſez parmi les Payens, S. Jacques étant demueré en Judée, il alla a Babylone, et dans les provinces voiſines, ou il étoit reſté un bon nombre d'Iſraelites. *Hiſt. de Manich. l.* 2. *ch.* 3. *T. i. p.* 181.

(a) *See p.* 452. *note* (x).

(b) Cur Babylon in Italia potius, aut Ægypto, quam in Meſopotamia, ſit quærenda, cauſſam non video. Veteres quidem Romam intelligunt. . . . . Quod recentiores obſervant, Babylonem proprie dictam, quæ tempore Petrus hæc ſcribebat, habitatam non fuiſſe, verum eſt. At (præterquam quod et Stephano Byzantino et Lucano conſtat, etiam Seleuciam eo tempore nomine Babylonis fuiſſe appellatam,) poſſumus Babylonem interpretari non urbem, ſed totam regionem. . . . Huic obſervationi addo aliam, quæ licet mihi nunc primum in mentem venerit, ſuum tamen apud me pondus habet. Nimirum ubi de pluribus vel provinciis vel urbibus loquimur, vel ubi ad plures ſcribimus, ordini naturæ convenientius et ſimplicius videtur, ut incipiamus non ab

when a perſon writes to the people of ſeveral cities, or countreys, it is natural to begin with that which is neareſt to him. So does Paul. Col. iv. 3. and St. John in Patmos. Rev. i. and ii. The like order, ſays he, is alſo accurately obſerved by St. Peter, if he wrote from Meſopotamia, not if we ſuppoſe him to have writ from Italie, or Egypt.

But ſuch obſervations, though ingenious and plauſible, are not demonſtrative and deciſive, even when they are juſt and right. Which cannot be ſaid of this. For ſuppoſing St. Peter to have been in Meſopotamia, the countrey, neareſt to him, would be Cappadocia, as lying more eaſtward, and more ſouthward, than the two firſt named. Certainly Pontus and Galatia were farther off from Meſopotamia, than Cappadocia. The truth is: St Peter begins at the north, and ſo goes round. And that way of beginning does as well ſuit Rome, as Babylon, ſo far as I can ſee.

Beſide all this, there offers an argument, which appears to me deciſive. If the Aſſyrian Babylon was not now ſubject to the Romans, but to (*c*) the Parthians: which I ſuppoſe to be allowed by all: it cannot be the place, intended by St. Peter. For the people, to whom he writes, were ſubject to the Romans. And at the time of writing this epiſtle he muſt have been within the territories of the ſame Empire. 1 ep. ii. 13. 14. *Submit yourſelves to every ordinance of man, for the Lord's ſake: whether it be to the king*, or rather *Emperour*, as formerly (*d*) ſhewn, *as ſupreme: or unto Governours ſent*, (from Rome,) *by him, for the puniſhment of evil-doers, and for the praiſe of them that do well.* Again, ver. 17. *Honor the King:* or rather, the Emperour. If St. Peter had not now been within the Roman territories, he would have been led to expreſs himſelf in a different manner, when he enforced obedience to the Roman Emperour.

This argument appears to me very obvious. And yet I do not know, that it has ever been thought of by any before. Which makes me almoſt ſuſpect the validity of it: though I cannot diſcern, where the defect lies.

St. Peter requires ſubjection to *Governours, ſent by the Emperour:* undoubtedly, meaning from Rome. I ſuppoſe, that way of ſpeaking might be properly uſed in any part of the Empire. But it might have a ſpecial propriety, if the writer was then at Rome. Where indeed, in all probability, Peter then was.

4. So that we are now come to the fourth opinion concerning the date of this epiſtle. Which is, that by Babylon St. Peter figuratively means Rome.

ab ea, quæ loquentibus vel ſcribentibus eſt remotiſſima, ſed proxima. Hunc ordinem ſervavit Paulus Col. iv. 13. et Joannes ex Patmo. Apoc. i. et ii. Hunc ordinem accurate ſervavit etiam Petrus, ſi ſcripſit ex Meſopotamia, minime autem, ſi vel ex Ægypto, vel ex Italia, eum ſcripſiſſe exiſtimemus. *Weſtein, in 2 Pet. v. 13. Tom. 2. p. 697. 698.*

(*c*) *Vid. Strab. l. 16. p. 1081. in al. p. 745.*

(*d*) *See the firſt Part of this Work. Book i. ch. 2. §. xi. near the end. Or p. 176. of the third edition.*

Rome. This is the opinion of (*e*) Grotius, and (*f*) Whitby, and (*g*) Valeſius, and all the learned writers of the Roman communion in general.

Theſe have, confeſſedly, in their favour, the teſtimonie of antiquity. Which is no ſmall advantage.

Euſebius having given an account of St. Mark's Goſpel, and of it's having been writ at the requeſt of St. Peter's hearers at Rome, adds: "And (*h*) it is ſaid, that Peter mentions this Mark in his firſt epiſtle, "which, they ſay, he wrote at Rome: and that himſelf calls that city "Babylon figuratively in thoſe words: *the church that is at Babylon ſalutes "you, as does Mark my ſon.*"

This interpretation ſome ſuppoſe Euſebius to aſcribe to Papias. But (*i*) Spanheim denies it. And perhaps it is not certain. Whether Papias ſaid ſo, or not, it was the prevailing opinion in the time of Euſebius.

Jerome in his book of Illuſtrious Men, in his article of St. Mark, tranſcribes the juſt cited paſſage of Euſebius, but expreſſeth himſelf more poſitively. "Peter (*k*) makes mention of this Mark in his firſt epiſtle, figuratively denoting Rome by the name of Babylon. *The church which is at Babylon, elected together with you, ſaluteth you, as does Mark my ſon.*"

Bede

(*e*) De Babylone diſſident vetères et novi interpretes. Veteres Romam interpretantur, ubi Petrum fuiſſe nemo verus Chriſtianus dubitabit. Novi Babylonem in Chaldæa. Ego veteribus aſſentior. Nam quod Romam Babylonem vocavit, non in hoc tantum ſerviit, ut ſi deprehenderetur epiſtola, non poſſet inde ſciri, quibus in locis viveret. Verum etiam. . . . . Congruentias plurimas inter Babylonem et Romam vide Oroſii ii. 2. 3. 4. *Grot. ad* 1 *Pet. v.* 13.

(*f*) *See him upon* 1 *Pet. v.* 13.

(*g*) Romam Petrus figurate Babylonem vocavit, vel ob magnitudinem et potentiam, vel propter impietatem. . . . Poteſt etiam alia ratio hujus cognominis afferri, quod ſcilicet ut Babylonii Judæos in ſervitutem redegerant, ſic Romani tunc Judæos ditioni ſuæ ſubjeciſſent. Sunt qui in dicta Petri epiſtola Babylonis nomine non Romam, ſed Babylonem ipſam, quæ caput fuit Aſſyriorum, deſignari contendunt. Verum hi omnium veterum patrum teſtimonio refelluntur. *Valeſ. Annot. ad Euſeb. H. E. l.* 2. *c.* 15. *p.* 33.

(*h*) Τῶ δὲ μάρκῳ μνημονέυειν τὸν πέτρου ἐν τῆ πρωτέρᾳ ἐπιστολῆ, ἣν καὶ συνταξαι φασὶν ἐπ' αὐτῆς ῥώμης· σημαίνειν τε τῆτ' αὐτὸν τὴν πολιν τροπικώτερον βαβυλῶνα, προσειπόντα διὰ τέτων· Ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς ἡ ἐν βαβυλῶνι συνεκλεκτὴ, καὶ μάρκος ὁ ὑιός μυ. *Euſ. H. E. l.* 2. *c.* 15.

(*i*) Atqui primus omnium Euſebius narrationi de Marco hæc ſubjungit: *Eſſe, qui dicerent Romam figurate Babylonem appellari.* . . . Nec tamen Papiæ ipſi adſcribi eam interpretationem, quicquid vulgo ſentiant, Valeſio ipſo verba hæc a prioribus ſejungente, ſupra demonſtratum eſt. Vid. P. 3. num. xii. *Spanheim. Diſſ. de ficta Profect. Petri ad Rom. Part. iv. num. ii. Tom.* 2. *p.* 375.

(*k*) Meminit hujus Marci et Petrus in epiſtola prima, ſub nomine Babylonis figuraliter Romam ſignificans: ſalutat vos quæ in Babylone eſt, coelecta, et Marcus filius meus. *De V. I. cap. viii.*

Bede (*l*) by Babylon underſtood Rome, as did (*m*) Oecumenius. However, it may be here properly recollected, that (*n*) formerly we ſaw an author, Coſmas of Alexandria, in the ſixth centurie, who hereby ſeems to have underſtood Babylon in Aſſyria.

This opinion concerning the place of writing this epiſtle is much confirmed by the general tradition of the ancients, that St. Mark's Goſpel was writ at Rome, at the requeſt of Peter's hearers, and that Mark here mentioned is the Evangeliſt. Nor is this contradicted by Coſmas, but confirmed by him. For he expreſsly ſays, "that (*o*) Mark, the ſecond Evangeliſt, wrote his Goſpel at Rome by the direction of Peter."

They (*p*) who reject this interpretation, affect to ſlight Papias: whereas there is no good reaſon for it. If he ſaid ſo, certainly his teſtimonie would be of ſome value. But we do not clearly perceive, that this was in Papias. However, it is ſaid by Euſebius. It was then a common opinion. Nor did he know of a better.

Others inſinuate likewiſe, that (*q*) the reaſon, why Jerome was willing to confound Rome with Babylon, was, that he was out of humour with the people of Rome. Which ſeems to me to be groundleſs. Jerome only tranſcribes what he had found in Euſebius. They who reject the accounts of thoſe two learned ancients ſhould by all means produce ſome evidence, that Peter was in Meſopotamia. We have good aſſurance, that St. Mark's Goſpel was writ at Rome, and that Peter preached, and ſuffered martyrdom there. His two epiſtles therefore, probably, were writ in the ſame city, a ſhort time before the period of his life.

Mill varies. In his note upon the place he is for Babylon in Egypt. But in his Prolegomena (*r*) he is for Rome, and argues well enough

(*l*) Babylonem typice Romam dicit, videlicet propter confuſionem multiplicis idololatriæ. &c. *Bed. expoſ.* 1 *Pet. v.* 13.

(*m*) Βαβυλῶνα δὲ τὴν ῥώμην διὰ τὸ περιφανὲς καλεῖ, ὁ καὶ Βαβυλῶν πολλῷ χρόνῳ ἴσχυσε. *Oecum. in loc. Tom.* 2. *p.* 526. *A.*

(*n*) *See Vol. xi. p.* 275. *and* 283.

(*o*) *See Vol. xi. p.* 267. *and the firſt volume of this Supplement. p.* 178.

(*p*) Quod ſi, ut Rufinus interpretatur, teſte Papia nititur, infirmo ſane tibicine fultum eſt. Nec temere ad tropum in nominibus urbium aut regionum eſt recurrendum, niſi ubi propria vocis ſignificatio locum habere non poteſt. *Weſtein. N. T. Tom.* 2. *p.* 697.

(*q*) C'eſt une imagination de Papias, que les anciens ont adopté avec trop de facilité, et que S. Jerome auroit rejettée avec mepris, ſi dans la mauvaiſe humeur ou il étoit contre Rome, il n'eût été bien aiſe de la confondre avec Babylone. *Beauſ. Hiſt. Manich. l.* 2. *ch.* 3. *T. i. p.* 181.

(*r*) Romæ eam ſcriptam fuiſſe notant ex traditione Veterum Euſebius, Hieronymus in Catalogo, et alii permulti. Hanc enim Babylonis nomine deſignatam voluit Petrus, ceu communi tum temporis apud Judæos ſuos appellatione. Quæ quidem et in hunc uſque diem apud eos obtinet. Abarbinel, aliique recentiores Judæi, commentantes in prophetias de Babylone, ad Romam iſtas referunt: quod ſicut a Babyloniis olim in ſervitutem redacti fuerint, ita poſtea jam a Romanis. &c. *Proleg. num.* 59. 60.

enough for that opinion. I ſuppoſe, that to be his final determination.

It may be beſt for me now to conclude this argument with a part of Whitby's note upon 1 Pet. v. 13. which is very agreeable alſo to the note of Eſtius upon the ſame text. "That Babylon is figuratively here put "for Rome, is an opinion ſo early delivered by Papias, and which after- "wards ſo generally prevailed, (as we learn from Euſebius, Jerome, and "Oecumenius,) that I ſubſcribe to the note at the end of this epiſtle, "ἐγεάφη ἀπὸ ῥώμης, *it was written from Rome*, ſtiled alſo Babylon by the "author of the Revelations. ch. xvii. and xviii. For the Apoſtle, at the "time of writing it, muſt be at Rome, figuratively, or at ſome city, pro- "perly, called Babylon. Now as it is uncertain, whether St. Peter ever "was at Babylon in Chaldea, or in Egypt, and improbable, that he "made any conſiderable ſtay there: ſo it is very improbable, he "ſhould do it, when near his end. At Rome, and Antioch, where "he confeſſedly reſided, church-hiſtorie is copious in giving an ac- "count of his ſucceſſors in thoſe Sees. But who can ſhew any "thing of this nature, with reference to either of thoſe Babylons? "&c. &c."

IV. The only thing remaining to be obſerved by us is the time of writing theſe two epiſtles. Which I think to be the year 63. or 64. or at the lateſt 65. I ſuppoſe, Paul to have left Rome in the ſpring of the year 63. St. Peter was not then come thither. If he had been there, he would have been mentioned by St. Paul in ſome of his epiſtles, writ near the end of his impriſonment at Rome. However, not very long after St. Paul was gone, St. Peter might come thither. Here, I ſuppoſe, he preached for a while freely, and with great ſucceſſe. And it appears to me probable, that both theſe epiſtles were writ at Rome, not long before the Apoſtle's death. *Their Time.*

That he was old, and near his end, when he wrote the ſecond epiſtle, is apparent from Ch. i. 14. And that the firſt epiſtle to the ſame Chriſtians had not been writ long before, may be argued from the apologie, which he makes for writing this ſecond epiſtle to them. ch. i. ver. 13. . . . 15. *Wherefore I will not be negligent to put you always in remembrance of theſe things, though ye know them, and be eſtabliſhed in the preſent truth. Yea I think it meet, as long as I am in this tabernacle, to ſtir you up by way of remembrance. Knowing, that ſhortly I muſt put off this my tabernacle, even as our Lord Jeſus Chriſt has ſhewed me. Moreover, I will endeavour, that you may be able after my deceaſe to have theſe things always in remembrance.*

It is not unlikely, that ſoon after the Apoſtle had ſent away Silvanus with the firſt epiſtle, ſome came from thoſe countreys to Rome, where was a frequent and general reſort from all parts, bringing him informations concerning the ſtate of religion among them. Which induced him to write a ſecond time for the eſtabliſhment of the Chriſtians, among whom he had labored. And he might well hope, that his laſt words, and dying teſtimonie to the doctrine, which he had received from Chriſt, and had taught for many years with unſhaken ſtedfaſtneſſe, would be of great weight with them.

V. I have now gone through the four inquiries, propoſed at the begining of this article. I ſhall here add only *Remarks upon 1 Pet. v. 13.*

only a few remarks upon 1 Pet. v. 13. *The (s) church that is at Babylon, elected together with you, ſaluteth you. And ſo does Mark, my ſon.*

The word *church* is not in the original, but is inſerted in the tranſlation. The ſame word is ſupplied in (*t*) Oecumenius, and (*u*) in the Latin, and other ancient verſions, with the approbation of (*x*) Grotius, and many others. But Mill (*y*) in his notes upon this text, where he underſtands the word Babylon literally, of a city of that name in Egypt, argues, that thereby is intended St. Peter's wife, or ſome honourable Chriſtian woman, of the city of Babylon, where he then was. Which conjecture is countenanced by (*z*) Wall.

Dr. Heumand proceeds farther. Firſt, he ſays, that (*a*) by *Mark my ſon*, we are to underſtand Peter's own ſon, which he had by his wife. And (*b*) then by *elected together with you*, is to be underſtood, an excellent Jewiſh woman of Babylon in Aſſyria, whom, with many others, Peter had there converted to the Chriſtian faith, and afterwards married: his firſt wife, mentioned Luke iv. 38. by whom he had Mark, being dead.

But

(*s*) Ασπάζεται ὑμᾶς ἡ ἐν βαβυλῶνι συνεκλεκτὴ, καὶ μάρκος ὁ υἱός μου.

(*t*) Ασπάζεται ὑμᾶς ἡ ἐν βαβυλῶνι ἐκκλησία συνεκλεκτή.

(*u*) Εκκλησια præſigunt Lin. [in margine, manu recentiori:] Oecumen. Vulg. Syr. Arab. Æthiop. ex interpretamento. *Mill. in loc.*

(*x*) Ad vocem συνεκλεκτὴ, et Syrus, et Arabs, et Latinus, addunt nomen eccleſiæ, recte. Nam et ad eccleſiam ſcribit, et hæc, et illa, pariter Deo electa; id eſt, a mundo ſegregata. *Grot. in loc.*

(*y*) Nempe pro indubitato ſumitur, eccleſiam Babyloniorum hic intelligi. Atqui vero, ſi de eccleſia hic ſermo, quum nulla ejus mentio facta ſit in præcedentibus, aperte dixiſſet Petrus ἐκκλησία ἐν βαβυλῶνι. . . . Mihi quidem vehemens ſuſpicio eſt, per τὴν ἐν βαβυλῶνι συνεκλεκτὴν, intelligi hic Petri uxorem, fidei ſimul ſuſceptæ, vitæ, laborum, ſociam: quæ Babylone Ægyptiacâ tunc, cum hæc ſcriberentur, egerit. . . . Si dicas, illud ἡ ἐν βαβυλῶνι denotare potius feminam aliquam, quæ fixam ſedem habuerit in Babylone, nihil equidem repugno. Eſto ἡ ἐν βαβυλῶνι ſive uxor Petri, ſive etiam opulenta quædam ac illuſtri loco nata femina apud Babylonios, quæ Apoſtolum hoſpitio exceperit: certe nihil hoc loco de eccleſia Babyloniorum. *Mill. in loc.*

(*z*) "The word *church* is not in the Greek, but put in by the tranſlators, as underſtood in the Greek. . . . Dr. Mill thinks it to mean Peter's wife, who being now at Babylon with her huſband, did ſalute thoſe Chriſtians, to whom the epiſtle was written. And then the reading of the words will be: *She who is your fellow-Chriſtian at Babylon ſaluteth you.*" *Wall. p.* 357.

(*a*) Similem errarunt errorem, qui quem *filium ſuum* hic loci nominavit Petrus, eum non naturalem ejus fuiſſe filium, ſed ſpiritualem arbitrati ſunt. . . . Maneat nunc, Petrum de filio ſibi ex conjuge nato loqui: quem facile ex hoc ipſo loco cognoſcimus fuiſſe ſocium paternorum itinerum, et ſimul συνεργὸν ἐν χριστῷ. *Heum. ubi ſupr. p.* 110.

(*b*) Relinquitur igitur, ut ſtatuamus, loqui Apoſtolum de uxore ſua, Babylone nata, ac tum, cum ibi verſaretur Petrus, una cum aliis utriuſque ſexus Judæis in eccleſiam Chriſti traducta. Hoc enim ſibi volunt hæc verba: ἡ ἐν βαβυλῶνι συνεκλεκτὴ. . . . Quis nunc non videat, Petrum hanc νεόφυτον, ſingulari haud dubie pietate et prudentia conſpicuam, duxiſſe in matrimonium, comitemque poſtea habuiſſe ſacrorum itinerum? Ex quo ſequitur, priorem uxorem, cujus Lucæ iv. 38. mentio, e quâ ſuſceperat Marcum, fuiſſe exſtinctam. *Heum. ibid. p.* 112. 113.

But it appears to me very unlikely, that St. Peter should send salutations to the Christians of several countreys from a woman, not named by him. Beza says well, that (*c*) St. Peter omits the noun, *church*, as is often done with regard to words of common use. What was the sense of Christians in former times, appears from Oecumenius, and the versions taken notice of above. The same sense appears in (*d*) the Complexions of Cassiodorius, and (*e*) the Exposition of Bede.

With regard to St. Mark, Oecumenius says, "that (*f*) Peter calls him *his son* according to the spirit, not according to the flesh. Him he permitted to write the Gospel. But some, as he adds, have presumed to call Mark son of Peter according to the flesh, arguing from Luke's history, in the Acts of the Apostles: where Peter, having been delivered out of prison by an angel, is said to have *come to the house of Marie, the mother of John, whose surname was Mark*, as (*g*) if he had then gone to his own house, and his lawful wife."

That is a wrong deduction from the words of Acts xii. 12. But we hence perceive, that those people supposed Mark, the Evangelist, to have been the same as John, *surnamed Mark*.

And I would also farther observe here, by the way, "that (*h*) Oecumenius computes Silvanus, by whom St. Peter sent this epistle, and who is mentioned ch. v. 12. to be the same, who is several times mentioned by St. Paul in his epistles, particularly 1 Thess. i. 1. 2 Thess ii. 1." Who likewise, very probably, is the same as Silas, often mentioned in the Acts.

Oecumenius there calls *Silvanus a most faithful man, zealous for the progresse of the gospel.* Indeed all must be sensible, that he was an excellent man, who from generous principles attended the Apostles of Christ in the journeys undertaken by them, in the service of the gospel. His deputation from the Apostles, and Elders, and church of Jerusalem, with their letter to the Christians at Antioch, is very honourable to him. Acts xv. 27. 32. His stay there, and Paul's choosing him for his companion in his travels, when he and Barnabas separated, farther assure us of his just sentiments concerning the freedom of the Gentils from the yoke of the law, and of his zeal for promoting true religion.

(*c*) Ecclesiæ nomen omittit, ut in vocabulis communi usu tritis fieri solet. *Beza.*

(*d*) Salutationes quoque ecclesiæ, quam de Babylonia, id est, de seculi istius, confusione, dicit electam, et Marci filii sui pia institutione transmittens. *Cassiod. in loc.*

(*e*) *Expos. in* 1 *Petr. cap.* v.

(*f*) Μάρκον δὲ υἱὸν κατὰ πνεῦμα καλεῖ, ἀλλ' ὲ κατὰ σάρκα. *Oecum. T.* 2. *p.* 526, *A.*

(*g*) . . . ὡς εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῆ οἰκίαν ἐπανελθόντα, καὶ τὴν νομίμην σύζυγον. *Ib. B.*

(*h*) Πιστὸς ὑπεξβαλλόντως ὁ σιλουανὸς οὗτος, καὶ περὶ τὸ κήρυγμα εὐθύμως ἀγωνιζόμενος, ἥγε καὶ παῦλος αὐτῆ μηνύνει, καὶ συνεργὸν αὐτὸν μετὰ τιμοθέου ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς παραλαμβάνει. Παῦλος λέγων καὶ σιλουανὸς καὶ τιμόθεος. *Oecum. ib. p.* 525. *D.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

The three Epiſtles of St. John.

I. *Their Genuinneſſe ſhewn from Teſtimonie, and internal Characters.* II. *The Time of writing the firſt of theſe Epiſtles.* III. *The People, to whom it was ſent.* IV. *Obſervations upon the ſecond Epiſtle.* V. *upon the third.* VI. *The Time, when they were writ.*

Their Genuinneſſe.

I. I HAVE already writ the hiſtorie of St. John, one of Chriſt's twelve Apoſtles, and an Evangeliſt. I have alſo obſerved what is needfull concerning the Goſpel, writ by him. We are now to conſider his Epiſtles.

The regard ſhewn to them by the ancients, may be ſoon perceived by recollecting briefly what has been largely alleged by us from them in the ſeveral volumes of this work.

St. John's firſt epiſtle is referred to by Polycarp. Vol. i. p. 118. is quoted by Papias. 242. 250. 253. and is referred to by the Martyrs of Lyons. 340. His firſt and ſecond epiſtles are quoted by Irenæus. 375. They were alſo received by Clement of Alexandria. ii. 473. 509. 511. 512. And ſays Origen: "John, beſide the Goſpel, and Revelation, has left us an epiſtle of a few lines. Grant alſo a ſecond and a third. For all do not allow theſe to be genuine." Vol. iii. 236. Dionyſius, of Alexandria, receives John's firſt epiſtle, which he calls his Catholic Epiſtle, ὃ ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἡ καθολικὴ. He likewiſe mentions the other two, as aſcribed to him. Vol. iv. 672. . . . 674. The firſt epiſtle was received by Cyprian, and, probably, the other two likewiſe. p. 832. . . . 836. The ſecond epiſtle is quoted by Alexander, Bp. of Alexandria. Vol. vii. 250. Euſebius ſays: "Beſide his Goſpel, his firſt epiſtle is univerſally acknowledged by thoſe of the preſent time, and by the ancients: but the other two are contradicted:" that is, doubted of by ſome. Vol. viii. 95. See alſo p. 96. 97. and 157. 158. All the three epiſtles were received by Athanaſius. p. 227. by Cyril, of Jeruſalem. p. 270. by the Council of Laodicea. p. 292. by Epiphanius. p. 304. 310. All three were received by Jerome. Vol. x. 77. but the two laſt were doubted of by ſome in his time. p. 99. 100. All three were received by Rufin. p. 187. by the third Council of Carthage. p. 194. by Auguſtin. p. 211. 248. and by all thoſe authors, who received the ſame canon of the New Teſtament, that we do. They are in the Alexandrian manuſcript. Vol. xi. p. 240. All three are alſo in the catalogues of Gregorie Nazianzen. ix. 133. and of Amphilochius. p. 148. But this laſt obſerves, that ſome received one of them only. And indeed, it is acknowledged, that but one epiſtle of St. John is received by the Syrian churches. Vol. ix. 191. . . 196. 217. Nor were any more received by Chryſoſtom. Vol. x. 313. 337. . . 339. Venerable Bede, near the begining of the eighth centurie, in his Expoſition of the ſecond epiſtle, ſays: "Some (*a*) have thought this, and the following

(*a*) Quidam putant, hanc et ſequentem epiſtolam non eſſe Joannis Apoſtoli, ſed

" lowing epiſtle not to have been writ by John the Apoſtle, but by ano-
" ther, a Preſbyter of the ſame name, whoſe ſepulchre is ſtill ſhewn at
" Epheſus; whom alſo Papias mentions in his writings. But now it is
" the general conſent of the Church, that John the Apoſtle wrote alſo
" theſe two epiſtles: foraſmuch as there is a great agreement of doctrine
" and ſtile between theſe and his firſt epiſtle, and there is alſo a
" like zeal againſt heretics." They who are deſirous to ſee more quotations of ancient writers, may conſult the Table of principal matters, in the twelfth Volume, in *St. John, Catholic Epiſtles*, and *Authors, who had the ſame canon of the N. T. with that, which is now generally received.* Which article may be found under *Canon of the ſcriptures of the N. T.*

All the three epiſtles are now generally received as St. John's in theſe parts of the world. And with good reaſon, as ſeems to me. Said Origen: " He has alſo left an epiſtle of a very few lines. Grant alſo a ſecond, and a third." That is very right. One epiſtle was received by all, as certainly genuine. And it is not worth the while to contend about the other two, when they are ſo very ſhort, and reſemble the firſt in ſentiment, phraſe, and manner of writing, as is well obſerved by (*b*) Mill. And of the ſecond epiſtle, which conſiſts of only thirteen of our verſes, eight may be found in the firſt, either in ſenſe, or expreſſion. The title of Elder at the begining of theſe two epiſtles, affords no juſt exception. It (*c*) is a very honourable character, well becoming John as Apoſtle, and now in years, reſiding in Aſia, as ſuperintendent of all the churches in that country. And St. Peter ſpeaks of himſelf in the ſame character, in his epiſtle univerſally acknowledged. ch. v. 1.

Dr. Heumann ſuppoſeth, that (*d*) here is a reference to St. John's great

ſed cujuſdam preſbyteri Joannis, cujus ſepulchrum uſque hodie monſtratur in Epheſo. Cujus etiam Papias, auditor Apoſtolorum, et in Hierapoli Epiſcopus, in opuſculis ſuis ſæpe meminit. Sed nunc generalis Eccleſiæ conſenſus habet, quod has quoque epiſtolas Joannes Apoſtolus ſcripſerit, quia revera multam verborum et fidei ſimilitudinem cum prima ejus epiſtola oſtendunt, et ſimili zelo deteſtantur hæreticos. *Bed. Exp. in 2 ep. Joan.*

(*b*) Epiſtolas autem iſtas habere auctorem Joannem . . . ex eo plane conſtat, quod in iſtis omnibus eadem paſſim ſint νοηματα, idem genus et character dictionis. Secundæ, certe ὀλιγοστιχα, (neque enim continet ultra tredecim verſus ex hodiernis noſtris,) octo quidem verſiculorum cum ſenſus, tum ipſæ φρασεις, exſtant in epiſtola prima. . . . Epiſtola autem tertia, ejuſdem omnino coloris ac characteris cum ſecunda, per omnia ſapit Joannem Apoſtolum. *Mill. Proleg. num.* 153.

(*c*) Quod aliqui Joanni cuidam alteri, Preſbytero vulgo dicto, adſcriptas volunt has duas epiſtolas, ii neutiquum vident, quam fortiter contra illos militet illud ὁ πρεσβυτερος κατ' ἐξοχην: quique privato homini, vel etiam Epiſcopo, haudquaquam conveniat. . . . Imo vero Apoſtolo noſtro peculiariter adaptatum et accommodatum erat: utpote qui jam nonagenarius fuerit, omnibuique provinciæ Aſiæ eccleſiis præſiderit. *Mill. Ibid. num.* 153. 154. *Vid. et Lampe Prolegom. in Joan. l. i. cap.* 7. *num. viii.*

(*d*) Deinde articulo ὁ docet Joannes, nomen hoc ſibi cum nemine commune eſſe,

great age, at the time of his writing these two epistles. And he thinks, that St. John was then as well known by that title, as by his name. *The Elder* therefore is as much, as if he had said: The aged Apostle. And he refers to Wolfius, and others, who had before said the same, or what is to the like purpose.

The want of a name at the begining is no objection. It is rather an argument, that they are his: that being agreeable to St. John, who prefixes not his name, to that epistle, which is unquestionably his.

And say Beausobre and Lenfant in their preface to the second and third epistles: "It is certain, that the writer of the third epistle speaks with "an authority, which the Bishop of a particular church could not pre- "tend to, and could not suit John the elder, even supposing him to have "been Bishop of the church of Ephesus, as the pretended Apostolical "Constitutions say he was appointed by John the Apostle. For if "Diotrephes was Bishop of one of the churches of Asia, as is reckoned, "the Bishop of Ephesus had no right to say to him, as the writer of this "epistle does ver. 10. *If I come, I will remember his deeds which he does.* "That language, and the visits made to the churches, denote a man, "who had a more general jurisdiction, than that of a Bishop, and can "only suit St. John the Apostle."

The Time of writing the first Epistle.

II. That may suffice for shewing the genuinness of the three epistles. Let us now make some remarks upon each of them, begining with the first. Concerning which there are two inquiries, that may be proper: the time when, and the persons to whom it was writ.

Grotius thought this (*e*) epistle to have been writ in Patmos, before the destruction of Jerusalem. Hammond and Whitby likewise were of opinion, that it was writ, before that great calamity befell the Jewish nation. Dr. Benson (*f*) is inclined to place it in the year of our Lord 68 of Nero 14. that is, after the Jewish war was broke out, and not long before the destruction of Jerusalem. Mill (*g*), and Le Clerc (*h*) who follows him, place this epistle in the year 91. or 92. Basnage (*i*) speaks of this epistle at the year 98. and Baronius (*k*) at the year 99. Beausobre and Lenfant in their preface to this epistle express themselves after this manner: "Al- "though we cannot say any thing certain concerning the time, when St. "John wrote this epistle: we may be satisfied, that it was near the end of "the

esse, adeoque viso τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ titulo statim scriptorem harum literarum agnovisse. . . . Nihil proinde restat, quam ut statuamus, a Joanne isto titulo indicari ætatem suam provectissimam, morisque tum fuisse, eum appellitari honoris ac reverentiæ caussa *Senem*, sive *Seniorem*, vel etiam *Senem Apostolum*. . . . . Græca proinde hæc, Ὁ Πρεσβύτερος Γαΐῳ, melius reddi Latine non possunt, quam hoc modo: Grandævus Apostolus salutem dicit Caio. . . . *Heuman. Comm. in Joan. Ep. iii. ap. Nov. Syllog. Diss. p. i. P.* 279. 280.

(*e*) Puto autem scriptam, ut alibi dixi, ex Patmo hanc epistolam, non multo ante excidium Hierosolymitanum. *Grot. Pr. in 1 ep. Joan.*

(*f*) *Preface to St. John's first epistle. §. iv.*

(*g*) *Proleg. num.* 148. . . 150.

(*h*) *H. E. an.* 91. *num. i.*

(*i*) *Ann.* 98. *num. iv.*

(*k*) *Ann.* 99. *num. vii.* . . . *x.*

"the firſt centurie, when the Apoſtle was far advanced in age." Du Pin (*l*) ſays, it is not known, when it was writ, but moſt probably, near the end of the Apoſtle's life. Mr. Whiſton (*m*) thought, this, and the other two epiſtles of St. John, to have been written not long after each other, about the year of Chriſt, 82. or 83. Mr. Lampe (*n*) ſuppoſeth this firſt Epiſtle to have been writ after the Jewiſh war, before St. John's exile in Patmos, and, probably, ſome good while before it. Conſequently, he and Mr. Whiſton do not differ greatly about the time of this epiſtle.

I muſt likewiſe ſay, though the exact time is not known, I am of opinion, it was not writ, till after the Jewiſh war was over. My reaſon is, that the arguments alleged, for proving it to have been writ ſooner, are not ſatisfactorie. And in examining them, perhaps, ſome things may occur, affording hints of a later date.

One argument is taken from ch. ii. 18. *it is the laſt time*, or hour: meaning, as (*o*) ſome interpreters think, the laſt hour of the Jewiſh ſtate and conſtitution. Nevertheleſs, there (*p*) are learned men, who do not aſſent to that interpretation. Grotius himſelf owns, that (*q*) the phraſe is ſometimes uſed concerning the world, or mankind in general, as well as the Jews. And Mr. Lampe, who ſuppoſeth the phraſe to relate to the divine judgement upon the Jewiſh People, ſays, it (*r*) might be uſed not only at the time when it was inflicting, but alſo after it was accompliſhed. Which he ſuppoſes to be meant by thoſe expreſſions. ch. ii. 8. *the darkneſſe is paſt, and the true light now ſhineth:* [though (*s*) Wolfius thinks no

(*l*) *Diſſ. Prelim. l. 2. ch. 2. §. xi.*

(*m*) *Commentarie upon St. John's three Catholic Epiſtles. p.* 14.

(*n*) Acquieſcimus igitur hactenus in judicio clariſſimi Enſii de Canone N. T. p. 270. Scriptæ tamen creduntur Joannis epiſtolæ ante exilium in Patmum inſulam. Neque eſt ratio, ob quam non ſtatuerimus, eas diu ante illud tempus fuiſſe conſcriptas. *Lampe Prol. cap. 7. num. iv. not.* (*b*).

(*o*) *Ultima hora:* id eſt, ultimum tempus, ubi ad Judæos ſermo eſt, ſignificat tempus, proximum excidio urbis, ac templi, et reipublicæ Judæorum. *Grot. annot. in* 1 *ep. Jo. ii.* 18.

(*p*) *Vid. Wolf. Prolegom. in* 1 *ep. Joann. p.* 243. 244. *Conf. eund. ad* 1 *ep. cap. ii. ver.* 18.

(*q*) Nomen *horæ extremæ* modo totum humanum genus reſpicit, modo populum Judaicum, ex quo erant Apoſtoli, et non pauci Chriſtianorum. *Grot. in loca quædam N. T. de Antichriſto: ſpecialim in* 1 *ep. Jo. cap. ii. Opp. Tom.* 3.

(*r*) Alii maturius, aut brevi ante, aut ſaltem circa excidium Hieroſolymitanum ſcriptum eſſe exiſtimant, qui nobis maxime ad veriſimilitudinem accedere videntur. Probabile enim eſt, per ἐσχάτην ὥραν intelligi tempus judicii divini in Judæos. cap. ii. 18. ejuſque conſummationem ſpectare verba cap. ii. 8. *Lampe Prol. l. 1. c. 7. n. iv. p.* 106.

(*s*) ——— ſed non video, quomodo imminens illud judicium argumentum eſſe poſſit, quo Apoſtolus ad inculcandum et urgendum amorem mutuum uti voluerit. Tenebræ omnino inferunt priſtinam et Judæorum et Gentilium conditionem, per quam non ſolum erroribus, ſed et vitiis ita erant immerſi, ut υἱοὶ σκότους appellari potuerint. *Wolf. Curæ in* 1 *Jo. ii.* 8.

no ſuch thing there intended.] And therefore, he ſays, he (*t*) does not acquieſce in the reaſons alleged by Grotius and Hammond, to prove, that this epiſtle was writ before that event.

Let me add here alſo a part of Wall's note upon ch. ii. 18. which to me appears not amiſs. "The ſaying of St. John, *it is the laſt time*, is "ſpoken as a great many ſuch ſayings of St. Paul, and the other Apoſtles, "had been, according to the general charge, given by Chriſt to the "Apoſtles, and to all other Chriſtians, to live in a continual expectation "of the judgement. They that interpret it otherwiſe, of the deſtruc-"tion of Jeruſalem, as Grotius, and Hammond, are forced to ſuppoſe "this epiſtle to have been written juſt before that deſtruction, about the "year 69. . . . Nor are St. John's words here like thoſe of any one, "that was foretelling that event: but rather of one that was ſpeaking "of the preſent ſtate of the Chriſtian religion."

Again, it is argued, that (*u*) the Apoſtle might refer to the calamities of the Jewiſh People in thoſe words ch. ii. 17. *The word paſſeth away, and the luſt thereof.* But thoſe are only general expreſſions, repreſenting the uncertainty of all earthly things. And therefore afford not any argument, that the Apoſtle had therein a regard to affairs in Judea. For, if he had, his expreſſions would have been more diſtinct, and particular.

Thirdly, an argument is alſo brought from ch. ii. 13. *I write unto you, fathers, becauſe ye have known him that is from the begining.* Whereby St. John has been ſuppoſed by ſome to intend ſome aged Chriſtians, who had ſeen Jeſus Chriſt upon earth. Which is more likely to have been the caſe of ſome in the year 68. about thirty-five years after Chriſt's aſcenſion, than many years afterwards. To which I anſwer, that (*x*) by *him that is from the begining*, probably, is intended God the Father, not Jeſus Chriſt. It is equivalent to what is afterwards ſaid of others, in the ſame verſe. *I write unto you, little children, becauſe ye have known the Father.* But it would not ſound ſo well, to ſay: *I have written unto you, fathers, becauſe ye have known the Father.* See alſo ver. 14.

Fourthly, it is (*y*) argued to the like purpoſe from ch. ii. 7. *I write no now commandment to you, but an old commandment, which ye had from the begining.* But thereby may be meant no more than the commandment which

(*t*) Grotius et Hammondus ante excidium Hieroſolymitanum ſcriptam eſſe ſuſpicantur. Quod tamen loca adducta non evincunt. Licet enim excidium illud in actum datum eſſet, dici tamen etiamnum poterat, quod hora illa ultima venerit. *Id. ib. not. (h).*

(*u*) Unde etiam per *mundum tranſeuntem cum ſuis cupiditatibus* ad idem excidium Reipublicæ Judaicæ reſpicere Evangeliſta potuit. *Lampe ib. p.* 106.

(*x*) *Noſtis Deum, qui Senex Dierum.* Dan. vii. 9. 13. 22. Dat cuique ordini quæ ipſi conveniunt. A prima ætate noviſtis Deum, hujus mundi opificem. Is autem is eſt, qui Chriſtum miſit, eumque pro ſe audiri voluit. *Grot. ad ver.* 13.

(*y*) Accedit, quod ad fratres ſcribat, qui præceptum a principio audiverant. cap. ii. 7. per quod intelligi debet principium prædicationis evangelicæ. A quo igitur non nimium removeri debent illi, quos Apoſtolus alloquitur. *Lampe ubi ſupra. p.* 106.

which ye had from the begining of your being Christians: or from the time, when you were first converted to the Christian Religion, whenever it was. And, as (z) Wolfius observes, none of those to whom St. John wrote, in any part of his life, were very far distant in point of time, from the first preaching of the gospel.

Since therefore there are no expressions in the epistle, declaring the time of it, or clearly referring to the calamities attending the downfall of the Jewish State; it appears to me probable, that it was not writ till a good while after that event, about the year of Christ 80. or later.

III. We are next to consider, to whom this epistle was sent.

To whom it was sent.

And here I observe: As the writer does not at the begining prefix his name, nor any where else mention it in the epistle: so neither does he describe, or characterize the persons to whom he writes by the name of their city, or countrey, or any such thing.

The first expression of address is that in ch. ii. 1. *My little children, these things write I unto you, that ye sin not.* And the epistle concludes with these words: *Little children, keep yourselves from idols.* And he several times calls the Christians, to whom he writes, *little children*, as ch. ii. 12. 18. iii. 7. 18. iv. 4. v. 21. Our Lord spoke to the disciples in a like manner. John xiii. 33. and xxi. 5. It is a tender and affectionate appellation, denoting paternal authority, love, and concern. As an Apostle it might be used by St. John in any part of life. Nevertheless it seems to imply, together with apostolical authority, advanced age.

Some have thought, that this epistle was writ to Parthians, or Jewish believers in that countrey. We have seen several ancient Latin authors, who speak of it, as inscribed to Parthians. So (a) Augustin, (b) Cassiodorius, and (c) Bede. I have already spoken of this, and have referred to divers learned moderns (d) whose opinions deserve to be taken notice of. I shall now add Mr. Whiston's thoughts relating to this point, taken from his Commentarie upon St. John's Epistles, published in 1719. "None of "these three epistles of St. John, says he p. 5. 6. were written to the "Parthians, as some later Latin writers have supposed: but rather to "the Christians or churches of Asia, near Ephesus." "This he argues "from the perfect silence of all true antiquity, as to St. John's ever "preaching in Parthia: and from the account, which we have in Eu"sebius from Origen, that Parthia was St. Thomas's province, and Asia "St. John's; as also from the account in the Recognitions ix. 29. that "Thomas

(z) Quod ad alteram rationem attinet, nullus eorum, qui Joannis ætate ad Christi cognitionem adducti sunt, ab originibus evangelii nimium removebitur, sive illi ante, sive post excidium Hierosolymitanum eo pervenerint. Omnes enim sub originibus ejus eam adepti censeri debent, quippe quibus Joannes, ut αὐτόπτης eorum, testis et præco, adfuerit. *Wolf. ubi supr. p.* 244.

(a) *Vol. x. p.* 248. (b) *Vol. xi. p.* 308.
(c) *The same. p.* 388. (d) *See Vol. x. p.* 249.

" Thomas really preached the gospel in Parthia, without a syllable of St. " John thereto relating. All which, says he, makes it plain, that this " pretended direction, of any of St. John's epistles to the Parthians, " stands upon no good authority at all. And it is not improbable, that " the occasion of this errour was barely a false reading in some ancient " manuscript, where πρὸς παρθους was read for πρὸς παρθένους: *to the Par-* " *thians*, for *to the Virgins*. Which latter inscription might easily be ap- " plied to the first epistle. For as it is chiefly addressed to young Chris- " tians, yet uncorrupted, both as to fleshly and spiritual fornication, " such as in St. John's Revelations are called παρθένοι *virgins*: so was " the second epistle anciently affirmed by some to be written, *to the Vir-* " *gins*: as we learn from Clement of Alexandria, in Cassiodorius:" that is, from Clement's Adumbrations upon the Catholic Epistles, translated by order (*e*) of Cassiodorius. For there (*f*) the second epistle of St. John is said to be writ to virgins.

And before, at p. 4. of the same Commentarie, Mr. Whiston observes: " St. John says nothing in his first epistle, by which we can directly ga- " ther, to whom it was sent: though it seems most probably to belong " to his own Asiatic churches."

As I have quoted Clement, I must not omit the observation of Lenfant and Beausobre: " Clement (*g*) says, that the second epistle of St. John was " directed to virgins, undoubtedly intended by the means of this Lady. " But there is nothing in the epistle, which suits virgins, more than " other Christians."

Mr. Lampe says: " This (*h*) first epistle is writ to believers, as is abundantly manifest from the whole scope of the epistle. We also, says he, easily admit, that Jewish believers are especially regarded. Nevertheless we think, that St. John directed it to all believers of his time in general: forasmuch as there appears not in it any expression of limitation."

Du Pin says: " Though (*l*) there is no inscription, it appears from the begining of the second chapter, that it is addressed to many Christians. And there is no proof, that it is sent to Jews, rather than to Gentils."

On the other hand Dr. Benson (*m*) thinks, " that the Apostle wrote this epistle to the Jewish Christians in Judea and Galilee."

But the former opinion appears to me more probable. For 1. It is always called a catholic epistle. So it was called by Dionysius of Alexandria,

(*e*) *See in this work, ch. 22.*

(*f*) Secunda Joannis epistola, quæ ad virgines scripta est, simplicissima est. Scripta vero est ad quandam Babyloniam Electam nomine. *Adumbr. in ep. 2 Joan.*

(*g*) *As before. p.* 584.

(*h*) Ad fideles eum scripsisse, abunde patet ex scopo epistolæ, cap. i. 4. totoque ejus argumento. Facile etiam admittimus, speciatim fideles ex Hebræis innui. Universis tamen credentibus sui temporis Joannem hanc epistolam destinasse putamus, quia nulla restrictionis occurrit mentio. *Lamp. ibid. num. iii.* 105.

(*l*) *Dissertat. sur la Bible: t. 2. ch. 2. §. xi.*

(*m*) *See his preface to St. John's first epistle. sect. iv.*

andria, as before seen, as well as by later writers. 2. It really appears to be so. For there are not in it any expressions of limitation. 3. There could be very little occasion for that admonition to believers in Judea, in the year 68. after the war was broke out, which is in ch. ii. 15. *Love not the world, nor the things that are in the world.* That admonition is rather suited to people, who were supposed to be in easie circumstances, and are in danger of being ensnared by the allurements of prosperity. 4. Nor has the concluding exhortation of the epistle, *keep yourselves from idols*, any special suitableness to believers in Judea: but is much more likely to be directed to Christians living in other parts of the world.

Oecumenius in his comment upon the last verse of this epistle says, it (*n*) was writ to the whole Church in general. And in the proëm to his Commentarie upon the second epistle he (*o*) calls the first a catholic epistle. And he says, "that (*p*) epistle is not writ to a certain person, nor to the churches of one or more places, as the blessed Peter's to the Jews in their dispersion, nor as James's before him, to the twelve tribes of the Jewish People. But he writes to all the faithful in general, whether assembled together, or not. For which reason there is no inscription to that epistle, as there is to the other two."

To me therefore it seems, that this epistle was designed for the churches in Asia under St. John's inspection, and for all other Christians, into whose hands it should come. Or in other words, it was designed for all Christians in general, especially those under the Apostle's inspection, and neareſt to him: without excepting the believers in Judea, or in any other countrey whatever.

Nor am I aware of any thing in the epistle, that should lead us to think, Jewish believers in particular to be intended, except what is in ch. ii. 2. where by *our* some have understood Jewish Christians, and by *the whole world* Gentils. But the coherence does not require that interpretation. In the preceding verse is first mentioned that general address, *my little children*, which occurs several times afterwards. He there says: "*These things write I unto you, that ye sin not.* Having delivered that earnest exhortation, for avoiding all offensive harshness, he soon afterwards joyns himself with those, to whom he writes, adding: *And if any man sin, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous. And he is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only*, "that is, mine, and yours, to whom I am now writing, who already believe in Jesus, and have done so for a good while: *but also for the sins of the whole world*: that is, of all men, of every nation and people, rank and condition, in every part and age of the world, who shall believe and repent." Here is nothing to limit

(*n*) . . . φαμὲν ἅπ, ὡς ἐπειδὴ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὅλῃ ταῦτα ἔγραφεν. κ. λ. *Oecum. T. 2. p. 602. B.*

(*o*) *Ib. p. 605. B.*

(*p*) . . . Οὐ γὰρ πρὸς ὡρισμένον ἔγραψε πρόσωπον, οὐδὲ πρὸς ἐκκλησίαν τόπων τινῶν, ὥσπερ ἐποίησεν ὁ μακάριος πέτρος ἀφωρισμένως πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ διασπορᾷ ἰουδαίους γράφειν· ἢ πρὸ τούτου ὁ θεῖος ἰάκωβος ταῖς δώδεκα φυλαῖς. . . . ἀλλὰ πᾶσι πίστει κοινὸν ποιήσεως τὸν λόγον ἐκκλησιάζουσι. καὶ μὴ ἐκκλησιάζουσι. τὸν τῆς προσγραφῆς παρέλιπε λόγον. *Id. p. 606. B. 607. A.*

limit what the Apostle says to Jewish Christians. And that this Apostle does frequently joyn himself with those, to whom he writes, with a like view to that above mentioned, must be evident to all, who read this epistle with attention. See ch. i. 6. . . . 10. ii. 3. iii. 14. 18. . . . 22.

However for the sake of such as are really inquisitive, I shall here subjoyn the note of Oecumenius upon those words: *not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world.* "This (*q*) he said, either because he "wrote to Jews, and intended to shew, that the benefit of repentance "was not restrained to them, but extended to Gentils also: or else, that "the promise was not made to the men of that time only, but likewise "to all in future times."

Observations upon the second Epistle.

IV. St. John's second epistle is thus inscribed: *The Elder to the elect Lady, and her children.* Which has been differently understood by ancients and moderns: whose opinions may be seen in (*r*) Wolfius, and in Dr. Benson's preface to the second and third epistles of St. John, and briefly in Beza, whom (*s*) I transcribe below.

Some have hereby understood the Christian Church in general. So (*t*) Jerome. But that, as Beza well observes in the place just transcribed, is a way of speaking, of which no like instance can be found. And it is inconsistent with what is said in the conclusion of the epistle, where the writer speaks of coming to see her, and sends her the salutations of the children of her elect sister.

Cassiodorius here (*u*) understood a particular church.

Mr.

(*q*) Τοῦτο δὲ εἶπεν, ἤτοι ὅτι πρὸς Ἰουδαίους ἔγραφε, καὶ ἵνα μὴ μόνοις ἐκείνοις περικλείσῃ τὰ τῆς μετανοίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἔθνη ἐξαπλώσῃ τάυτην· ἢ ὅτι μὴ τοῖς κατ' ἐκεῖνα καιρὸν ἡ ἐπαγγελία μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς μετέπειτα πᾶσι. *Oecum. in* 1. *ep. Joan. p.* 565.

(*r*) *Wolf. Prolegom. in ep. Joann. ii. p.* 320 . . . 326.

(*s*) *Electæ Dominæ.* Nonnulli *Electæ* nomen proprium esse volunt. Quod non probo. Dicendum enim esset κυρίᾳ ἐκλεκτῇ, *Dominæ Electæ.* Alii hoc nomine volunt Ecclesiam Christianam in genere significari. Quibus repugnat primum, quod hoc dicendi genus sit prorsus inusitatum. Deinde, quod in extremis duobus versibus diserte pollicetur, se ad eam et filios ipsius venturum, additque filiorum sororis salutem, quam et ipsam *electam* vocat. Puto igitur inscriptam esse epistolam præstanti alicui feminæ, quarum nonnullæ ecclesias suis opibus passim sustentabant: et *electam* illam vocari, id est, *eximiam*, addita Dominæ appellatione . . . sicut Lucas Theophilum, et Paulus Festum κράτιστον, id est, *potentissimum*, vel *præstantissimum*, compellant. Neque enim ab ejusmodi honestis titulis Christiana Religio abhorret, quatenus quidem justum ac fas est. Perinde est igitur, acsi scriptum esset: Eximiæ ac præstanti dignitate Dominæ. Atenim cur nomen proprium non addidit? Nempe satis inter se noti ac familiares erant. Quamobrem etiam ne nomen quidem suum exprimendum putavit. *Bez. in Joann. ep. secund.*

(*t*) Legimus in Carminum libro. . . . *Una est columba mea.* . . . Ad quam scribit idem Joannes epistolam: *Senior electæ dominæ, et filiis ejus* . . . . *Ad Ageruch. ep.* 91. *al.* 11. *T.* 4. *p.* 745.

(*u*) Joannes senior, quoniam ætate provectus, electæ dominæ scribit ecclesiæ, filiisque ejus, quos sacro fonte genuerat. *Cassiod. in ep. Jo. ii.*

Mr. Whiſton (*x*) ſays: "St. John's ſecond epiſtle was not writ to a particular Lady, but to a particular church: and, not improbably, to the church of Philadelphia." Which laſt I take to be ſaid without any good foundation.

Oecumenius, in his comment upon the laſt verſe of this epiſtle, ſays: "Hence (*y*) ſome argue that the epiſtle was ſent not to a woman, but to a church. About which, he ſays, he does not chooſe to diſpute" But in his introduction, or comment upon the begining of the epiſtle, he ſays, "St. (*z*) John did not ſcruple to write to a faithful woman: foraſmuch as *in Chriſt Jeſus there is neither male, nor female.*" And before he ſpeaks (*a*) of this epiſtle being writ to a particular woman.

In the Adumbrations of Clement of Alexandria, as we now have them in Latin, this (*b*) epiſtle is ſaid to be writ to a Babylonian woman, or virgin, named Electa.

And of late many learned men, whoſe (*c*) arguments I place below, chooſe to read this inſcription thus: *To the Lady Electa*, or *Eclecta*. But in my opinion the concluſion affords an objection. For it is not very likely, that two ſiſters ſhould both have one and the ſame name. So it may be ſometimes: but very ſeldom, as I imagine. This was a difficulty with (*d*) Wolfius, and (*e*) Tillemont.

Dr.

(*x*) *As before p.* 12.

(*y*) Διὰ δὲ τὸ προσθῆναι, ὡσπάζεταί δε τὰ τέκνα τῆς ἀδελφῆς σου τῆς ἐκλεκτῆς, βέλονταί τινες βεβαιῶν, ὡς ὲ πρὸς γυναῖκα ἡ ἐπιστολὴ, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἐκκλησίαν· περὶ ὃ ἐδὲν τῷ βελομένῳ διενεχθῆναι. *Oec. T.* 2. *p.* 612.

(*z*) Πρὸς δε γυναῖκα γράφων πιστὴν οὐδὲν ὑπεστείλατο, ὅτι ἐν χριστῷ ἰησοῦ οὐκ ἄρρεν οὐδὲ θῆλυ οἶδε. *Ib. p.* 606. *C.*

(*a*) . . . καθότι κ) πρεσβύτερον ἑαυτὸν ἐν τούταις γράφει κ) πρὸς γυναῖκα, κ) ἕτερον γαῖον, ἕνα καὶ αὐτὸν, ὥσπερ καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα μίαν. *Id. p.* 605. *B.*

(*b*) Secunda Joannis epiſtola, quæ ad virgines ſcripta eſt, ſimpliciſſima eſt. Scripta vero eſt ad quandam Babyloniam Electam nomine. Significat autem electionem eccleſiæ ſanctæ. *Clem. A. ad Potter. p.* 1011.

(*c*) Epiſtola ſecunda ſcripta eſt ad quandam Babyloniam, Electam nomine, ut legas in Adumbrationibus ad hanc epiſtolam, quæ feruntur ſub nomine Clementis Alexandrini. Nomen enim proprium feminæ eſſe Electam, recte obſervarunt viri doctiſſimi, perinde ut ἐκλεκτος viri nomen eſt apud Herodianum. Eandem Joannes κυρίαν vocat, quemadmodum Latini feminas honeſtas vocabant dominas, ſive domnas. Et Nazianzenus ep. iv. Κυρία τῇ μητρί. *Fabr. Bib. Gr. l.* 4. *cap.* 5. *Tom.* 3. *p.* 343.

Εκλεκτὴ quoque litera majuſcula ſcribitur apud Wechelium, et in editione R. Stephani, quam ſecutus eſt Millius, quamvis ipſe eo nomine Chriſtianam feminam indicari exiſtimet. *Wolf. in* 2 *ep. Jo. p.* 323.

Electus cubicularius fuit Imp. Commodi genere Ægyptius. &c. *Wetſten. ad Joan. ep.* 2. *p.* 729.

(*d*) Electam proprii nominis vocabulo vix habuerim, per comma 13. ubi matronæ hujus ſoror itidem ἐκλεκτὴ appellatur. Quod ut illius ætatis moribus non reſpondet, ita ſoror illa ἐκλεκτὴ, tanquam Chriſtiana commode vocari poterat. *Wolf. ib. p.* 325.

(*e*) Et on trouve de la difficulté à croire qu' ἐκλεκτὴ en ſoit un [nom propre] parceque S. Jean. ver. 13. le donne auſſi à la ſoeur de cette dame, n'eſtant pas ordinaire que deux ſoeurs aient le meſme nom: et parcequ'il auroit dû dire devant κυρία, plutoſt qu'après. *S. Jean. l'Evangel. note xiv. Mem. T. i.*

Dr. Heumann ſuppoſeth, that (*f*) this woman's name was Kuria, or Kyria, and renders the inſcription after this manner: *To the elect Kyria.* Which opinion is embraced by (*g*) Dr. Benſon. But (*h*) Wolfius is not quite ſatisfied with it.

Tillemont has obſerved, that (*i*) in the Synopſis of Athanaſius κυρία ſeems to be taken for a proper name. But that is not clear. The expreſſion is ambiguous, and may be as well rendered: *the* (*k*) *Elder writes to a Lady, and her Children,* as to Kyria, and her children. So (*l*) likewiſe thought Wolfius.

Before I proceed, I muſt detain the reader, whilſt I obſerve, that the article of the Synopſis, quoted by Tillemont, is exactly the ſame with the Hypotheſis, or Argument, prefixed to St. John's ſecond epiſtle in (*m*) the ſecond tome of Oecumenius. However, I do not ſuppoſe it to be really Oecumenius's. I allow it to be a part of the Synopſis, generally thought to have been compoſed by Athanaſius, Biſhop of Alexandria in the fifth centurie, as (*p*) formerly ſhewn.

Oecumenius himſelf ſeems to me to have ſuppoſed, this epiſtle to have been ſent (*q*) to a Chriſtian woman, whoſe name is not known. However in one place, in his prologue, he has theſe expreſſions: "He (*r*) calls her *elect*, either from her name, or on account of the excellence of her virtue."

Finally, then, others underſtand this inſcription agreeably to our own tranſlation: *The Elder to the Elect Lady, and her children.* This (*s*) has hitherto been the common opinion, and is favoured by (*t*) Beza, (*u*) Mill, (*x*) Wall, (*y*) Wolfius, (*z*) Le Clerc, and others. And Tillemont in

(*f*) *Heuman. Poec. T.* 2. *p.* 421. . . . 427. *et T.* 3. *p.* 14. *&c.*

(*g*) *See his Preface to the ſecond and third epiſtles of St. John. ſect. iv.*

(*h*) Poſterius hoc argumentum me etiam adducit, ut nec Cyriæ nomen proprium heic agnoſcam. Ita enim Apoſtolus ſcripturus erat: Κυρίᾳ τῇ ἐκλεκτῇ, quemadmodum ver. 1. epiſtolæ tertiæ: Γαΐῳ τῷ ἀγαπητῷ. Simili ſcribendi ratione utitur Paulus. Rom. xvi. 5. Ασπάζεσθε ἐπαίνετον τὸν ἀγαπητόν μου. Vid. etiam ib. ver. 8. et 12. et 13. *Wolf. ib. p.* 325.

(*i*) Neanmoins Saint Athanaſe met γράφει κυρίᾳ, καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτῆς. par ou il paroiſt avoir pris le mot de κυρία pour un nom propre. *Mem. Ec. T. i. S. Jean l'Evangeliſte. note xiv.*

(*k*) Τάυτην ὡς πρεσβύτερος γράφει κυρίᾳ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτῆς. *Athen. Synopſ. S. S. T.* 2, *p.* 190, *ed. Bened.*

(*l*) Mihi quidem id ex phraſi iſta non admodum liquet. *Wolf. ib. p.* 323.

(*m*) *Oecum. T.* 2. *p.* 603.

(*p*) *See ch. lxxv. num.* x. *Vol.* 8. *p.* 240. . . . 242.

(*q*) Δύο δὲ τῇ ἐκλεκτῇ τάυτῃ ἐπιμαρτυρεῖ. κ. λ. *Oecum. Tom.* 2. *p.* 606. *D.*

(*r*) Εκλεκτὴν δὲ ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀνόματος, ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν φιλοτιμίας καλεῖ. *Id. p.* 606. *B.*

(*s*) Alii utramque vocem pro appellativa habent, matronæque nomen ſimili ſilentio tectum cenſent, quo ſuum Joannes ipſe texit. Hæc communior fere eſt ſententia. *Wolf. ib. p.* 324.

(*t*) *See before note* (*s*) *p.* 468. (*u*) *Prolegom. num.* 151.

(*x*) *Critical Notes upon the N. T. p.* 378. (*y*) *Ubi ſupra. p.* 306.

(*z*) Quoique ce mot puiſſe être un nom propre . . . . il eſt aſſez vraiſemblable, que c'eſt ici un nom appellatif, qui ſignifie, que c'eſtoit une Dame Chrétienne, à qui S. Jean écrivoit, et qui étoit connue à ceux qui lui devoient rendre cette lettre, &c. *Le Clerc, Remarques ſur la* 2 *ep. de S. Jean.*

in the place before referred to says: "The second epistle of St. John is inscribed to ἐκλεκτῇ κυρίᾳ. St. Jerome translates the word κυρίᾳ, by *Dominæ*, *Lady*. And it is difficult to translate otherwise in the fifth verse, where St. John repeats the same word.

It is not easy for me to decide in such a variety of opinions, each one of which is supported by great patrons. The arguments for a proper name, either of Electa, or Kyria, are plausible, and specious. But it is an objection of some moment, that this notion was little, if at all known to the ancients. If it had, they would not have supposed, that St. John here writes to the church of Christ, in general, or to some Christian church in particular. The Latin Adumbrations of Clement of Alexandria, as they are called, are not very material. The passage of the Synopsis, quoted by Tillemont, is ambiguous. Oecumenius has just mentioned the opinion, that Electa might be the name of the person to whom St. John wrote. But he does not seem to adhere to it, as has been observed by (*a*) Estius. Nor is there any notice taken of this interpretation by Jerome, or Cassiodorius, or Bede, authors in which it would be very likely to be found, if it had been known in ancient times. And why it should not have been known, if there is any foundation for it, would not be easily shewn. That Jerome did not take κυρίᾳ to be a proper name, appears not only from the Latin version of this epistle, but likewise from his book of the Interpretation of Hebrew names: where, as formerly (*b*) observed, there are no proper names collected out of the second epistle of St. John, though there are out of his other two epistles, and indeed from all the seven Catholic Epistles, excepting only this one of St. John's second epistle.

V. The third epistle of St. John is thus inscribed: *The Elder to the beloved Gaius.* There (*c*) seem to be two of this name mentioned in the Acts, and St. Paul's epistles. In the disturbance at Ephesus, it is said: *Having caught Gaius and Aristarchus, men of Macedonia, Paul's companions in travel, they rushed with one accord into the theatre.* Acts xix. 29. And among the same Apostle's fellow-travellers, *Upon the Third.*

(*a*) *Electæ.* Non liquet, an hoc sit nomen proprium mulieris, ad quam scribitur epistola, an commune. Id quod potius existimandum videtur: quoniam in fine epistolæ etiam soror ejus vocatur *electa*. Non solent autem in eadem familia duæ proles esse cognomines. Posse sumi tanquam commune, Oecumenius sua expositione ostendit, et recte. . . . Videtur fuisse mulier nobilis sive genere, sive opibus. . . . Alioqui poterat vocare filiam. . . . Sed moris est apud bene moratas gentes, infirmiorem sexum titulis et aliis decentibus modis honorare. *Est. in Joann. cp. ii. ver.* 1.

(*b*) *See Vol. x. p.* 78.

(*c*) Gaius quidam inter comites ejus nominatur in tumultu Ephesino. Act. xix. 29, qui Derbæus videtur dici Act. xx. 4. Habebat etiam Corinthi hospitem Gaium. Rom. xvi. 23. quem ipse baptizaverat. 1 Cor. i. 14. An hi sint iidem inter se aut cum Gaio Joannis, quis dispiciet? Beda, Pseudo-Dexter, Lyranus, aliique, affirmant. . . . Id quoque novum procreare dubium potest, quod Gaius Paulinus Corinthi sedem ac domicilium habuerit, noster vero proculdubio in Asia habitaverit, brevi ab Apostolo visitandus, de cujus extra Asiam post excessum Neronis itineribus tota antiquitas silet. *Lampe Proleg. in Joan. l.* 1. *cap.* 7. *num. xii.*

travellers, who accompanied him in his journey toward Jeruſalem, is mentioned Gaius of Derbe. xx. 4. There is another Gaius, who appears to have been an inhabitant of Corinth. 1 Cor. i. 14. Rom xvi. 23. I ſee no reaſon to think, that Gaius, or Caius, to whom St. John writes, was one of them. He ſeems to have been an eminent Chriſtian, who lived in ſome city of Aſia, not far from Epheſus, where St. John chiefly reſided, after his leaving Judea. For at ver. 14. the Apoſtle ſpeaks of *ſhortly coming to him.* Which he could not well do, if Caius lived at Corinth, or any other remote place. Grotius thought him to be a good Chriſtian, who (*d*) lived in one of the churches, or cities mentioned in the Revelation.

Mr. Whiſton (*e*) ſuppoſes Caius to have been Biſhop of Pergamos. Mill (*f*) was inclined to be of the ſame opinion. But this is ſaid only upon the ground of the pretended Apoſtolical Conſtitutions, which in this caſe are of no authority at all.

Dr Heumann (*g*) in his Commentarie upon this epiſtle of St. John has ſome curious and uncommon obſervations. He (*g*) does not chooſe to trouble himſelf with inquiring, who Caius was: the knowledge of which, he thinks, would be of no great uſe. It is ſufficient, that we know him to have been a good Chriſtian. Nevertheleſs he appears to ſlight the opinion, juſt mentioned, that (*h*) he was Biſhop of Pergamos. And he argues likewiſe, that (*i*) he is different from thoſe of the ſame name, mentioned in the Acts, or St. Paul's epiſtles. And indeed it cannot be thought ſtrange, that in the times of the Apoſtles, there were ſeveral Chriſtians of this name: which ſeems to have been as common a name among the Greeks and Romans, as any name whatever.

Dr. Heumann ſays, that (*k*) Diotrephes, mentioned by St. John ver. 9. and ſaid, to *love to have the pre-eminence*, was not a Heathen Magiſtrate, nor a heretic, nor a Biſhop, but a Deacon in the church, to which he belonged. Upon which I obſerve.

It was eaſy to ſhew, that Diotrephes was not an Heathen Magiſtrate.

Dr. Heumann ſeems likewiſe to have proved, that (*l*) Diotrephes was not an heretic. For, as he argues, if Diotrephes had been a corrupter of the

(*d*) Vixit hic Caius in aliqua eccleſiarum, quarum mentio in Apocalypſi. *Grot. in 3 ep. Joan. ver.* 1.

(*e*) *Commentarie upon St. John's Epiſtles. p.* 14. 15. 16.

(*f*) Alteram vero illam ad Gaium, eccleſiæ Pergamenæ Epiſcopum, ab ipſo Joanne (ſi quid Apoſtolicarum Conſtitutionum auctori credimus,) ordinatum. *Mill. Prol. num.* 152.

(*g*) Commentarius in Joan. Ap. epiſtolam tertiam. *Ap. Nov. Syllog. Diſſertation. P. i. p.* 276. . . . 328.

(*g*) *Ibid. p.* 277.

(*h*) Millius, Conſtitutionibus Apoſtolicis credulus, Caium hunc eccleſiæ Pergamenæ Epiſcopum ſcribit in Prolegomenis ſuis ad N. T. Eandem amplexum eſſe ſententiam Guil. Whiſtonum in ſuo in hanc epiſtolam commentario, quis mirabitur? *Ib. p.* 277. *in notis.*

(*i*) *P.* 277. 278. (*k*) *Ibid. p.* 306. 307.

(*l*) Nunc ille Diotrephes quis fuerit, inveſtigandum venit. Eraſmus *novæ hæreſis auctorem* vocat in Paraphraſi. Ac ità jam olim ſenſit Beda. . . . Verum recte Buddeus hanc ſententiam reſpuit. Quod ſi enim corruptor doctrinæ

the true Chriſtian doctrine, it would have been the duty of the Apoſtle, to caution Chriſtians againſt familiar converſe with him: in like manner as he does in the tenth and eleventh verſes of his ſecond epiſtle. Moreover, in that caſe, the Apoſtle would have ſignified his errours, and would have directed men to beware of the leaven of Diotrephes. But this he has not done. He only reproves his pride, want of hoſpitality, and a perverſe contempt, not of the Apoſtle's doctrine, but of his direction for receiving ſtrangers. He alſo quotes (*m*) Calovius, as ſpeaking to the like purpoſe.

And the late Mr. Moſheim, who, as I ſuppoſe, had not ſeen Dr. Heumann's Diſſertations, and gives a very different account of this epiſtle, in ſeveral reſpects, allows, that (*n*) Diotrephes was not a heretic. So likewiſe argued Lampe (*o*) before either of them.

But I cannot ſay, that Dr. Heumann has proved, Diotrephes not to have been a Biſhop. For I think, that every thing ſaid of him in this epiſtle implies his being Preſident, or chief director of things in the church, to which Caius belonged. However, we will conſider his arguments.

In the firſt place he ſays, the (*p*) principal reaſon, why learned men have thought Diotrephes to be a Biſhop, is becauſe they have underſtood thoſe words at ver. 10. *and caſteth them out of the church*, of excommunication. But thoſe words, he ſays, are capable of another ſenſe. They ſeem rather to mean, that by ill treatment he forced thoſe ſtrangers to leave the church, to which they had applied for relief, and to go elſewhere.

But

apoſtolicæ fuiſſet Diotrephes, Apoſtoli fuiſſet avocare Chriſtianos a familiari eum ipſo conſuetudine: id quod fecit hæreticis in ſecundæ ſuæ epiſtolæ verſu decimo et undecimo. Fuiſſet item Apoſtoli, notare ipſius errores, et, ut a fermento Diotrephis caveatur, præcipere. Jam vero id non facit, ſed ſuperbiam duntaxat ejus notat, et inhoſpitalitatem, et protervam non doctrinæ Joannis, ſed præcepti ejus de liberalitate in pios exules exercenda, contentionem. *Ib. p.* 302. 303.

(*m*) Etiam Calovius ad h. l. hac de cauſſa negat, Diotrephen fuiſſe hæreticum. *Si hæreticus fuiſſet*, inquit, *gravius ſine dubio acturus adverſus eum, et Caium, alioſque, de ſeductione ipſius cavenda moniturus fuiſſet Joannes.* Quod argumentum accepit a Cornelio a Lapide, cujus pene omnes ſunt annotationes, quas ad hanc Joannis epiſtolam exhibet Calovius. *Heuman. ib. p.* 303. *note* (z).

(*n*) Nullam igitur Diotrephes religionis dogmatibus injuriam inferebat, ſed iniquus tantum erat, et ultra modum rigidus dignitatis ſuæ cuſtos. *Moſhem. de Reb. Chriſtianor. p.* 176. 177.

(*o*) De cauſſa rixæ et contentionis inter Diotrephen et Joannem in diverſa abeunt interpretes. Bartholomæus Petri: *Credibile eſt, inquit, fuiſſe quempiam ex illis Judæis titulo tenus Chriſtianis, qui Chriſti fidem ita ſuſcipiendam putabant, ut ſimul ſervaretur lex ceremonialis Moſis* . . . Sed optime obſervat Calovius, ſi Joannes id innuiſſet, quod tum ſine dubio acturus adverſus eundem, et Caium alioſque de ſeductione ipſius cavenda moniturus eſſet. Nullius fane dogmatis, ſed factorum tantum perverſorum Diotrephes incuſatur. *Lamp. Prol. l.* 1. *cap.* 7. §. *xiv.*

(*p*) Alii igitur Diotrephen fuiſſe illius eccleſiæ epiſcopum crediderunt, hoc potiſſimum uſi argumento, quod excommunicaſſe ſcribatur pios exules. Verum infra docebimus, *ejicere ex eccleſia*, hic non eſſe excommunicare, atque adeo aſſingi Diotrephi excommunicationem judicio præcipiti. *Ib. p.* 303.

But granting this interpretation to be right; Diotrephes might nevertheless be Bishop. For that ill treatment might be owing to an abuse of his episcopal power and authority.

Again, says Dr. Heumann, the (*q*) fault of Diotrephes lay in seeking pre-eminence. Which shews, he was not Bishop. For then, he would have had pre-eminence. Nor does a man seek what he has already.

But I cannot perceive that observation to be very material. For a Bishop may shew improper love of power and pre-eminence by arbitrarie proceedings in the society over which he presides, and by an arrogant behaviour toward neighboring Bishops or Superintendents, his equals, and perhaps, in some respects his superiors.

Finally not to take notice of any other arguments of this kind, Dr. Heumann thinks, that (*r*) Diotrephes was Deacon, and had the charge of the stock or treasurie of the church, to which he belonged, and therefore he was not Bishop.

But neither do I see the force of this argument. For Diotrephes might have the disposal of the church-stock, and yet be Bishop. For in ancient times it was a part of the Bishop's office and care, to see, that the revenues of the church were managed, and disposed to the best advantage. This appears from (*s*) Justin Martyr, and (*t*) Cyprian. They who desire

(*q*) Ac vel verbum φιλοπρωτεύων demonstrat nobis, eum haud fuisse Episcopum. Episcopus enim est ὁ πρωτεύων in ecclesia. Atqui quod quis jam habet, non expetit. *Ib. p.* 303. 304.

(*r*) Jam cum clarissime cognoscamus, nec hæreticum, nec episcopum, nec presbyterum, nec ethnicum scilicet reipublicæ rectorem, fuisse Diotrephen, via satis aperta est ad personam ejus inveniendam. Statim enim mentem nostram hæc subit quæstio: An forte fuit illius ecclesiæ diaconus, hoc est, bonorum ecclesiasticorum administrator? Hoc enim officium certis hominibus jam initio Christianæ Ecclesiæ demandatum fuisse, ex Act. vi. notum est. Ac sane facilis nunc et perspicuus nobis videtur totus hic locus noster, Præerat scilicet ærario ecclesiastico Diotrephes. Erat ejus pauperibus inde erogare pecunias. Advenas autem fratres ideo non sublevabat, quod vix ecclesiæ illius pauperibus alendis satis videretur suppetere. Id causatus alio discedere, aliorum auxilium implorare jubebat: imo dum nihil ipsis suppeditabat, cogebat hoc ipso eos ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ex illa ecclesia, excedere, atque ita erat ἐκβάλλων αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Erant, qui exulibus his ex ærario dari aliquid volebant. Verum non audiebat hos providus scilicet œconomus, sed suam sequi sententiam cupiebat ceteros Christianos omnes. Atque ita erat φιλοπρωτεύων (sive ut Petrus loquitur, καταxυριεύων) αὐτῶν. Quid? Tam prudens et justus sibi videbatur œconomus, ut ne Joannis quidem Apostoli præcepto morem gereret, ratus scilicet, eum, si hic esset, ærariique rationes haberet cognitas, aliter sensurum. Bonum doctorem esse Joannem, non negabat: bonum eum esse œconomum, prudentemque in politicis rebus consiliatorem, id vero negabat. Imo eo temeritatis provehebat, ut ludicra maledicta effutiret in virum sanctissimum, et fortasse *senem* appellaret, cetera quidem summe venerabilem, sed hoc certe in genere *delirum*. *Ib. p.* 306. 307.

(*s*) Οἱ εὐπορῶντες δὲ καὶ βοηθόμενοι, κατὰ προαίρεσιν ἕκαστος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, ὡς θέλεται δίδωσι· καὶ τὸ συλλεγόμενον παρὰ τῷ προεστῶτι ἀποτίθεται, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπικεῖται ὀρφανοῖς τε καὶ χήραις. . . καὶ τοῖς παρεπιδήμοις ὅστι ξένοις. κ. λ. *Apol. 2. p.* 99. *A. Par.* 1636.

(*t*) . . . et stipendia ejus Episcopo dispensante perciperent. *Cypr. ep.* 41. *al.* 38.

ſire to ſee more proofs, may conſult (*u*) Bingham. Since then we allow, Diotrephes to have had a right to concern himſelf in the diſpoſal of the church-ſtock, it need not affect Dr. Heumann's main argument, whether he was Biſhop, or Deacon.

To me, then, it ſeems, that Diotrephes was Biſhop in this church, and that Caius was a man in a private ſtation, of good ſubſtance, and a liberal diſpoſition. St. John ſays, ver. 9. *I wrote unto the church:* or rather (*x*) I would have writ unto the church, and at the ſame time to Diotrephes; *But Diotrephes, who loveth to have the pre-eminence, receiveth us not.* For that reaſon St. John ſent this letter to Caius.

Let us now conſider what was the caſe, to which St. John refers in this epiſtle, and what was the fault of Diotrephes. Concerning this there have been various ſentiments of learned men. Grotius ſuppoſed (*y*) theſe ſtrangers here ſpoken of to be believing Jews, whom Diotrephes, a Gentil, would not receive, becauſe they were Jews, or becauſe they were for joyning the rites of the law with Chriſtianity. To the like purpoſe (*z*) Le Clerc, and (*a*) Beauſobre. This opinion is much diſliked by (*b*) Dr. Heumann. Mr. Moſheim (*c*) likewiſe argues againſt it, as an opinion, quite deſtitute of foundation in antiquity.

Others think, that Diotrephes was a Jew, and zealous for the law, and that he would not receive theſe ſtrangers, converts from among the Gentils, becauſe they did not take upon them the obſervation of the rites and ceremonies of the law of Moſes. This opinion is mentioned by (*d*) Lampe. But he argues well againſt it.

And

(*u*) *Antiquities of the Chriſtian Church. B. i. ch. iv. ſect.* 6.

(*x*) Scripſiſſem forſitan eccleſiæ. *Vulgat. Vid. et Cleric. H. E. A. D.* 92. *num. ii. Vid. et Grot. in loc.*

(*y*) Is vero ex illo erat hominum genere, qui Judæos, quanquam Chriſtum profeſſos, ſi legis ritus obſervabant, (quod in Judæa Chriſtiani faciebant ad hæc uſque tempora, ut Sulpicius nos docet) ad ſuos cœtus non admittebant. *Grot. in ep. 3. ver.* 9.

(*z*) Nolebat autem Chriſtianos circumciſos ab incircumciſis, ſeu Gentilibus, in eccleſiam admitti. *Cleric. ib.*

(*a*) Son nom eſt Grec. Ce qui fait juger, qu'il étoit Payen d'origine, et c'eſt peut-être pour cela qu'il ne vouloit pas qu'on reçut Chrêtiens d'entre les Juifs, fort mepriſez par les Gentils. *Pref. ſur ii. et. iii. ep. de S. Jean. p.* 585. *Voyez auſſi la remarque ſur. l'ep. iii. ver.* 9.

(*b*) *Heuman. ubi ſupr. p.* 303. *not.* (*a*).

(*c*) Eam (cauſſam) viri docti quærunt in conditione eorum, quos beneficiis et amore eccleſiæ excludebat. Diotrephen nempe ſuſpicantur origine fuiſſe Ethnicum, illos vero quod recipere nolebat Judæos. Ex quo efficiunt, inſitum Ethnicorum animis contemtum Judæorum tantum apud eum potuiſſe, ut ſanctiſſimum amoris præceptum violaret. In hac conjectura, ut verum fatear, nihil eſt, quo moveri queat aliquis conſideratus et rerum Chriſtianarum non inperitus. Nam, ut omittam, omnibus eam præſidiis deſtitutam eſſe, ſi nomen Diotrephis excipias, quod Græcum eſt. . . ut taceam, nuſquam aliquid memoriæ proditum exſtare, unde pateat, tam immani Judæorum odio et deſpicientiâ Chriſtianos ex Græcis flagraſſe, ut in fratribus eos habere nollent, et omni amoris fructu ſpoliarent. &c. *Moſheim. de Reb. Chriſtian. ante Conſt. M. p.* 175.

(*d*) *See before, p.* 473. *note* (*o*).

And indeed both theſe opinions were confuted before, when we ſhewed, that Diotrephes was not an heretic, or that there is no reaſon to think him ſo.

It has been of late a common opinion among learned men, that (*e*) St. John here ſpeaks of ſome, particularly Jews, who had gone out into the world, to propagate the Chriſtian Religion. Who had acted upon a generous and diſintereſted principle, refuſing to take any thing from thoſe, among whom they labored, and whom they had converted to the Chriſtian faith. And they think, that St. John commends Caius for encouraging ſuch teachers, and blames Diotrephes for not receiving and helping them. But that opinion appears to me without foundation. For I ſee nothing that ſhould lead us to think preachers here ſpoken of, but only ſtrangers in want.

Ver. 5. *Beloved*, ſays St. John to Caius, *thou doeſt faithfully whatſoever thou doeſt to the brethren, and to ſtrangers:* "that is, to the members of the church to which he belonged, and to ſtrangers, who came to the city, where he dwelt: whom he had received civilly, and courteouſly, and relieved generouſly, if they were in want."

Ver. 6. *Which have borne witneſſe of thy charity before the church.* "Some ſuch perſons, or ſome members of that church, had been at the place where St. John reſided. And before the church they declared his good temper and liberality." *Whom if thou bring forward on their journey, after a godly ſort, thou ſhalt do well.* "And it will be very commendable in you, if after this any other ſuch perſons ſhould come to your city, you ſhall act in a like manner to them alſo, receiving them kindly, and forwarding them in their way. This will be very becoming your Chriſtian profeſſion.

Ver. 7. *Becauſe that for his name's ſake they went forth taking nothing of the Gentils.*

We learn from Bede, that (*f*) there were in ancient times two interpretations of theſe words. "For the name of Chriſt they went forth to preach the Goſpel. Or, for the faith of Chriſt, and the profeſſion of his name they had left their native countrey, or had been expelled from it." This (*g*) is the ſenſe, for which Dr. Heumann contends, and therefore often calls theſe ſtrangers *exils*.

He

(*e*) Tertiam epiſtolam ſcripſit Gaio cuidam. . . . Hominis liberalitatem laudat, qui prædones quoſdam evangelicos, e Judæa gente, qui a Gentilibus nihil accipere volucrant, opibus ſuis adjuviſſet. *Cleric. ubi ſupr.*

Diotrephen duplici nomine S. Joannes objurgat: primum ideo, quod imperium ſibi arrogaret in eccleſia . . . deinde propterea quod durum ſe ac inhumanum fratribus bene de religione Chriſtiana promeritis exhiberet. Egreſſi erant quidam ex cœtu, cujus membrum Diotrephes erat, ad propagandum inter vicinas gentes religionem Chriſtianam. &c. *Moſhem. ib. p.* 175.

(*f*) Duabus autem ex cauſſis pro nomine Domini ſunt profecti, aut ad prædicandum videlicet nomen ejus proprie ſponte venientes, aut propter nominis ſancti fidem et confeſſionem a civibus ſeu contribulibus ſuis patriâ expulſi. *Bed. in 3. Joan. Ep.*

(*g*) Nam exules illi Chriſtiani e patria ſua cum egreſſi ſunt, nihil quicquam ſuorum bonorum acceperunt ab hoſtibus ſuis Ethnicis, ſed coacti ſunt abire ſine ullo vitæ ſubſidio. *Heuman. ubi ſupr. p.* 327.

He ſuppoſeth theſe ſtrangers to have been Gentil converts, who had forſaken their native countrey, or had been driven out of it, deſtitute of all things.

However this place may be underſtood partly otherwiſe: "That we, who are Chriſtians, ought to help theſe ſtrangers in their difficulty, eſpecially becauſe they have not ſought for relief among unbelieving Gentils: though ſome even of them might have been diſpoſed to give them aſſiſtance."

Grotius (*h*) explains the place in that manner. The ſame ſenſe is likewiſe in Eſtius. Whoſe (*i*) note upon this text I ſhall now tranſcribe at large, it being well ſuited to illuſtrate this epiſtle.

Ver. 8. *We therefore ought to receive ſuch, that we might be fellow-helpers to the truth.* "It ſhould be an allowed maxim, that we are to ſhew kindneſſe to ſuch: otherwiſe we do not act the part of Chriſtians, who ought to encourage thoſe who have a zeal for truth."

Ver. 9. *I wrote to the church.* Or *I ſhould have writ to the church*, and therein to Diotrephes. *But Diotrephes, who loveth to have the pre-eminence among them, receiveth us not.* "I know, he would not pay a regard to my directions."

Ver. 10. *Wherefore, if I come, I will remember his deeds, which he does.* That is "I (*k*) will remind him of his actions, and reprove, and admoniſh him, in order to his amendment, of which I do not deſpair," *prating againſt us with malicious words.* He proceeded ſo far as to ſpeak of the Apoſtle in a petulant manner. Perhaps, he ſaid, that though St. John did well in giving out general rules for the practice of piety; yet he had no right to intermeddle in particular caſes, concerning which every one ſhould

(*h*) Μηδὲν λαμβάνοντες; ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν. . . . In manuſcripto ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνικῶν. . . Potuerant in iſtâ calamitate adjuvari miſericordiâ τῶν ἐξω, *extrancorum*. Sed maluerunt omnia Chriſtianis debere. *Grot. ad ver.* 7. *Nos ergo.* Nos Chriſtiani ubique locorum ὀφείλομεν ἀπολαμβάνειν. . . . Manuſcriptus, ὑπολαμβάνειν τοιούτους: id vero eſt, opitulari. *Id. ad ver.* 8.

(*i*) Quod ait Apoſtolus, *iſtos profectos pro nomine Jeſu Chriſti*, poteſt bifariam exponi, ait Beda, videlicet, aut ut prædicaturi evangelium ejus ſponte ſint profecti ad Gentiles convertendos, aut ut propter fidem et confeſſionem nominis Chriſti per Contribules ſuos patriâ fuerint expulſi. Similiter, quod ſequitur, *nihil accipientes a gentibus*, ambiguum eſt, an de gentibus ad fidem Chriſti jam converſis accipiendum ſit, an de nondum converſis. Et uterque ſenſus ſua nititur probabilitate. Illo modo ſenſus eſt, quod hi quamvis annuntiaſſent, et deinceps forent annuntiaturi gentibus evangelium ſeu fidem Chriſti, eſſentque jam complures gentilium eorum prædicatione converſi, nihil tamen ab iis exigere, vel accipere voluerint neceſſariæ ſuſtentationis, hac ſcilicet de cauſſâ, ne quod offendiculum darent evangelio Chriſti. . . . De gentibus autem non converſis ſi ſermo ſit, tunc ſignificatur, quod iſti peregrini, quamvis egerent, quâcumque tantum ex cauſſâ, nihil tamen ab hujuſmodi gentilibus accipere, nedum petere, voluerint: ne ii ſcandalizarentur, et longius a Chriſtiana religione averterentur. Dixiſſent enim: Ecce nulla eſt charitas inter Chriſtianos. . . . Utraque expoſitio bene probabilis eſt. Nec ſatis liquet, utra ſit præferenda. *Eſt. in* 3. *Joan. ver.* 7.

(*k*) Certe nihil aliud ſibi vult Apoſtolus, quam ſe mere ſuo molliſſimum dulciſſimumque in modum admoniturum eſſe Diotrephen peccati ſui, reducemque eum revocaturum in viam. *Heuman. ibid. p.* 303.

should judge for himself. *And not content therewith, neither doth he himself receive the brethren, and forbiddeth them that would, and casteth them out of the church.* "Nor is that all. For he not only refuses to receive and entertain these brethren, but he also discourages those who would relieve and entertain them. And thus he obligeth these strangers to leave your church, and go elsewhere."

By these last words most interpreters understand, St. John to say, that Diotrephes excommunicated, or cast out of the church, *the brethren*, members of it, who were for receiving these strangers. But Dr. Heumann says, that (*l*) by the persons whom Diotrephes cast out of the church, must be understood these strangers, not the members of the church. For, as plainly appears, Caius was not excommunicated, though he had done what was opposed by Diotrephes. Nor need it be supposed, that all the strangers here spoken of were obliged to leave that place, or society. Diotrephes, it is true, discouraged their reception, and some might remove elsewhere. Others of them, however, might continue their abode there, encouraged by Caius, and some other pious members of this church, who did not submit to the reasons, or the orders of Diotrephes.

In this interpretation it is supposed, that *casting out of the church* refers not to the persons last mentioned, who would receive these strangers, but to *the strangers* whom Diotrephes would not have to be received. And Beausobre says, the (*m*) place may be so understood. Dr. Heumann blames him for not saying, that (*n*) it ought to be so understood.

There

(*l*) Universi videlicet, qui hanc tractarunt epistolam, sibi persuaserunt, describi his verbis illud pænæ ecclesiasticæ genus, quod excommunicatio vocari solet. Facile quidem poterat hic error agnosci. Nam primo, Caium, id, quod fieri nolebat Diotrephes, facientem, ab ipso non fuisse excommunicatum, in propatulo est. . . . Sed age, rem totam intueamur propius. Initio igitur considerandum, quosnam ecclesiâ ejecerit Diotrephes. Ab omnibus, si Beausobrium excipimus, hoc refertur ad propinquius, τὰς βελομένας, hoc est, eos, qui volebant exules hospitio excipere. Cum vero jam graves attulimus causas, cur non credi possit hos excommunicatione ejecisse ecclesiâ, sequitur, ut statuamus, hæc verba, ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκβάλλει, pertinere ad remotius, ad fratres exules. His scilicet, dum nec ipse ex ærario aliquid impertiebat, et aliis, quoque, ut nihil ipsis darent, suadebat ac persuadebat, hoc ipso migrare eos cogebat alio, atque ita *e sua expellebat ecclesia*. Non erat igitur nostro loco necesse excommunicationem tribuere Diotrephi. Sed satis evidens est, id eum effeciisse, quod omissam priorum exulum receptionem necessario consequebatur, ut videlicet exirent ecclesiâ, aliamque peterent, opum pariter et misericordiæ abundantiorem. . . . Apparet hinc etiam facile, cum volentes exulum misereri κωλύειν hic dicitur Diotrephes, non credi eum debere id vetuisse pro imperio, sed allatis duntaxat caussis, cur fieri id non oportebat, multos ab hoc pietatis officio revocasse. . . . Atque hoc ipsum nos admonet, verbo, ἐκβάλλειν, non necessario significari, omnes illos exules revera abire coactos, sed id etiam recte usurpari de conatu Diotrephis id efficiendi. *Heuman. ibid. p.* 310. . . . 313.

(*m*) *Les chasse de l'eglise.* Cela se peut rapporter ou aux freres, ou à ceux qui les reçoivent, ou aux uns et aux autres. *Sur. ver.* 10.

(*n*) Hic enim in Gallica sua N. T. versione animadvertit, hæc verba etiam ad remotius referri posse, hoc est, ad fratres exules. Debebat vero indulgere meditationi, nec id relinquere dubium et incertum. *Heum. ib. p.* 311. *note* (*p*).

There have been various conjectures of learned men concerning the reasons of Diotrephes's conduct, which I do not choose to take notice of now. Dr. Heumann supposeth, that Diotrephes had the disposal of the revenues of the church. There came to the place strangers, who needed relief. But Diotrephes opposed the distribution of any of the common stock, and also discouraged such, as were willing to assist them with their own. For all which, as may be supposed, he assigned some reasons. This appears to me to have been the whole of the affair.

But whether these strangers were Jews, or Gentils, I cannot say. There might be some of both. Grotius (*o*) and Lampe (*p*) think, they were Jews, who had been driven out of Palestine, or had been reduced to want by the general and grievous calamity of that country, and had come into Asia with hopes of relief, and for the sake of a settlement. Heumann, as before seen, says they were Gentils. For certain they were Christians. And St. John, I think, says, that we ought to receive such, whether they be of Jewish or Gentil stock, *that we may be fellow-helpers to the truth*: "that we also may serve the interests of truth, for the sake of which these persons have suffered the loss of all things."

Ver. 11. *Beloved, follow not that which is evil, but that which is good.* Here the Apostle exhorts Caius to persist in his good conduct, and to be upon his guard, not to be influenced by any bad examples.

In the 12. verse he recommends to him Demetrius, by whom, as may be supposed, this letter was carried.

In the 13. and 14. verses he sends salutations, and speaks again of coming to the place where Caius dwelled, and of *speaking with him face to face*. Which I suppose he did.

And I please myself with the supposition that his journey was not in vain. I imagine, that Diotrephes submitted, and acquiesced in the advices and admonitions of the Apostle. Of this I have no certain assurance. However I may add: that neither does any one else know the contrarie.

VI. Concerning the time of writing these two epistles nothing can be said with certainty. Mill (*q*) placeth them about the same time with the first, in 91. or 92. Whiston (*r*) likewise supposeth, that they were all three writ about the year 82. or 83. I imagine that St. John was somewhat advanced in age, and that he had resided a good while in Asia, before he wrote any of these epistles. Consequently, I am disposed to think, that these two were not writ sooner than the first. And as it was before (*s*) argued, that the first epistle was writ about the year 80. these two may be reckoned to have been writ between the years 80 and 90. *When they were writ.*

(*o*) Ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ ἐξῆλθον· id est, a Judæa, ejecti sunt per Judæos incredulos ob Christum. *Grot. ad ver.* 7.

(*p*) Unde colligimus, peregrinos hos, quorum causam Joannes tam impense egit, fuisse Judæos ex Palæstina cum eo profugos, qui pro se aliisque per totam regionis illius devastationem ad summam egestatem redactis, opem ecclesiarum Asiæ florentium implorabant. *Lamp. Proleg. l. 1. c. 7. num. xvi.*

(*q*) *Proleg. num.* 151. (*r*) *As before. p.* 463. (*s*) *See above. p.* 465.

CHAP. XXI.

St. Jude, and his Epiſtle.

I. *His Hiſtorie.* II. *Teſtimonies to the Genuinneſſe of the Epiſtle.* III. *To whom it was ſent.* IV. *The Time, when it was writ.*

His Hiſtorie. I. THE writer deſcribes himſelf in this manner at the begining of the epiſtle. ch. 1. ver. 1. *Jude* (*a*) *the ſervant of Jeſus Chriſt, and brother of James.* Thoſe two characters lead us to think, that he was one of thoſe called the Lord's brethren, and that he was an Apoſtle. Our Lord's brethren, as enumerated in Matt. xiii. 55. are *James, and Joſes, and Simon, and Judas.* In Mark vi. 3. *James, and Joſes, and Judas, and Simon.* And in the catalogues of the Apoſtles are theſe, Matt. x. 3. *James the ſon of Alpheus, and Lebbeus, whoſe ſurname was Thaddeus. Simon the Canaanite.* Mark. iii. 18. *James the ſon of Alpheus, and Thaddeus, and Simon the Canaanite.* Luke vi. 15. 16. *James the ſon of Alpheus, and Simon Zelotes, and Judas the brother of James.* Acts. i. 13. *James the ſon of Alpheus, and Simon Zelotes, and Judas the brother of James.*

Thus he appears to have been ſometimes called Judas, at other times Thaddeus, or Lebbeus. As I do not inquire into the meaning and origin of theſe names, I refer to (*b*) others. I only obſerve, that it was no uncommon thing among the Jews, for a man to have different names, as Simon, ſometimes called Simeon, at other times Peter, or Cephas. And Thomas was alſo called Dydimus.

Jude, a ſervant of Jeſus Chriſt. He does not thereby deny himſelf to be an Apoſtle. St. Paul does not always take upon himſelf that character, at the begining of his epiſtles. It is wanting in his two epiſtles to the Theſſalonians, in the epiſtles to the Philippians, and to Philemon. The epiſtle to the Philippians begins in this manner. *Paul and Timothie ſervants of Jeſus Chriſt, to all the ſaints in Chriſt Jeſus, which are at Philippi.*

It follows. *And brother of James:* meaning James, ſometimes called *the Lord's brother*, and *ſon of Alpheus*, one of the twelve Apoſtles. And he does fitly ſo ſtile himſelf, as that James was the eldeſt brother, and was of note among the Apoſtles, after our Saviour's aſcenſion, and in great repute among the Jewiſh believers. As appears from Acts xii. 17. xv. xxi. 18. . . . . 25. and Gal. i. 19. ii. 9.

We have no account of Jude's vocation to the apoſtleſhip. Nor is there any thing ſaid of him particularly in the Goſpels, except what is related in John xiv. 21. 22. 23. in the account, which that Evangeliſt has given of our Lord's moſt excellent and affectionate diſcourſes with th

(*a*) Ἰούδας, Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ δοῦλος, ἀδελφὸς δὲ Ἰακώβου.

(*b*) *See Lightfoot's Hebrew and Talmudical Exercitations upon St. Matthew. Vol. 2. p. 176. Witſii Comm. in ep. Judæ. num. ii. Cave's Life of St. Jude in Engliſh. Dr. Benſon's Preface to this Epiſtle. Sect. i.*

the diſciples a ſhort time before his laſt ſufferings. *He that hath my commandments, and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me. And he that loveth me, ſhall be loved of my Father. And I will love him, and will manifeſt myſelf to him. Judas ſaith unto him, not Iſcariot: Lord, how is it that thou wilt manifeſt thyſelf to us, and not unto the world! Jeſus anſwered, and ſaid unto him: If a man love me, he will keep my words. And my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him.*

This diſciple ſtill had the common prejudice concerning the kingdom of the Meſſiah. And he aſks our Saviour with ſurprize, how he could ſpeak of manifeſting himſelf to a few only, when he was about to ſet up an univerſal monarchie in great power and ſplendour? Our Lord tells him, (what he might have known before,) that this kingdom, as Meſſiah, was ſpiritual, a kingdom of truth and righteouſneſſe: and that the bleſſings and privileges of it were peculiar to good men, who obeyed the precepts of true religion, which had been taught by him. Such would be accepted, and approved by himſelf, and by his heavenly Father, in whoſe name he had ſpoken. This they would all know, when he ſhould come again among them, after his reſurrection, and when the gift of the Spirit ſhould be beſtowed upon them, and others his followers.

As there is little ſaid of Jude in the hiſtorie of our Saviour before his reſurrection, ſo St. Luke in the Acts has inſerted nothing particularly concerning him after it. However it is unqueſtionable, that he partook of the plentifull effuſion of the Holy Ghoſt at the Pentecoſt next after our Lord's aſcenſion: and that he joyned with the other Apoſtles in bearing an open teſtimonie to our Lord's reſurrection at Jeruſalem: and that he had a ſhare with them in the reproaches and other ſufferings, which they endured upon that account.

It may be alſo reaſonably ſuppoſed, that for a while he preached the goſpel in ſeveral parts of the land of Iſrael, and wrought miracles in the name of Chriſt. But what they were, we cannot ſay, becauſe they are not recorded by St. Luke, nor any other credible hiſtorian near the time.

As his life ſeems to have been prolonged, it may be alſo reckoned very likely, that he afterwards left Judea, and went abroad, preaching the goſpel to Jews and Gentils in other countreys. But we have no account of his travels, that can be relied on. Some have ſaid, that he preached in Arabia, Syria, Meſopotamia, and Perſia: and that he ſuffered martyrdom in this laſt mentioned countrey. But of theſe things there remains not any credible hiſtorie.

Indeed it may be queſtioned, whether St. Jude was a martyr. It was formerly obſerved by (*c*) us, that Heracleon, a learned Valentinian, as cited by Clement of Alexandria, reckons (*d*) among Apoſtles, who had not died by martyrdom, Matthew, Philip, Thomas, and Levi. And it was then ſaid, that by Levi, Heracleon, probably, meant Lebbeus, that is,

(*c*) *See p. 33. not.* (B)

(*d*) Ου γὰρ πάντες οἱ σωζόμενοι ὡμολόγησαν τὴν διὰ τῆς φωνῆς ὁμολογίαν, καὶ ἐξῆλθον ἐξ ὧν ματθαῖος, φίλιππος, θωμᾶς, λεὶς καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοί. *Heracl. ap. Clem. Alex. Str. l. 4. p. 502.*

is, Judas. Which is allowed by (*e*) Dodwell, and ſome other learned writers, to whom he then referred. Nor does Jerome, in his article of St. Jude, in his Catalogue of Eccleſiaſtical Writers, ſay any thing of his having died a Martyr.

Jerome, in his commentarie upon the tenth chapter of St. Matthew, where is the catalogue of the Apoſtles, ſays, "that (*f*) the Apoſtle Thaddeus, called by the Evangeliſt Luke, *Jude the brother of James*, was ſent to Edeſſa to Agbarus King of Oſroëne." But Euſebius, in his account of that affair, ſays, "that (*g*) Thomas, one of the twelve, ſent to Edeſſa Thaddeus, one of Chriſt's ſeventy diſciples, to preach the goſpel in thoſe countreys." And in the preceding (*h*) chapter, where he ſpeaks of Chriſt's ſeventy diſciples, he reckons Thaddeus, who went to Edeſſa, one of them. Whence it came to paſs, that Jerome called him an Apoſtle, and reckoned him one of the twelve, is (*i*) not eaſie to ſay. But I imagine, that what he ſays in his Commentarie upon St. Matthew, is an inaccuracie, owing to his writing in haſte. This conjecture receives confirmation hence, that in the article of St. Jude, in the catalogue above mentioned, he ſays nothing of that journey.

Before I proceed any farther, I muſt take notice of (*k*) a Diſſertation of the learned Theodore Haſaeus: in which he argues, that Judas, called Lebbeus, and Thaddeus, is the ſame as Levi, of whoſe call St. Mark ch. ii. 13. . . 17. and St. Luke ch. v. 27. . . 32. give an account.

He ſuppoſeth, that St. Matthew ch. ix. 9. . . 13. gives an account of his own call to be an Apoſtle, and that St. Mark and St. Luke give an account of the call of another Publican, named Levi, or Lebbeus, or Judas.

Upon which I obſerve.

1. That is a very forced interpretation. The whole hiſtorie, and all the circumſtances of it, ſhew, that one and the ſame perſon is ſpoken of by all the three Evangeliſts. And the coherence renders it indubitable. The ſame things precede and follow in thoſe ſeveral Evangeliſts: as may be perceived by any one, who compares them.

2. So far as we can find, it has been the opinion of the moſt ancient and learned Chriſtian writers, that Matthew and Levi are two names of one and the ſame man. So thought (*l*) Euſebius. So likewiſe (*m*) Jerome

(*e*) *Diſſ. Iren. i. num. xxiv.*

(*f*) Thaddæum Apoſtolum, eccleſiaſtica tradit hiſtoria miſſum Edeſſan ad Agbarum regem Oſroënæ, qui ab Evangeliſta Luca, Judas Jacobi dicitur. *In Matt. T. 4. p. 35. in.*

(*g*) *H. E. l. i. cap. 13. p. 32.*

(*h*) *Cap. 12. p. 31. A.*

(*i*) *Vid. Valeſ. Annot. in. loc. p. 21.*

(*k*) Theodori Haſæi de Levi a Chriſto ad Apoſtolatum vocato, ad loca Marci ii. 14. ſeqq. Luc. v. 17. ſeqq. Diſquiſitio. Quâ eum non, ut vulgo putatur, Matthæum, ſed Judam Thaddæum eſſe oſtenditur. *Ap. Biblioth. Brem. Cl. v. Faſcic. iii. num. vi. p. 475. &c. Bremæ. 1721.*

(*l*) *Vid. Dem. Ev. l. 3. cap. v. p. 119. &c. cited in this work. Vol. viii. p. 83. &c.*

(*m*) Primus omnium Matthæus eſt Publicanus cognomto Levi, qui Evangelium

rome in ſeveral places of his works. Which ſhews, it was his ſettled opinion, and that he never heſitated about it. The (*n*) compiler of the Apoſtolical Conſtitution ſays the ſame expreſsly. Victor of Antioch in his Commentarie upon St. Mark ſays, that (*o*) Mark and Luke, when they give an account of his call at the Receipt of cuſtom, deſignedly uſe a name by which he was not ſo well known, as that of Matthew. Jerome ſpeaks to the like purpoſe in a paſſage, already †† tranſcribed. It is very likely, that Victor had ſeen that obſervation in more ancient writers: and poſſibly in Origen, in (*p*) whoſe preface to his Commentarie upon the epiſtle to the Romans, as we now have it in Latin only, is ſomewhat equivalent. However, he plainly ſays, that Matthew and Levi are only two names of one and the ſame man.

3. Haſæus argues, that (*q*) Levi is never ſaid in the Goſpels to have been alſo called Matthew, nor is Matthew ſaid to be otherwiſe called Levi.

To which I anſwer, there was no neceſſity, that we ſhould be told this. It is allowed, that Thaddeus, and Lebbeus, and Judas, are names of one and the ſame Apoſtle. And (*r*) it was alſo ſo underſtood by ancient

vangelium in Judæa Hebræo ſermone edidit. *Hieron. Prol. in Matt. T. 4. in. citat. ſupra Vol. x. p. 83. Ed. Lard.*

Ceteri Evangeliſtæ propter verecundiam et honorem Matthæi noluerant eum nomine appellare vulgato, ſed dixerunt Levi. Duplici quippe vocabulo fuit. *Id. in Matt. cap. x. Tom. 4. P. i. p. 30.*

Matthæus, qui et Levi, ex Publicano Apoſtolus. *De V. I. cap. 3.*

(*n*) Περὶ δὲ ἀναγνωσῶν ἐγὼ ματθαῖος, ὁ καὶ λευὶς, ὁ ποτὲ τελώνης, διατάσσομαι. *Conſt. Ap. l. 8. c. 22.*

(*o*) Eſt autem Levi hic idem omnino cum Evangeliſta Matthæo. Et quidem Marcus et Lucas nomen, quod illi familiare erat, primæva appellatione obnubunt, &c. *Victor in S. Marc. ap. Bib. PP. Lugd. T. 4. p. 375. B. Citat. vol. xi. hujus operis p. 32.*

†† *See note* (*m*).

(*p*) Prima nobis quæſtio de nomine ipſius Pauli videtur exurgere, cur is qui Saulus dictus eſt in Actibus Apoſtolorum, nunc Paulus dicatur. . . Invenimus igitur in ſcripturis aliquantos binis, alios etiam ternis uſos eſſe nominibus. . . Sed nec Evangelia quidem hunc renuunt morem. Nam et Matthæus ipſe refert de ſe, quod cum tranſiret Jeſus, invenit quendam ſedentem ad telonium nomine Matthæum. Lucas vero de eodem dicit: quia cum tranſiret Jeſus, quendam vidit publicanum nomine Levi. &c. *Origen. in ep. ad Rom. Tom. 2. p. 458. Baſil.*

(*q*) Nam obſervabam, Matthæum nunquam dici Levin, vel Levin vicißim appellari Matthæum, &c. *Haſ. ubi ſupra. p. 477.*

(*r*) Thaddæum Apoſtolum——qui ab Evangeliſta Luca Judas Jacobi dicitur: et alibi appellatur Lebbeus, quod interpretatur corculus. Credendumque eſt eum fuiſſe trinomium: ſicut Simon, Petrus, et filii Zebedæi, Boanerges, ex firmitate et magnitudine fidei nominati ſunt. *Hieron. in Matt. x. T. 4. p. 35. in.*

Ἦν γὰρ ἕτερος ἰούδας, ὁ λεββαῖος, ὁ καὶ ἐπικληθεὶς θαδδαῖος, ὃν ἰακώβου φησὶν εἶναι ὁ λουκᾶς, λέγων, ἰούδας ἰακώβου. *Chryſ. in Matt. hom. 32. al. 33. Tom. 7. p. 369.*

Vid. et Heſychii Quæſtiones. Diff. xiv. ap. Coteler. Monum. Gr. Tom. 3. p. 11.

cient Chriſtians. Some of whom I have quoted below. Nevertheleſs St. Luke has never told us, that Judas was ſurnamed Thaddeus, or Lebbeus. Nor has St. Matthew, or St. Mark ſaid, that Thaddeus, or Lebbeus, was alſo called Judas.

Theſe obſervations, as ſeems to me, are ſufficient to confirm the common opinion. However I will add a thought or two, of leſs moment.

4. St. Matthew, in the catalogue of the Apoſtles, placeth himſelf in this manner. ch. x. 3. *and Matthew the Publican:* καὶ ματθαῖος ὁ τελώνης. May it not be hence argued with probability, that he was the only Publican among the Apoſtles, and that there was no other?

5. If we were to form a conjecture concerning the employment, that was followed by Jude, before he was an Apoſtle, it (*s*) would be that of an huſbandman. In the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions the Apoſtles are made to ſay: Some (*t*) of us are fiſhermen, others tentmakers, others huſbandmen." Undoubtedly ſeveral of the Apoſtles were fiſhermen. But by the later part of the ſentence no more may be meant, than that there was among them one tentmaker, even Paul, and one huſbandman, intending, perhaps, St. Jude. For Hegeſippus, as quoted by Euſebius, writes, "that (*t*) when Domitian made inquiries after the poſterity of David, ſome grandſons of Jude, called the Lord's brother, were brought before him. Being aſked concerning their poſſeſſions, and ſubſtance, they aſſured him, that they had only ſo many acres of land, out of the emprovement of which they both paid him tribute, and maintained themſelves with their own hard labour. The truth of what they ſaid was confirmed by the calouſneſſe of their hands. Being aſked concerning Chriſt, and his kingdom, of what kind it was, and when it would appear; they anſwered, that it was not worldly and earthly, but heavenly and angelical: that it would be manifeſted at the end of the world: when coming in great glorie he would judge the living and the dead, and render to every man according to his works. The men being mean, and their principles harmleſs, they were diſmiſſed."

Hence ſome may argue, that St. Jude himſelf had been an huſbandman. And from this account, if it may be relied upon, we learn, that this Apoſtle was married, and had children.

That may ſuffice for the hiſtorie of St. Jude.

The Genuinneſſe of his Epiſtle. II. In the next place I am to obſerve the evidences of the genuinneſſe, and canonical authority of the epiſtle aſcribed to him.

Somewhat relating to this point has been already ſaid in the xv. chapter concerning the Catholic Epiſtles in general. To which chapter therefore the reader is referred, though I may here tranſcribe ſome things from it, for ſhewing the authority of this epiſtle in particular.

It ſhould be remembered, that Euſebius having enumerated the books of Scripture, univerſally received from the begining, and among them the

(*s*) *Vid. Cav. H. L. in S. Juda.*

(*t*) ἔτι δὲ περιῆσαν οἱ ἀπὸ γένους τοῦ κυρίου υἱωνοὶ ἰούδα, τοῦ κατὰ σάρκα λεγομένου ἀυτοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, οὓς ἐδηλατόρευσαν, ὡς ἐκ γένους ὄντας δαβίδ. *Euſeb. H. E. l. 3. cap. 20.*

the firſt epiſtle of Peter, and the firſt epiſtle of John, he adds: "And (*u*) among the contradicted, but yet well known to the moſt, (or approved by many,) are that called the epiſtle of James, and that of Jude, and the ſecond of Peter, and the ſecond, and third of John." So that in his time this epiſtle was well known, and received by many, though not by all.

This epiſtle is no where expreſsly cited by Irenæus, who wrote about the year of Chriſt 178. Whether he has at all referred to it, was conſidered formerly. And the reader is referred to what was then (*x*) ſaid.

Clement of Alexandria flouriſhed about the year 194. Euſebius giving an account of his work, ſays, "that (*y*) in his Inſtitutions Clement had given explications of all the canonical ſcriptures, not omitting thoſe which are contradicted. I mean the epiſtle of Jude, and the other catholic epiſtles."

That work, entitled Inſtitutions, is loſt. But we have in Latin a ſmall treatiſe or fragment, called *Adumbrations*, ſuppoſed to be tranſlated from the Inſtitutions. Here are notes upon the epiſtle of Jude: in which is an obſervation concerning the modeſtie of the writer: "that (*z*) Jude, who wrote a catholic epiſtle, did not ſtile himſelf at the begining of it, brother of the Lord, though he was related to him, but *Jude, the ſervant of Jeſus Chriſt, and brother of James.*"

Which obſervation ſerves to ſhew, whom Clement took to be the writer of this epiſtle. He ſuppoſed him to be one of them, who are called the Lord's brethren. Matt. xiii. 55. Mark vi. 3. and an Apoſtle. See Luke vi. 16. In that Adumbration follow brief remarks upon almoſt every verſe of the epiſtle, except the laſt, or 25. verſe.

It might be obſerved likewiſe, that in that place Clement declares his opinion concerning thoſe called the Lord's brethren, that they were children of Joſeph.

This epiſtle is alſo quoted expreſsly by Clement in two of his works, which remain entire, the Pedagogue or Inſtructor, and the Stromata or Miſcellanies.

In the Pedagogue he ſpeaks to this purpoſe: *I will* (*a*) *that ye ſhould know*, ſays Jude, *that God having once ſaved the people out of Egypt, afterwards deſtroyed them that believed not. And the angels, which kept not their firſt eſtate, but left their own habitation, he* (*b*) *has reſerved in everlaſting chains under darkneſſe, unto the judgement of the great day.* And afterwards,

(*u*) *See before p.* 364.

(*x*) *See Vol. i. p.* 377. 378. *and* 381. *num. viii. Lardner's Edit.*

(*y*) . . . μὴ δὲ τὰς ἀντιλεγομένας παρειλθών· τὴν ἰούδα λέγω καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς καθολικὰς ἐπιστολάς. *H. E. l. 6. cap. 14. in.*

(*z*) Judas, qui catholicam ſcripſit epiſtolam, frater filiorum Joſeph, exſtans valde religioſus, quum ſciret propinquitatem Domini, non tamen dixit, ſe ipſum fratrem ejus eſſe. Sed quid dixit? *Jacobus ſervus Jeſu Chriſti* utpote Domini, *frater autem Jacobi. Adumbrat. in epiſt. Judæ. p.* 1007. *ed. Oxon.*

(*a*) *Pæd. l. 3. p.* 239.

(*b*) . . . δεσμοῖς ἀϊδίοις ὑπὸ ζόφον ἀγρίων [al. ἁγίων.] ἀγγέλων τετήρηκεν.

wards, he emphatically deſcribes the characters of thoſe who are judged. *Woe unto them, for they have walked in the way of Cain, and ran greedily in the errour of Balaam for reward, and periſhed in the gainſaying of Core. . . .*" Jude ver. 5. 6. and 11.

In his Stromata Clement writes to this purpoſe: "Of (*c*) theſe, and the like heretics, I think, Jude ſpoke prophetically in his epiſtle: *Likewiſe alſo theſe dreamers*, and what follows to, *And their mouth ſpeaketh great ſwelling words:*" that is, from ver. 8. to ver. 16. And that manner of quoting ſhews, that the epiſtle was in the hands of many people, or of all Chriſtians in general, to be conſulted by them.

I have been thus prolix in rehearſing theſe paſſages of Clement. For they appear to me a ſufficient proof of the antiquity, and genuinneſſe of this epiſtle: or that it was writ by Jude, one of Chriſt's twelve Apoſtles. However I would alſo refer thoſe of my readers, who are willing to look back, to Clement's teſtimonie to this, and the other catholic epiſtles, as formerly obſerved in (*d*) his chapter.

In Tertullian, about the year 200. is but one quotation of this epiſtle. But it is very expreſs. "Hence (*e*) it is, ſays he, that Enoch is quoted by the Apoſtle Jude." Intending the 14. verſe of the epiſtle, and making no doubt, that the writer was an Apoſtle.

In Origen, about the year 230. are divers plain quotations of St. Jude's epiſtle.

In his Commentaries upon St. Matthew, which we ſtill have in Greek, having taken notice of the words of Matth. xiii. 55. 56. . . . beſide other remarks, he ſays, "that (*f*) James is the ſame, whom Paul mentions in the epiſtle to the Galatians, as having been ſeen by him." Gal. i. 19. He alſo obſerves a paſſage, ſaid to be in the Antiquities of Joſephus, relating to the ſame James. Then he adds: "And (*g*) Jude wrote an epiſtle, of few lines indeed, but full of the powerful words of the heavenly grace, who at the begining ſays: *Jude the ſervant of Jeſus Chriſt, and brother of James.*" Theſe paſſages are of uſe to ſhew us, whom Origen took to be the writer of this epiſtle.

Again, in the ſame Commentaries. "And (*h*) in the epiſtle of Jude: *To them that are beloved* [or ſanctified] *in God the Father, and preſerved in Jeſus Chriſt, and called.*

Once more, in the ſame Greek Commentaries upon St. Matthew's Goſpel,

(*c*) Ἐπὶ τούτων, οἶμαι, καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων αἱρέσεων προφητικῶς ἰούδας ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ εἰρηκέναι· Ὁμοίως μέντοι καὶ οὗτοι ἐνυπνιαζόμενοι· ὁ γὰρ ὕπαρ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἐπιβάλλουσιν· ἕως, καὶ τὸ στόμα αὐτῶν λαλεῖ ὑπέρογκα. *Strom. l. 3. p. 431. A. B.*

(*d*) *See ch. xxii. Vol. ii. p. 510——515. Lardner's Edit.*

(*e*) Eo accidit, quod Enoch apud Judam Apoſtolum teſtimonium perhibet. *De Cultu Fem. l. 1. cap. 3. p. 172. A.*

(*f*) Ἰάκωβος δὲ ἐστιν οὗτος, ὃν λέγει παῦλος εἰδεῖν ἐν τῇ πρὸς γαλάτας ἐπιστολῇ, εἰπών· κ. τ. λ. *Comment. in Matt. p. 223. C. Heut. p. 463. B. T. 3. Bened.*

(*g*) Καὶ ἰούδας ἔγραψεν ἐπιστολήν, ὀλιγόστιχον μὲν, πεπληρωμένην δὲ τῶν τῆς ἐρρωμένης χάριτος ἐρρωμένων λόγων, ὅτις ἐν τῷ προοιμίῳ εἴρηκεν· Ἰούδας ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ δοῦλος, ἀδελφὸς δὲ ἰακώβου. *Ibid. p. 223. D. al. p. 463. D.*

(*h*) Καὶ ἐν τῇ ἰούδα ἐπιστολῇ τοῖς ἐν θεῷ πατρὶ ἠγαπημένοις καὶ ἰησοῦ χριστῷ τετηρημένοις καὶ κλητοῖς. *Ib. p. 332. A. al. 607. C.*

Goſpel, having quoted 1 Pet. i. 12. he ſays: "But (*i*) if any one receives alſo the epiſtle of Jude, let him conſider what will follow from what is there ſaid: *And the angels, which kept not their firſt eſtate, but left their own habitation, he has reſerved in everlaſting chains under darkneſſe, unto the judgement of the great day.*"

This epiſtle is alſo quoted in thoſe works of Origen, which we now have only in a Latin tranſlation. But forbearing to take farther notice of them here, I refer to the account formerly given at large of Origen's teſtimonie to the Scriptures, in (*k*) the third volume of this work.

Upon the whole we perceive, that there were ſome in his time, who doubted of, or denied the authority of this epiſtle. But himſelf, as ſeems to me, admitted the genuinneſſe and authority of it. For he quotes it expreſsly, without heſitation, as writ by Jude, one of the Lord's brethren, and *brother of James*, conſequently Apoſtle. And he ſays, that it was *full of the powerfull words of the heavenly grace.*

I have not obſerved any notice taken of this epiſtle (*l*) in the writings of Cyprian, Biſhop of Carthage, about the year 248. and afterwards.

It is quoted by the Anonymous Author againſt the Novatian Heretic, who wrote about the year 255. But he does not name St. Jude. His words are: "As (*m*) it is written: *Behold he cometh with ten thouſands "of his angels, to execute judgement upon all,* and what follows," that is, the 14. and 15. verſes of the epiſtle.

Euſebius flouriſhed about the year 315. I have already tranſcribed from him a (*n*) paſſage concerning the catholic epiſtles, and among them concerning St. Jude's, which ought to be recollected here. There is another taken from him, at (*o*) the begining of this article. And I ſhall here put down again a third paſſage tranſcribed above in the chapter of (*p*) the epiſtle of St. James. Where having given an account of the martyrdom of St. James, he ſays: "Thus (*q*) far concerning James, who is ſaid to be the writer of the firſt of the epiſtles, called catholic. But it ought to be obſerved, that it is ſpurious: [that is contradicted:] Foraſmuch as there are not many of the ancients, who have made mention of it: as neither of that called Jude's, which likewiſe is one of the epiſtles called catholic. However we know, that (*r*) theſe alſo are

(*i*) Εἰ δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἰούδα προσοιτό τις ἐπιστολήν, ὁραῖτω τί ἕπεται τῷ λόγῳ διὰ τὸ. Ἀγγέλους τε μὴ τηρήσαντας. κ. λ. *Ib. p.* 488. *E. al. p.* 814. *C.*

(*k*) *Ch. xxxviii. Vol. iii. p.* 269. . . 272. *Lardner's Edit.*

(*l*) *See ch. xliv. Vol. iv. p.* 836. *The ſame.*

(*m*) Sicut ſcriptum eſt: Ecce venit cum multis millibus nunciorum ſuorum, facere judicium de omnibus. &c. *Ap. Cyprian. in App. p.* 20. *Vid. et hujus operis Vol. iv. p.* 874. *Ed. Lard.*

(*n*) *See p.* 1. 363.

(*o*) *P.* 484. 485. (*p*) *P.* 394.

(*q*) *H. E. l.* 2. *c.* 23. *p.* 66. *C.*

(*r*) Ομως δὲ ἴσμεν καὶ ταύτας μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐν πλείοσι δεδημοσιευμένας ἐκκλησίαις. *Ibid.*

are commonly uſed [or publicly read] in moſt churches together with the reſt."

That paſſage needs no comment. This epiſtle was generally received in the time of Euſebius, though not by all.

Lucifer of Cagliari in Sardinia, about 354. has quoted (*s*) almoſt the whole of this epiſtle. He quotes it expreſsly, as (*t*) writ by the excellent Apoſtle Jude, brother of the Apoſtle James.

I need not particularly mention more authors. For after the time of Euſebius, ſeven catholic epiſtles were generally received by all Chriſtians, Greeks and Latins. St. Jude's epiſtle therefore, as well as the reſt, was received by Athanaſius, Cyril of Jeruſalem, Epiphanius, Didymus of Alexandria, Jerome, Rufin, the third Council of Carthage, Auguſtin, Iſidore of Peluſium, Cyril of Alexandria, and others, whoſe names may be ſeen in the alphabetical Table in the twelfth volume, under the article of *Seven Catholic Epiſtles*. But (*u*) it was not received by the Syrians.

And it may not be amiſs to obſerve here, that we have found this epiſtle oftener quoted by writers, who lived before the time of Euſebius, than the epiſtle of St. James.

Of the authors above named there are two, of whom I would take ſome farther notice.

Epiphanius, about 368. in his Hereſie of the Gnoſtics, expreſsly "cites * the catholic epiſtle of the Apoſtle Jude, brother of James, and of the Lord, writ by inſpiration." This epiſtle is received by Jerome, as writ by the Apoſtle Jude, as may be recollected by thoſe, who have read his chapter in the tenth volume of this work. Where (*x*), in his letter to Paulinus, he ſays: "The Apoſtles James, Peter, John, Jude, wrote ſeven epiſtles, of few words, but full of ſenſe."

And in the chapter of St. Jude, in his catalogue of Eccleſiaſtical Writers, he ſays: "Jude (*y*) brother of James, left a ſhort epiſtle, "which is one of the ſeven called catholic. But (*z*) becauſe of a quotation from a book of Enoch, which is apocryphal, it is rejected by "many. However at length it has obtained authority, and is reckoned "among the ſacred ſcriptures."

There is ſome inaccuracie in Jerome's manner of expreſſion. For a book to be at the ſame time *rejected by the moſt*, or *many*, and to *be reckoned among the ſacred ſcriptures*, are inconſiſtent. But it might have been properly ſaid: "that whereas it had been rejected by many, becauſe of a quotation

(*s*) *See Vol. ix. p.* 42. 43. *Lardner.*

(*t*) Cum exhortetur Judas, glorioſus Apoſtolus, frater Jacobi Apoſtoli, &c. *Ap. Bib. PP. T.* 4. *p.* 227. *C. . . E.*

(*u*) *See Vol. ix. p.* 217. *and* 221. *Vol. xi. p.* 272. 274. *Lardner.*

* Ὡς καὶ περὶ τούτων δοῖμαι ἐκινήθη τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἐν τῷ ἀποστόλῳ Ἰούδᾳ, λέγων δὲ ἐν τῇ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γραφείσῃ καθολικῇ ἐπιστολῇ. Ἰούδας δὲ ἐστιν ἀδελφὸς Ἰακώβου καὶ κυρίου λεγόμενος. *H.* 26. *n. xi. p.* 92. *D.*

(*x*) *Vol. x. p.* 77. *Lardner.* (*y*) *P.* 133.

(*z*) Et quia de libro Enoch, qui apocryphus eſt, in eâ aſſumitur teſtimonium, a pleriſque rejicitur. Tamen auctoritatem vetuſtate jam et uſu meruit, et inter ſanctas ſcripturas computatur. *D. V. I. cap. iv.*

quotation from an apocryphal book; it had at length obtained authority, and was reckoned among the ſacred ſcriptures."

Many learned men (*a*) have carefully conſidered this difficulty. But as the ancients overcame it, and at length admitted the authority of this epiſtle, perhaps it might have been paſſed over, as a thing of no great conſequence. Indeed, if there is a credible teſtimonie to any book, or epiſtle, that it was writ by an Apoſtle, ſuch a paſſage need not cauſe much heſitation. Origen has an obſervation in one of his Latin tracts. "St. "Paul (*b*) ſays: *As Jannes and Jambres withſtood Moſes.* This is not "found in the public ſcriptures, but in a ſecret book, entitled *Jannes* "*and Jambres.* For which reaſon ſome have been ſo daring, as to ar- "gue againſt that epiſtle of Timothie, though in vain." For certain ſuch an objection could be of little weight againſt ſo well atteſted a writing, as St. Paul's ſecond epiſtle to Timothie. Nor ought it to weigh much in this caſe.

I might conclude here. But for the ſake of ſome, ſhall add the two following obſervations.

1. It is not certain, that St. Jude cites any book. He only ſays, that (*c*) *Enoch propheſied, ſaying, the Lord cometh with ten thouſands of his ſaints.* Which (*d*) might be words of a prophecie, preſerved by tradition, and inſerted occaſionally in divers writings. Nor is there good evidence, that in St. Jude's time there was extant any book entitled *Enoch*, or *Enoch's Prophecies*, though there was ſuch a book in the hands of Chriſtians in the ſecond and third centuries. Moreover St. Jude might aſcribe to Enoch what it is reaſonable to believe was the import of his prophecie.

I tranſcribe here an obſervation, which I have met with: "Saint Jude in

(*a*) *Beauſobre and Lenfant in their preface to the epiſtle of St. Jude. Dr. Benſon in his preface to this epiſtle, ſect. i. and many others.*

(*b*) Item quod ait, *ſicut Jamnes et Mambres reſtiterunt Moſi*, non invenitur in publicis ſcripturis, ſed in libro ſecreto, qui ſupraſcribitur Jamnes et Mambres. Unde auſi ſunt quidam epiſtolam ad Timotheum repellere, quaſi habentem in ſe textum alicujus ſecreti. Sed non potuerunt. *In Matth. Tract.* 35. *p.* 193. *Tom.* 2. *Baſil.*

(*c*) Verum quicquid et vetuſtis patribus et recentioribus quibuſdam videatur, non poteſt ullo mihi pacto probari, Judam Apoſtolum ex libro ſcripto temporibus ejus exſtante, tritaque prophetia ſuum illud vaticinium deprompſiſſe. Nam primo id Judas non teſtatur. Qui ſimpliciter habet: προεφήτευσε. Prophetiam ſcriptis ab eo conſignatam eſſe non dicit. *J. H. Heidegger. Hiſt. Patr. Exercita. x. de Prophetia Enochi.* §. *v. Tom. i. p.* 271.

At neque dicit Judas Henochum ita ſcripſiſſe: neque in libro, qui Henochi dicitur, prophetiæ hujus vel vola vel veſtigium reperitur. Imo credibile eſt, Judæ ætate ſuppoſititium hunc librum ne quidem in rerum natura fuiſſe, ſed a putido et portentoſo neſcio quo Cabbaliſta Græcanico, vel ab hæretico, et ſciolo aliquo Chriſtum profeſſo, ſub Henochi nomine procuſum eſſe. *Wiſſius in ep. Jud. num. xli. p.* 502.

(*d*) Alii denique veriſimilius arbitrantur, habuiſſe Judam ex nota et confeſſa eo tempore traditione: quam veram eſſe Spiritu magiſtro cognovit, dignamque judicavit, quam ſua hac epiſtola conſecraret æternitati. Cui ſententiæ ego quoque hactenus acquieſco. *Wiſſ. ubi ſupr. num. xli. p.* 503.

in his (*e*) epiſtle, from the circumſtances of the men, and the manners of the people, to whom Henoch preached, gathered what might be the ſum of Henoch's preaching, in this ſort. *Behold, the Lord cometh.* How? As at the giving of the law, *with thouſands of his angels, to give judgement againſt all men, and to rebuke all the ungodly among them of all their wicked deeds, which they have ungodly committed, and of all their cruel ſpeakings, which wicked ſinners have ſpoken againſt him.* Upon which words the Greeks, not knowing the courſe of the Hebrews in their feigned ſpeeches, imagined, that Henoch left a book of his preaching behind him."

Grotius (*f*) has ſomewhat to the like purpoſe.

And J. H. Heidegger (*g*) approved of this manner of interpretation. He ſuppoſes, St. Jude to refer to the words of Moſes. Gen. v. 22. and 24. *And Enoch walked with God.* Cocceius, alſo, as cited (*h*) by Witſius, argued not very differently, though Witſius did not fully approve of it.

I ſhall add a thought or two confirming that method of interpretation. St. Peter 2 ep. ii. 5. calls *Noah, a preacher of righteouſneſſe:* referring, I ſuppoſe, to the hiſtorie in Geneſis, though it is not expreſsly ſaid there. And at ver. 7. 8. he ſays of Lot, that *he was vexed with the filthie converſation of the wicked.* For that righteous man dwelling among them, in ſeeing and hearing, vexed his righteous ſoul from day to day with their unlawful deeds. Which words ſeem to be a paraphraſe of the words of Moſes, Gen. vi. 5. *And God ſaw that the wickedneſſe of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually.* Now Moſes, in the ſame chapter, ver. 9. ſays of Noah, that *he was a juſt man, and perfect in his generations, and Noah walked with God.* Which words ſeem to be the foundation of what St. Peter ſays of Noah, that he was a preacher of righteouſneſſe. Now if St. Peter underſtood Moſes in this manner, it is probable, that St. Jude underſtood him in the ſame manner, when he ſpeaks of Henoch.

(*e*) *The General Review of the Holy Scriptures. p.* 39. *by Thomas Hayne. London.* 1640. *Folio.*

(*f*) Solebant Rabbini et angelis, et magnis hominibus, tribuere ea verba, quæ veriſimiliter dicere potuerunt. Tale illud quod de Enocho habebimus, et illud quod Hebr. xii. 21. et Actor. vii. 26. &c. *Grot. ad S. Jud. ver.* 9.

Solebant, ut modo dixi, Rabbini et angelis, et viris magnis tribuere ea dicta, quæ dixiſſe poterant. *Id. ad ver.* 14.

Quod tunc Enoch aut dixit, aut dicere potuit, imminente diluvio, idem Judas ad ingentem illam internecionem, quæ Judæis contumacibus imminebat, referre commode potuit. *Id. ib. ad ver.* 15.

(*g*) Diſtinguendum accurate eſt inter fundamentum prophetiæ, et ejus formulam. Fundamentum quod attinet, eſt illud totum ἔγγραφον. . . . Alterum eſt, quod ſcriptum reperitur, *Enochum cum Deo ambulaſſe.* Ex eo Judæ proclive fuit conficere Enochum non pro ſe tantum quæſiviſſe Deum, ſed etiam alios propoſito terrore ultimi judicii ab impietate et injuſtitia deterruiſſe: neque potuiſſe cum Deo ambulare, vel pii viri officio defungi, niſi judicium Domini venturi cum myriadibus angelorum hominibus ſuæ ætatis annunciaret. Cum igitur non potuerit non loqui de judicio Domini ſuperventuro impiis, et ii, de quibus S. Judas loquitur, ſint ultimi temporis, conficit, Enochum diu ante diluvium de iis prophetaſſe. . . . Porro quod formulam attinet prophetiæ, cujus fundamentum ita in Scripturis oſtendimus, illam ex iis verbis contexuit Judas, in quorum virtute eam latere per σύνεσιν πνευματικὴν *intelligentiam ſpiritualem*, probe ſcivit. *Heid. ubi ſupra. num. x. p.* 277.

(*h*) Celeberrimus Coccejus conjectat Judam ex hiſtoria Moſaica collegiſſe. *Nam*, inquit, *prophetaſſe Henochum, ſatis conſtat ex ſacris literis. Ambulavit enim cum Deo. Ergo cum Deo fecit, defectoribus ſe oppoſuit, verbis ſine dubio in Spiritu Sancto dictis, et opere. . . . Porro Judas talia Henochum prophetaſſe teſtatur, quæ optime et pathetice ei attribuuntur in proſopopœia.* Quæ quidem non male mihi animadverſa videntur. Attamen non validum ſatis firmamentum continere, cui Judæ allegatio commode inædificetur. Nam Judas formulam prophetiæ Henocho adſcribit, quæ ex Moſe diſci non poteſt. *Witſ. ib. num. xli. p.* 502. *et* 05. 3

converſation of the wicked: and that dwelling among them, in ſeeing and hearing, he vexed his righteous ſoul from day to day, with their unlawful deeds. Theſe things are not expreſsly ſaid in the book of Geneſis. Nevertheleſs I make no queſtion, but the Apoſtle refers to what is there ſaid, and deduceth theſe things thence, and not from an apocryphal, or any other writing whatever.

There is no neceſſity therefore to ſuppoſe, that St. Jude quoted a book called *Enoch*, or *Enoch's Prophecies*.

2. Allowing St. Jude to quote ſuch a book, he gives it no authority. It was no canonical book of the Jews. That is certain. Conſequently, if there was ſuch a book among them, it was apocryphal. But though it was ſo, there might be in it ſome right things. Theſe St. Jude might take, without approving the whole of it. To this purpoſe (*i*) Jerome has argued largely, and very well, in his Commentarie upon the epiſtle to Titus, upon occaſion of St. Paul's quotation of Epimenides. Tit i. 12. And Cave ſays, "It (*k*) is no more ſtrange, that St. Jude ſhould quote an apocryphal book, than that St. Paul ſhould put down Jannes and Jambres for the two Magicians of Pharaoh that oppoſed Moſes. Which he muſt either derive from tradition, or fetch from ſome uncanonical author of thoſe times, there being no mention of their names in Moſes his relation of that matter."

As I have ſaid ſo much about this text, I am induced to take notice of ſome other like things in this epiſtle.

Says St. Jude ver. 8. and 9. *Likewiſe alſo theſe filthie dreamers defile the fleſh, deſpiſe dominion, and ſpeak evil of dignities. Yet Michael, the archangel, when contending with the devil, he diſputed about the body of Moſes, dared not* [*choſe* ++ *not*] *to bring againſt him a railing accuſation, but ſaid: The Lord rebuke thee.*

Origen, in the third centurie, ſuppoſed, that (*l*) St. Jude might refer to a book, called the Aſſumption, or Aſcenſion of Moſes, though it was not a book of authority. But indeed, there is no good reaſon to think, that there was any ſuch book extant in the time of St. Jude. It is more probable, that it was forged afterwards. Some therefore have imagined, that St. Jude took this paſſage from ſome more valuable Hebrew author, of whom however we have no knowledge.

But

(*i*) Qui autem totum librum debere ſequi eum qui libri parte uſus ſit, videntur mihi et apocryphum Enochi, de quo Apoſtolus Judas id epiſtola ſua teſtimonium poſuit, inter Eccleſiæ ſcripturas recipere, et multa alia, quæ Apoſtolus Paulus de reconditis eſt loquutus. Poſſumus enim hoc argumento dicere: Quia apud Athenienſes ignotum Deum colere ſe dixit, quem illi in arâ annotaverant, debere Paulum et cetera, quæ in arâ ſcripta fuerant, ſequi, et ea quæ Athenienſes faciebant facere, quia cum Athenienſibus in culturâ ignoti Dei ex parte conſenſerat. *Hieron. in Tit. T. 4. p. 421.*

(*k*) *Life of St. Jude, in Engliſh. p. 205.*

++ Michael autem ἐκ ἀνάγκης, non *ſyllogiſmo*, non induxit animum, impingere illi notum maledicti, id eſt, ultionem maledicendo ſumere. Non quod timuerit diabolum, ſed quod ex decoro omnia agere voluerit. *Whiſ. Comm. in Ep. Judæ ver. 9. p. 480.*

(*l*) *See Dr. Lardner's edition of this work vol. iii. p. 271. a citation from Origen's books of Principles.*

But to me it is apparent, that St. Jude refers to the viſion in Zach. iii. 1. . . 3. *And he ſhewed me Joſhua the High-Prieſt, ſtanding before the angel of the Lord*, and *Satan ſtanding at his right-hand to reſiſt him. And the Lord*, [that is, *the angel of the Lord*, before-mentioned] *ſaid unto Satan: The Lord rebuke thee.* And what follows. The text of St. Jude is parallel with 2 Pet. ii. 11. *Whereas Angels, which are greater in power, bring not railing accuſation before the Lord.* Here alſo is a plain reference to the viſion in Zacharie. The thing itſelf, and that circumſtance, *before the Lord*, anſwering to the expreſſion in Zacharie, *ſtanding before the Lord*, or *before the angel of the Lord*, put it, as ſeems to me, beyond queſtion.

Campegius Vitringa (*m*) has ſome curious obſervations upon this text of St. Jude. Inſtead of *the body of Moſes*, he would read *the body of Joſhua*. That is ingenious. Nevertheleſs the common reading may be right, and may be explained very agreeably to the paſſage of Zacharie. For, according to an interpretation of that viſion, formerly (*n*) taken from Ephraim the Syrian, Joſhua, the High-Prieſt, there denotes the Jewiſh People. Whom St. Jude might call *the body of Moſes*, as Chriſtians are called the *body of Chriſt* by St. Paul. 1 Cor. xii. 20. 25. 27. Eph. i. 23. and iv. 12. 16. Col. i. 18. The ſame intepretation was propoſed ſome while ago, and well ſupported in a Diſſertation of a learned writer, who was not acquainted with Ephraim ††.

Once more. St. Jude ſays ver. 6. *And the angels, which kept not their firſt eſtate, but left their own habitation, he has reſerved in everlaſting chains under darkneſſe unto the judgement of the great day.* To which there is a parallel place in 2 Pet. ii. 4. The learned writer, above quoted, obſerves, that (*o*) neither here have theſe Apoſtles a reference to any Jewiſh apocryphal book: but to ſome text of Sacred Scripture, or of the Old Teſtament. But he then deferred ſhewing the place. Nor do I know, that

(*m*) Probabile nobis videtur, Judam ſcripſiſſe περὶ τοῦ ἰησοῦ σώματος, et hodiernam lectionem eſſe a manu imperitioris bibliographi, qui cum nihil in Scripturis memorabile legiſſet de *corpore Joſuæ*, ſed contra ex Hiſtoria Sacra intellexiſſet, quid circa *corpus Moſis* ſingulare accediſſet, nec interea de loco Zachariæ cogitaret, *Joſuæ* nomen in illud *Moſis* commutavit. Sed quam certum eſt, Judam his verbis reſpexiſſe locum illum Zachariæ, tam quoque certum eſt, non ſcripſiſſe, Michaëlem diſputaſſe cum Diabolo de *corpore Moſis*. . . . Imo ex eadem ratione liquidiſſime patet, Judam, quæ hic habet *de corpore Moſis*, non deſumpſiſſe ex apocrypho aliquo Judaici ingenii, in quo hanc fabulam offendiſſet. Reſpexit Judas, ut jam dixi, ad locum Zachariæ, et inde recte evicit, *Satanæ*, potentiſſimi angeli, ab ipſo principe angelorum Michaële in judicio in ipſum proferendo magnam habitam eſſe rationem: ac proin multo minus *potęſtates* et *glorias*, hoc eſt, potentiſſimos principes, licet malos, nobiſque adverſos, a nobis eſſe vilipendendos. *Campeg. Vitring. Obſerv. Sacr. l.* 4. *cap. ix. n.* 35. *p.* 1003. 1004.

(*n*) *See Vol. ix. p.* 206. *Lardner.*

†† *See Bib. Raiſonnée. Tom.* 31. *P.* 2. *art. i. p.* 243. . . . 269.

(*o*) Quid Petrus et Judas per alterum illud exemplum *angelorum*, qui *peccaverunt, principio et domicilio ſuo derelicto*, intenderint, et ad quam partem Hiſtoriæ Sacræ reſpexerint, (ad Hiſtoriam enim Sacram reſpexiſſe certum eſt,) nunc prætermitto, alia fortean occaſione commodiore indicandum. *Id. ib. num.* 35.

that theſe texts ever came in his way afterwards. I wiſh they had. For I alſo am much inclined to believe, that in all theſe places the Apoſtles referred to paſſages of the Old Teſtament.

This may aſſiſt us in forming a judgement concerning the opinion (*p*) of the Biſhop of London, that St. Jude in his epiſtle, and St. Peter in the ſecond chapter of his ſecond epiſtle, copied, or imitated ſome Hebrew writer, who had left behind him a deſcription of the falſe prophets of his own, or former times. Which indeed is ingenious, and plauſible. Nevertheleſs I think, ſuch conjectures ought not to be preſently received as certain. St. Peter, and St. Jude, and all the Chriſtians in general of their time, had before them the ſcriptures of the Old Teſtament. Many of the caſes referred to by theſe Apoſtles are evidently found there, ſuch as Cain, Korah, Balaam, the people of Sodom. And why ſhould not the other inſtances be taken thence likewiſe? If they are, I preſume, the argument would be more forcible with all, than otherwiſe it would have been. Nor does the reſemblance of ſtile in St. Peter and Jude afford a concluſive argument, that they both borrowed from ſome one Jewiſh author. The ſimilitude of the ſubject might produce a reſemblance of ſtile. The deſign of St. Peter and St. Jude was to condemn ſome looſe and erroneous Chriſtians, and to caution others againſt them. When ſpeaking of the ſame ſort of perſons, their ſtile, and figures of ſpeech, would have a great agreement. And certainly I think, that the Apoſtles needed not any other aſſiſtance in confuting and expoſing corrupt Chriſtians, than their own inſpiration, and an acquaintance with the ancient Scriptures of the Jewiſh Church.

III. We are now to conſider, to whom this epiſtle was ſent. *To whom ſent.*

Witſius ſays, it (*q*) was writ to all Chriſtians every where, but eſpecially to Chriſtians converted from Judaiſm: foraſmuch as St. Jude refers to Jewiſh writings and traditions. Moreover he wrote to the ſame Chriſtians, to whom Peter wrote, who were ſuch as had been Jews. To the like purpoſe (*r*) Eſtius.

Hammond (*s*) ſays, the epiſtle was writ to the Jews ſcattered abroad, who

(*p*) *See His Diſſertation concerning the Authority of the ſecond Epiſtle of St. Peter. And here in this Volume, p.* 445.

(*q*) Epiſtola hæc Chriſtianis quidem univerſim, et potiſſimum Hebræis ſcripta eſt. . . . Ii quibus ſcripta eſt epiſtola, illis deſignantur epithetis, quæ ſine Gentium diſtinctione Chriſtianis omnibus competunt: quamvis credibile ſit, potiſſimum eos ſpectari, qui ex Iſraelitis in Chriſto crediderant. Is enim ſæpiuſcule argumentis utitur, quæ ex Judæorum libris, vel etiam traditionibus, deſumta ſunt. Videnturque prorſus iidem eſſe cum illis, quos Petrus poſteriore ſua epiſtola compellat. *Witſ. Comment. in ep. Jud.* §. *viii. p.* 460.

(*r*) Porro veriſimile eſt, ad eoſdem ſcriptam eſſe, ad quos ſcripſit B. Petrus, id eſt, ad eos præcipue, qui ex circumciſione crediderant. . . . Id ipſum indicant illa verba verſus 5. *Commonere autem vos volo, ſcientes ſemel omnia.* Nam id aptiſſime Judæis dicitur, a prima ætate imbutis cognitione hiſtoriæ ſacræ. *Eſt. Argum. in Ep. Jud.*

(*s*) Videtur autem, ſicut epiſtolæ Jacobi et Petri, ſcripta fuiſſe ad Judæos diſperſionis, Chriſtianum Religionem amplexos, ut confirmarentur contra pravas

who believed the Chriſtian Religion, to ſecure them againſt the errours of the Gnoſtics.

Dr. Benſon (*t*) thinks, that St. Jude wrote to Jewiſh Chriſtians, as his brother James had done, and moſt probably, to the Jews of the Weſtern diſperſion.

Let us now obſerve the inſcription of the epiſtle in the writer's own words. *Jude, the ſervant of Jeſus Chriſt, and brother of James, to them that are ſanctified by God the Father, and preſerved in Jeſus Chriſt, and called.* ver. 1. And ver. 3. *Beloved, when I gave all diligence to write unto you of the common ſalvation: it was needfull for me to write unto you, and exhort you, that ye ſhould earneſtly contend for the faith, which was once delivered unto the ſaints.*

Theſe expreſſions, as ſeems to me, lead us to think, that the epiſtle was deſigned for the uſe of all in general, who had embraced the Chriſtian Religion. And if St. Jude writes to the ſame people, to whom St. Peter wrote, that is a farther argument for this ſuppoſition. For, that St. Peter wrote to all Chriſtians in general, in the countreys named at the begining of his firſt epiſtle, was ſhewn (*u*) formerly.

The Time, when it was writ.

IV. We now come to the laſt point, the time of writing this epiſtle. Here I ſhall obſerve the opinions of ſeveral.

Dr. Benſon's opinion is, "that (*x*) this epiſtle was writ before the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, a few weeks, or months, after the ſecond epiſtle of St. Peter: foraſmuch as the ſtate of things, as repreſented in both theſe epiſtles, is very much the ſame."

Mill's conjecture is, that (*y*) this epiſtle was writ about the year of Chriſt 90. But, as he ſays, there are no clear evidences of the exact time, when it was writ.

Dodwell (*z*) whom Cave (*a*) follows, argues, that this epiſtle was writ ſoon after the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, in the year 71. or 72. But the reaſonings of thoſe learned men are far from being concluſive.

Lenfant and Beauſobre were of opinion, that (*b*) this epiſtle may be placed with great probability between the year 70. and the year 75.

Witſius thinks, it (*c*) was writ, in this Apoſtle's old age, and in the laſt age

pravas doctrinas Gnoſticorum, qui tunc temporis exorti ſunt. *Hammond. Admonit. in ep. Judæ. Ex verſione Clerici.*

(*t*) *Preface to this ep. ſect. ii. p.* 446. *See alſo his paraphraſe of ver.* 1.

(*u*) *See before. p.* 447.

(*x*) *Preface to the epiſtle of St. Jude. ſect. iii. p.* 448.

(*y*) Fortaſſe quidem circa annum vulgaris æræ xc. Verum de ipſo præciſo tempore nihil habemus explorati. *Proleg. num.* 147.

(*z*) *Diſſ. Iren. i. num. xiv.*

(*a*) *H. L. in S. Juda.*

(*b*) On ne ſe trompera pas en plaçant cette epiſtre entre les années 70. et 75. de l'ere Chrêtienne. *Pref. ſur l'epiſtre de S. Jude.*

(*c*) Tempus ſcriptæ hujus epiſtolæ, uti ad poſtremam Apoſtolorum ætatem referendum eſt, quod colligitur ex ver. 17. ita ad extremam quoque Judæ ſenectutem pertinet. &c. *Witſ. in Jud. num. ix.*

age of the Apoſtles of Chriſt, and when few, or perhaps none of them, were living, beſide St. John.

To the like purpoſe (*d*) Eſtius.

Oecumenius in his note upon ver. 17. 18. of this epiſtle. *Remember the words, which were ſpoken before of the Apoſtles of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt: that they told you, there ſhould be mockers in the laſt time.* . . . "Meaning "(*e*) ſays he, by Peter in his ſecond epiſtle, and by Paul in almoſt all "his epiſtles. Hence it is evident, that he wrote late, after the deceaſe "of the Apoſtles."

If St. Jude referred here to St. Peter's ſecond epiſtle, it muſt be allowed, that he had ſeen it, and wrote after St. Peter. Which indeed is the opinion of many. So Oecumenius appears to have thought. So alſo ſays (*f*) Eſtius. Dr. Benton expreſſeth himſelf after this manner: "that (*g*) it ſeems highly probable, that St. Jude had ſeen and read the ſecond epiſtle of St. Peter. For there are found in St. Jude ſeveral ſimilar paſſages, not only to thoſe in the ſecond chapter of the ſecond of St. Peter, but alſo in the other parts of that epiſtle."

Nevertheleſs I muſt ſtill ſay, this appears to me doubtfull. For it ſeems very unlikely that St. Jude ſhould write ſo ſimilar an epiſtle, if he had ſeen St. Peter's. In that caſe St. Jude would not have thought it needful for him to write at all. If he had formed a deſign of writing, and had met with an epiſtle of one of the Apoſtles, very ſuitable to his own thoughts and intentions, I think, he would have forbore to write.

Indeed the great agreement in ſubject and deſign between theſe two epiſtles affords a ſtrong argument, that they were writ about the ſame time. As therefore I have placed the ſecond epiſtle of St. Peter in the year 64. I am induced to place this epiſtle of St. Jude in the ſame year, or ſoon after, in 65. or 66. For there was exactly the ſame ſtate of things in the Chriſtian Church, or in ſome part of it, when both theſe epiſtles were writ.

I do not inſiſt upon the expreſſion, *in the laſt time*, which is in ver. 18. Some would underſtand thereby the laſt period of the Jewiſh ſtate and conſtitution, immediatly preceding the deſtruction of Jeruſalem. But I cannot interpret the phraſe, *the laſt time*, in Jude, or *laſt days* in St. Peter iii. 3. in ſo limited a ſenſe. I think, that thereby muſt be meant the days of the Meſſiah, or the laſt ages of the world.

However,

(*d*) Ceterum Apoſtolis fuit poſterior, non omnibus, ſed pleriſque jam ante vitâ defunctis: ut Petro, et Paulo, et Jacobo. Nam Joannes adhuc ſupererat. *Eſt. ad Jud. ver.* 17.

(*e*) . . . ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων τῶν ὑπὸ πέτρου ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ ἐπιστολῇ, ὑπὸ παύλου ἐν πάσῃ σχεδὸν ἐπιστολῇ. Ἐκ τούτου δὲ δῆλον, ὅτι ὕστερον μετὰ τὸ παρελθεῖν τοὺς ἀποστόλους, ἔγραφε ταῦτα. *Oecum. T.* 2. *p.* 633. *D.*

(*f*) Convenit argumentum hujus epiſtolæ cum iis, quæ B. Petrus ſcribit in ſecunda epiſtola, præſertim capite 2. et initio tertii. Nam quæ hic ſcribuntur, adeo cum illis ſimilia ſunt, et hujus author S. Judas eam non ſolum legiſſe videatur, verum etiam, partim contrahendo, partim extendendo, partim iiſdem vocibus et ſententiis utendo, imitatus fuiſſet. *Eſt. argum. Vid. eund. ad ver. epiſtolæ* 17.

(*g*) *Preface to St. Jude. ſect. i. i.*

However, undoubtedly, that exhortation, ver. 17. and 18. *But, beloved, remember ye the words, which were ſpoken before by the Apoſtles of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt: that they told you, there ſhould be mockers in the laſt time:* do imply, as Witſius, and Eſtius, obſerve, that it was then the laſt age of the Apoſtles: when ſeveral of them had left the world, and few of them were ſtill ſurviving. Which well ſuits the date, before mentioned, the year 64. or 65. or 66.

When St. Jude adviſeth the Chriſtians to recollect, *and be mindfull of the words of the Apoſtles of Chriſt*, he may intend their preaching, which theſe Chriſtians had heard, or the writings of Apoſtles, which they had read, and had in their hands. Such diſcourſes of St. Paul may be ſeen recorded in Acts xx. 29. 30. And he writes to the like purpoſe 1 Tim. iv. 1. . . 5. and 2 Tim. iii. and iv. They who ſuppoſe, that St. Jude had ſeen and read the ſecond epiſtle of St. Peter, muſt think, that he refers alſo to 2 Pet. ch. iii. 1. . . 5.

There are ſome other expreſſions in this epiſtle, which may deſerve to be here taken notice of by us. ver. 3. *It was needful for me to write unto you, and exhort you, that you ſhould earneſtly contend for the faith once delivered to the ſaints.* and ver. 5. *I will therefore put you in remembrance, though ye once knew this.* Theſe expreſſions ſeem to imply, that now ſome conſiderable time had paſſed, ſince the whole ſcheme of the Chriſtian Doctrine had been publiſhed to the world, and ſince the perſons, to whom the Apoſtle is writing, were firſt inſtructed in it.

Upon the whole, as before ſaid, this epiſtle might be writ in the year of Chriſt 64. or 65. or 66.

CHAP. XXII.

The REVELATION of St. JOHN.

I. *It's Genuinneſſe ſhewn from Teſtimonie.* II. *from internal characters.* III. *It's Time.*

It's Genuinneſſe ſhewn from Teſtimonie.

I. WE are now come to the laſt book of the New Teſtament, the Revelation: about which there have been different ſentiments among Chriſtians, many receiving it as the writing of John, the Apoſtle and Evangeliſt, others aſcribing it to John a Preſbyter, others to Cerinthus, and ſome rejecting it, without knowing to whom it ſhould be aſcribed.

I ſhall therefore here rehearſe the teſtimonie of ancient Chriſtians, as it ariſeth in ſeveral ages.

It is probable, that Hermas had read the book of the Revelation, and imitated it. He has many things reſembling it. Vol. i. p. 135. . . 141. It is referred to by the Martyrs at Lyons, p. 341. There is reaſon to think,

think, it was received by *Papias*. p. 238. 239. 251. . . . 253. *Juſtin Martyr*, about the year 140. was acquainted with this book, and received it, as writ by the Apoſtle *John*. For in his Dialogue with *Trypho* he expreſsly ſays: "And a man from among us, by name *John*, one of "the Apoſtles of Chriſt, in the revelation made to him, has propheſied "that the believers in our Chriſt ſhall live a thouſand years in *Jeruſa-*"*lem*, and after that ſhall be the general, and, in a word, the eternal "reſurrection and judgement of all together." p. 278. 279. To this very paſſage we ſuppoſe *Euſebius* to refer in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorie, when giving an account of *Juſtin*'s works, he obſerves to this purpoſe: "He alſo mentions the Revelation of *John*, expreſsly calling it the Apoſtle's." See the ſame volume p. 278. note (*a*). Among the works of *Melito*, Biſhop of *Sardis*, one of the ſeven churches of *Aſia*, about the year 177. *Euſebius* mentions one, entitled, "Of the Revelation of *John*." p. 328. 329. It is very probable, that *Melito* aſcribed this book to the Apoſtle of that name, and eſteemed it a book of canonical authority. *Irenæus*, Biſhop of *Lyons* in *Gaul*, about 178. who in his younger days was acquainted with *Polycarp*, often quotes this book, "as the Revelation of *John*, the diſciple of the Lord." p. 378. And in one place he ſays: "It was ſeen not long ago, but almoſt in our age, at the end of the reign of *Domitian*." p. 379. And ſee p. 348.

Theophilus was Biſhop of *Antioch* about 181. *Euſebius* ſpeaking of a work of his againſt the hereſie of *Hermogenes*, ſays, "he therein made uſe of teſtimonies, or quoted paſſages, from *John*'s Apocalypſe." Vol. ii. p. 427. The book of the Revelation is ſeveral times quoted by *Clement* of *Alexandria*, who flouriſhed about 194. and once in this manner: "Such an one, though here on earth he is not honored with the firſt ſeat, ſhall ſit upon the four and twenty thrones judging the people, as *John* ſays in the Revelation." p. 515. *Tertullian*, about the year 200. often quotes the Revelation, and ſuppoſeth it to have been writ by St. *John*, the ſame, who wrote the firſt epiſtle of *John*, univerſally received. p. 621. Again: "The Apoſtle *John* in the Apocalypſe deſcribes *a ſharp two edged ſword coming out of the mouth of God*." p. 622. He alſo ſays: "We have churches, that are diſciples of *John*. For though *Marcion* rejects the Revelation, the ſucceſſion of Biſhops, traced to the original, will aſſure us, that *John* is the author." p. 622. By *John*, undoubtedly, meaning the Apoſtle.

From *Euſebius* we learn, that *Apollonius*, who wrote againſt the *Montaniſts* about the year 211. quoted the Revelation. Vol. iii. p. 16. By *Caius*, about the year 212. it was aſcribed to *Cerinthus*, p. 32. . . 35. It was received by *Hippolytus*, about the year 220. p. 110. . . 112. and by *Origen* about 230. p. 236. 241. It is often quoted by him. He ſeems not to have had any doubt about it's genuinneſſe. In his Commentarie upon St. *John*'s Goſpel he ſpeaks of it in this manner: "Therefore *John*, the ſon of *Zebedee*, ſays in the Revelation." p. 272. See alſo p. 273. 274. and 409.

Dionyſius, Biſhop of *Alexandria*, about the year 247. or ſomewhat later, wrote a book againſt the Millenarians, in which he allows the Revelation

velation to be writ by *John*, a holy and divinely inſpired man. But he ſays, he cannot eaſily grant him to be the Apoſtle, the ſon of *Zebedee*, whoſe is the Goſpel according to *John*, and the Catholic Epiſtle." Vol. iv. p. 672. He rather thinks it may be the work of *John*, an Elder, who alſo lived at *Epheſus*, in *Aſia*, as well as the Apoſtle. p. 676. See likewiſe p. 727. 728. 733. Moreover, it appears from a conference, which *Dionyſius* had with ſome Millenarians, that the Revelation was about the year 240. and before, received by *Nepos*, an *Egyptian* Biſhop, and by many others in that countrey. p. 584. 667. . . 669. and that it was in great reputation. p. 727. It was received by *Cyprian*, Biſhop of *Carthage*, about 248. and by the church of *Rome* in his time. p. 836. . . . 838. and by divers Latin authors, whoſe hiſtorie is writ in the fourth volume of this work. As may be ſeen in the alphabetical Table of principal Matters, in the article of the Revelation.

The Revelation was received by *Novatus*, and his followers. Vol. v. p. 100. 103. and by divers other authors, whoſe hiſtorie is writ in that volume.

It is alſo probable, that it was received by the *Manicheans*. Vol. vi. p. 338.

It was received by *Lactantius*. Vol. vii. 191. 192. and by the *Donatiſts*. p. 244. by the later *Arnobius*, about 460. p. 56. and by the *Arians*, p. 280.

In the time of *Euſebius*, in the former part of the fourth centurie, it was not received by all. And therefore it is reckoned by him among contradicted books. Vol. viii. 96. Nevertheleſs it was generally received. p. 111. and 159. *Euſebius* himſelf ſeems to have heſitated about it. For he ſays, "It is likely, that the revelation was ſeen by *John* the Elder, if not by *John* the Apoſtle." p. 160. 161. It may be reckoned probable, that the critical argument of *Dionyſius*, of *Alexandria*, was of great weight with him, and others of that time. See p. 159. . . . 165. The Revelation was received by *Athanaſius*. p. 227. 233. and by *Epiphanius*. p. 304. 310. But we alſo learn from him, that it was not received by all in his time. p. 311. 312. It is not in the catalogue of *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem*, about 348. and ſeems, not to have been received by him. p. 270. 274. It is alſo wanting in the catalogue of the Council of *Laodicea*, about 363. p. 292. Nevertheleſs I do not think, it can be thence concluded, that this book was rejected by the Biſhops of that Council. Their deſign ſeems to have been to mention by name thoſe books only, which ſhould be publicly read. And they might be of opinion, that upon account of it's obſcurity, it ſhould not be publicly read, though it was of ſacred authority. And ſome may be of opinion, that this obſervation ſhould likewiſe be applied to *Cyril*'s catalogue juſt taken notice of.

The Revelation is not in *Gregorie Nazianzen*'s catalogue. Vol. ix. 133. Nevertheleſs it ſeems to have been received by him. p. 134. . . 136. It is in the catalogue of *Amphilochius*. But he ſays, it was not received by all. p. 148. It is alſo omitted in *Ebedjeſu*'s catalogue of the books of Scripture, received by the *Syrians*. p. 218. Nor is it in the ancient *Syriac* verſion. p. 222.

It was received by *Jerome*. Vol. x. p. 77. 80. 100. 109. But he ſays, it

it was rejected by the Greek Christians. p. 123. It was received by *Rufin.* p. 187. by the third Council of *Carthage* in 397. p. 194. and by *Auguſtin.* p. 211. 257. But it was not received by all in his time. p. 252. It is never quoted by *Chryſoſtom*, and, probably, was not received by him. p. 340.

It is in the catalogue of *Dionyſius*, called the *Areopagite*, about 490. Vol. xi. p. 219. 220. It is in the *Alexandrian* Manuſcript. p. 240. . . . 244. It was received by *Sulpicius Severus*, about 401. p. 11. 12. and by *J. Damaſcen.* p. 393. and by *Oecumenius.* p. 415. 416. and by many other authors, whoſe hiſtorie is writ in the eleventh volume. *Andrew*, Biſhop of *Ceſarea* in *Cappadocia*, at the end of the fifth centurie. p. 227. and *Arethas*, Biſhop of the ſame place in the ſixth centurie, wrote commentaries upon it. p. 288. But it was not received by *Severian*, Biſhop of *Gabala.* p. 5. 6. nor, as it ſeems, by *Theodoret.* p. 89. . . 91.

Upon the whole it appears, that this book has been generally received in all ages: though ſome have doubted of it, or rejected it, particularly, the *Syrians*, and ſome other Chriſtians in the Eaſt. However, for more particulars, ſee St. *John*, and *the Revelation*, in the alphabetical Table, which is in the xii. volume of this work.

It may not be improper for me here to remind my readers of the ſentiments of divers learned moderns, concerning this book, which were put together in Vol. iv. p. 721. 733. 734. after having largely repreſented the criticiſms of *Caius*, and *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria*, in the third centurie upon the ſtile of this book, and of the other writings aſcribed to St. *John.* Where alſo is propoſed this obſervation. p. 733. "It may be queſtioned, whether their exceptions, founded in the difference of ſtile, and ſuch like things, or any other criticiſms whatever, can be ſufficient to create a doubt concerning the author of this book: which was owned for a writing of *John*, the Apoſtle and Evangeliſt, before the times of *Dionyſius* and *Caius*, and, ſo far as we know, before the moſt early of thoſe, who diſputed it's genuinneſſe.

from internal Characters.

II. Having thus repreſented the external evidence of the genuinneſſe of the book of the Revelation, or of it's being writ by St. *John*, I ſhould proceed to conſider the internal evidence. But I need not enlarge here, becauſe the objections taken from the ſtile, and ſome other particulars, were ſtated, and conſidered, in the fourth volume, in the article of *Dionyſius*, above named, Biſhop of *Alexandria.*

I now intend therefore only to take notice of a few things, of principal note, which learned men inſiſt upon, as arguments, that the Revelation has the ſame author with the Goſpel, and Epiſtles, that go under the name of the Apoſtle and Evangeliſt *John.*

1 Ch. i. ver. 1. *The Revelation of Jeſus Chriſt, which God gave unto him, to ſhew unto his ſervants things, which muſt ſhortly come to paſs. And he ſent, and ſignified it by his angel, unto his ſervant John.*

Hence it is argued, that (*a*) *John* ſtiles himſelf the *ſervant of Chriſt*, in a ſenſe

(*a*) . . . ſed eſſe ſe *inter notabiles Chriſti Jeſu miniſtros*, quos ad Eccleſiam ſuam docendam, regendam, et curandam adhibebat. . . . Hoc ſenſu Moſes, David,

a ſenſe not common to all believers, but peculiar to thoſe, who are eſpecially employed by him. So *Paul*, and other Apoſtles, call themſelves *ſervants of God, and of Chriſt.* Particularly Rom. i. 1. *Paul a ſervant of Jeſus Chriſt.* James i. 1. *James a ſervant of God, and of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt.* 2 Pet. i. 1. *Simon Peter, a ſervant, and an Apoſtle of Jeſus Chriſt.* Jude v. 1. *Jude, a ſervant of Jeſus Chriſt.* So *Moſes* is called *the ſervant of God.* Numb. xii. 7. and Hebr. iii. 2. And in like manner divers of the Prophets. And in this very book. ch. x. 7. is the expreſſion: *as he has declared unto his ſervants the Prophets.*

This obſervation may be of ſome weight for ſhewing, that the writer is an Apoſtle. But it is not deciſive. And in the ſame verſe, whence this argument is taken, the phraſe is uſed in it's general ſenſe. *Which God gave unto him, to ſhew unto his ſervants.*

2. Ver. 2. *Who bare record of the word of God, and of the teſtimonie of Jeſus Chriſt, and of all things that he ſaw.*

Some ſuppoſe, the writer herein to refer to the written Goſpel of St. *John*, and to ſay, that he had already *bore teſtimonie concerning the word of God, and Jeſus Chriſt.* But, as (*b*) formerly obſerved, theſe words may be underſtood of this very book, the Revelation, and the things contained in it. The writer ſays here very properly, at the begining, and by way of preface, that he had performed his office in this book, having therein faithfully recorded the word of God, which he had received from Jeſus Chriſt.

For certain, if theſe words did clearly refer to a written Goſpel, they would be deciſive. But (*c*) they are allowed to be ambiguous, and other ſenſes have been given of them. By ſome they have been underſtood to contain a declaration, that the writer had already bore witneſſe to Jeſus Chriſt before magiſtrates. Moreover, I think, that if St. *John* had intended to manifeſt himſelf in this introduction, he would have more plainly characteriſed himſelf in ſeveral parts of this book, than he has done.

This obſervation therefore appears to me to be of ſmall moment for determining, who the writer is.

3. Farther, it is argued, in favour of the genuinneſſe of this book, "that there are in it many inſtances of conformity, both of ſentiment and

David, Jeſaias, et Prophetæ omnes ſub œconomia vetere, et Paulus, et alii Apoſtoli ſub œconomia nova vocantur ſervi Dei. *Vitring. in Apoc. cap. i. 1.*

(*b*) *See Vol. iv. p. 703. Edit. Lard.*

(*c*) Ver. 2. *Qui teſtatus eſt ſermonem Dei, et teſtimonium J. C. et quæ vidit.*] Duplici modo hæc accipi poſſunt, vel Joannem confeſſionem veritatis ſolennem coram tribunali Præfecti Aſiæ Romani edidiſſe, ob quam ipſe miſſus fuerit in exilium: vel ipſum Evangelio a ſe edito ſolenne de Chriſto, ejuſque dictis et geſtis edidiſſe teſtimonium. Priore ſenſu vox μαρτυρεῖν ſcriptoribus Græcis poſterioris temporis receptiſſima eſt, et manifeſte etiam ſumitur a Paulo. 1 Tim. vi. 13. . . . Veni igitur ultro in illam ſententiam, quæ hæc Joannis verba refert ad Evangelium non prædicatum tantum a Joanne ſolenniter, ſed et ſcriptis confirmatum. . . . Quæ ſi ſane ſit hujus loci interpretatio, certò ſimul teſtabitur de illius auctore, Joanne Apoſtolo, ac proinde de libri hujus divinitate, et ſumma auctoritate. *Vitring. in Apoc. cap. i. ver. 2.*

and expreſſion, between the Revelation and the unconteſted writings of St. *John*."

Divers ſuch coincidences, or inſtances of agreement, were taken notice of formerly, and remarks were made upon them. Vol. iv. p. 709. . . 718. That which is at p. 716. appears to me, as ſtriking, as any. I ſhall therefore enlarge upon it here. Our Saviour ſays to his diſciples. John xvi. 33. *Be of good chear. I have overcome the world.* Chriſtian firmneſſe under trials is ſeveral times repreſented by *overcoming*, or *overcoming the world*, or *overcoming the wicked one*, in St. *John*'s firſt epiſtle. ch. ii. 13. 14. iv. 4. v. 4. 5. And it is language peculiar to St. *John*, being in no other books of the New Teſtament. And our Lord ſays Rev. iii. 21. *To him that overcometh will I grant to ſit with me in my throne, even as I alſo overcame, and am ſet down with my Father in his throne.* Compare ch. ii. 7. 11. 17. 26. iii. 5. 12. 21. and xxi. 7.

III. Concerning the time of writing this book, I need not now ſay much, having before ſhewn, in (*d*) the hiſtorie of St. *John*, that it is the general teſtimonie of ancient authors, that St. *John* was baniſhed into (*e*) *Patmos*, in the time of *Domitian*, in the later part of his reign, and reſtored by his ſucceſſor *Nerva*. But the book could not be publiſhed, till after St. *John*'s releaſe, and return to *Epheſus*, in *Aſia*. *It's Time.*

As *Domitian* died in 96. and his perſecution did not commence, till near the end of his reign, the Revelation ſeems to be fitly dated in the year 95. or 96.

Mill (*f*) placeth the Revelation in the year of Chriſt 96. and the laſt year of the Emperour *Domitian*. At firſt, he ſuppoſed, that the Revelation was writ in *Patmos*. But afterwards (*g*) he altered his mind, and thought, it was not writ untill after his return to *Epheſus* from *Patmos*. He builds upon the words of Rev. i. 9. If ſo, I apprehend, it might not be publiſhed before the year 97. or, at the ſooneſt, near the end of the year 96.

Baſnage.

(*d*) *See p.* 134. . . . 143.

(*e*) Eodem ordine ſeptem iſtæ Aſiæ civitates enumerantur, quo ex Patmo inſulâ adiri debebant. *Wetſtein. in Apoc. i.* 11. *Tom.* 2. *p.* 750.

(*f*) Paucis poſt conſcriptas has epiſtolas annis, exorta eſt Chriſtianorum perſecutio ſub Domitiano. . . . In inſulâ vero Patmo, in quam relegatus erat Joannes, Domitiani ultimo, ſeu anno æræ vulgaris xcvi. . . . facta eſt ipſi Revelatio: quam univerſam poſtea expreſſo Chriſti mandato ſcriptis conſignavit. Scriptamque Domini ejuſdem juſſu miſit ad ſeptem eccleſias Aſiæ. Unde manifeſtum eſt, viſionem non modo Joanni factam fuiſſe, ſed etiam ab eo literis traditam in inſula Patmo. . . . Scriptam fuiſſe ex prædictis conſtat anno vulgaris æræ xcvi, ſeu Domitiani xvi. et quidem ad finem ejuſdem imperii, inquit Irenæus, ſeu tempore æſtivo æræ vulg. xcvi. *Proleg. num.* 157.

(*g*) Subjiciemus hic verba Millii, quæ in emendandis poſuerat: *Hic ſententiam*, inquit, *mutavimus. Conſtat enim ex ipſis Joannis verbis Apoc. i.* 9. *eum poſt reditum ad Epheſum hunc librum ſcripſiſſe. Kuſter. in notis num.* 157. *Proleg. p.* 49.

Baſnage (*b*) placeth the Revelation in the year of Chriſt 96.

Le Clerc (*i*) likewiſe, who readily admits the genuinneſſe of this book, ſpeaks of it at the ſame year.

Mr. *Lowman* * ſuppoſes St. *John* to have had his viſions in the iſle of *Patmos* in the year 95.

But Mr. *Wetſtein* (*k*) favors the opinion of thoſe, who have argued, that the Revelation was writ before the Jewiſh war. He moreover ſays, that (*l*) if the Revelation was writ before that war, it is likely, that the events of that time ſhould be foretold in it. To which I anſwer, that (*m*) though ſome interpreters have applied ſome things in this book to thoſe times, I cannot ſay, whether they have done it rightly, or not, becauſe I do not underſtand the Revelation. But to me it ſeems, that though this book was writ before the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, there was no neceſſity, that it ſhould be foretold here: becauſe our bleſſed Lord had in his own preaching at divers times ſpoke very plainly, and intelligibly, concerning the calamities coming upon the Jewiſh People in general, and the city and temple of *Jeruſalem*, in particular. And his plain predictions, and ſymbolical prefigurations of thoſe events, were recorded by no leſs than three hiſtorians and Evangeliſts, before the war in *Judea* broke out.

Grotius.

(*b*) *Vid. ann.* 96. *num. xii.*

(*i*) At nemo de auctoritate ejus dubitârat ante Caium, Romanum Preſbyterum, qui circa finem ii. ſeculi vixit. Cum Cataphryges eo libro abuterentur . . . fœtum hunc eſſe Apoſtoli negare, atque a Cerintho, præſcripto ejus nomine, editum dicere maluit. At Juſtinus, et Irenæus, eo antiquiores, et qui cum Joannis diſcipulis verſati erant, Apoſtolo hoc opus tribuerunt. Similiter, cum medio ſeculo iii. Nepos in Ægypto Epiſcopus, Chiliaſtarum deliria eodem libro tueretur, Dionyſius Alexandrinus eadem de cauſſa Joanni eum abjudicavit. Sed aliter ſenſerant, quicumque Apocalypſeos antea mentionem fecerant, excepto Caio, quos ſequuti etiam poſteri omnes ad unum. . . . Multo fide dignior Irenæus, qui paſſim hunc librum, quaſi Johannis apoſtoli, ad teſtimonium vocat, et diſerte. lib. v. c. 30. *Neque enim ante multum tempus viſa eſt, ſed ferme noſtra ætate, ſub finem imperii Domitiani.* Quæ ejus verba Græca habet Euſebius. l. 5. c. 8. *J. Cleric. H. E. An.* 96. *num. v.*

* *See the Scheme and Order of the Prophecies in the Book of the Revelation, which is prefixed to his Paraphraſe.*

(*k*) Nos quidem, omnibus expenſis, cum iis facimus, qui ſtatuunt, Apocalypſin ante bellum Judaicum fuiſſe ſcriptum. *Wetſt. N. T. Tom.* 2. *p.* 746. *m.*

(*l*) Quæſtio eſt non levis momenti, cum vera Apocalypſeos interpretatio maximam partem inde pendeat. Si enim ſcripta eſt ante bellum Judaicum, et bella civilia in Italia; nullo modo probabile eſt, tantam rerum converſionem omnino præteriri atque negligi potuiſſe. Sin autem poſt illos motus compoſitos ſcripta eſt, probabilior erit eorum ſententia, qui eventus in Apocalypſi prædictos in ſeculorum ſequentium hiſtoria quærendos exiſtimant. *Id. ib.*

(*m*) Lightfootus in genere cenſet, Apocalypſin hanc editam eſſe ante noviſſimum Hieroſolymorum excidium. Et certe ſi Joannes hanc Revelationem vere a Chriſto Jeſu accepiſſet ſub Claudio, magna cum ſpecie negari non poſſet doctiſſimis his viris, quædam *ſigillorum viſa* ad fata judaiſmi non adeo incommode applicari poſſe. Sed obſtant graves rationes, quæ nos in hanc ſententiam

Grotius, who, as (*n*) formerly ſeen, placeth this book in the reign of *Claudius*, was of opinion, that (*o*) the viſions of this book were ſeen at ſeveral times, and afterwards joyned together in one book: in like manner, as the viſions and prophecies of ſome of the Prophets of the Old Teſtament.

Concerning this opinion it is not proper for me to diſpute: though there appears not any foundation for it in the book itſelf, as (*p*) *Vitringa* has obſerved. But that the book of the Revelation, in it's preſent form, ſent as an epiſtle to the ſeven churches of *Aſia*, ch. i. ver. 4. was not compoſed, and publiſhed before the reign of *Domitian*, appears to me very probable from the general, and almoſt univerſally concurring teſtimonie of the ancients, and from ſome things in the book itſelf.

Now therefore I ſhall tranſcribe (*q*) a part of *Lenfant*'s and *Beauſobre*'s preface to the Revelation, at the ſame time referring to *Vitringa* (*r*) in the margin, who has many like thoughts.

Having

tentiam ire vetant. *Vitring. in Apoc. cap. i. ver. 2. p. 7. Vid. et in cap. vi. ver. 1. 2. p. 101. . . . 105.*

(*n*) *See p.* 135.

(*o*) *Et mitte ſeptem eccleſiis.* Nempe hujus viſi deſcriptionem. Neque ad cetera hujus libri pertinet. Diverſa viſa diverſis temporibus Joanni obtigêre, ut et Prophetis aliis. *Grot. ad Apoc. cap. i.* 11.

Poſt abſolutum Viſum, monita ſalutaria continens, ad ſeptem epiſcopos et eccleſias. . . . Sequuntur Viſa alia, quæ diverſis temporibus Apoſtolo obtigêre, et poſtea in unum volumen redacta ſunt: quod et in prophetiis aliis evenit, ſæpe etiam non annotato temporis diſcrimine, ſed dato intelligi ex iis quæ loco quoque continentur. Pertinent autem hæc Viſa ad res Judæorum uſque ad finem capitis undecimi: deinde ad res Romanorum, uſque ad finem capitis viceſimi: deinde ad ſtatum florentiſſimum Eccleſiæ Chriſtianæ ad finem uſque. &c. *Ejuſdem Annot. ad cap. iv. init. Vid. et ejus Commentatio ad loca quæd. N. T. &c. citat. in hoc volumine. p.* 135.

(*p*) Et vero Grotius et Hammondus ipſi cauſam ſuam produnt, ubi poſteriorem Apocalypſeos partem ſub Veſpaſiano Epheſi ſcriptam concedunt. Quis enim illos docuit, Viſa Joannis in Apocalypſi hoc modo diſtinguere, et diverſa illis et tam longe diſſita aſſignare tam tempora quam loca? Nullum indicium, nulla ſignificatio illius rei in ipſa Apocalypſi exſtat. Contra dicitur Joannes, quæ vidit, *vidiſſe in inſula Patmo. Vitr. ib. p.* 11. 12.

(*q*) *Preface ſur l'Apoc. de S. Jean. p.* 613. 614.

(*r*) Primo dubium non eſt, quin ſi teſtimoniis Veterum res conficienda ſit: communis antiquæ Eccleſiæ traditio, firmata auctoritate Irenæi, hic multum præponderet teſtimonio Epiphanii. Irenæus enim temporibus Joannis Apoſtoli propior fuit, tanquam qui eodem adhuc ſeculo cum Joanne vixerit, et traditionem nobis retulit ſuo ætate communem, et omnibus notiſſimam.

Sed quod plus etiam momenti cauſſæ noſtræ addit: Non nititur noſtra hæc ſententia de tempore ſcriptæ Apocalypſis ſola traditione Veterum. Poteſt illa ex ipſo hoc libro, etiam abſque ulla traditione veteris Eccleſiæ demonſtrari. Quare *ſecundo* obſervari velim, ex ipſa Apocalypſi evidentiſſimas adduci poſſe probationes, ex quibus evincatur, hunc librum non utique ſub Claudio, ſed omnino poſt Claudii et Neronis tempora, quin imo ſub Domitiano demum in lucem editum eſſe. . . . . Quo tempore ſcripta eſt Apocalypſis, eccleſiæ jam per Aſiam inferiorem in celeberrimis locis non tantum erant fundatæ et conſtabilitæ, ſed jamdudum fundatæ et ſtabilitæ fuiſſe ſupponuntur.

Redar-

Having quoted *Irenæus*, *Origen*, *Eusebius*, and divers other ancients, placing St. *John*'s banishment in *Patmos*, in the later part of the reign of *Domitian*, and saying, that he there saw the revelation, they say: "To these uncontestable witnesses it is needless to add a long list of others, of all ages, and of the same sentiment: to whom the authority of *Epiphanius* is

Redarguuntur enim pleræque a Domino gravium vitiorum et criminum, quæ tractu longioris temporis ecclesias illas obrepserant. Ephesina jam *reliquerat primam suam charitatem*. Sardicensis dicebatur, *nomine vivere, sed vere mortua esse*. Laodicenam *magnus occupaverat tepor*, eratque *ærumnosa et miserabilis*. Hæc vero quam belle conveniunt temporibus Claudii! Ex ecclesiis enim septem, quæ hic memorantur, in Actibus Apostolorum, aliarum mentio non est, quam Ephesinæ et Laodicenæ. Ephesina autem a Paulo Apostolo demum fundata est, secundum Annales Cestrienses, anno Claudii Imperatoris extremo. . . . Liquet ex iisdem epistolis Joannis, illo tempore, quo edita est Apocalypsis, Gnosticorum hæreses, quæ dicuntur, in florentissimis Asiæ ecclesiis altas jam egisse radices. Ad illas enim carnalium hominum doctrinas sub mysticis nominibus Bileamitarum et Nicolaitarum in variis locis alluditur. Illam hæresim prævidebat Petrus in Ecclesia brevi exorituram, quando epistolam suam scribebat posteriorem, non longe ante Hierosolymorum excidium. Judas, qui epistolam suam edidit, ut probabilis ratio suadet, post Hierosolymorum illud excidium, hoc semen in prima vidit herba. Sed quo tempore scripta est Apocalypsis non nata tantum, sed confirmata erat hæc hæresis, et præcipuas Asiæ ecclesias inquinaverat. Quare si Judas Apostolus epistolam suam scripsit sub Vespasiano: quis neget, Apocalypsin editam esse sub Domitiano? In ipsis illis Epistolis passim supponuntur afflictiones graviores, quas Ecclesia Christi religionis suæ causa jam sustinebat, et sustinuerat: et inter illas supplicium capitale, quo confessores veritatis afficiebantur. Sic Dominus ad Angelum ecclesiæ Ephesinæ: *Novi laborem tuum*, καὶ τὴν ὑπομονήν σου, et *tolerantiam* in afflictionibus. Ad Angelum Smyrnensis: *Novi opera tua*, et τὴν θλῖψιν, *afflictionem, et paupertatem*. Ad Angelum Pergamenæ: *Nec abnegasti fidem meam, ne quidem in diebus, quibus Antipas, testis meus fidelis*, ἀπεκτάνθη, *occisus est*. Supponunt hæc manifeste, tempore editæ Apocalypsis Gentiles jam cœpisse in Christianos sævire, et ipsam etiam mortem pœnæ loco illis quandoque solennibus judiciis irrogasse. Id vero hactenus non liquet factum esse imperante Claudio. Nero, postquam humanitatem exuisset, sanguinem Christianum primus bibit: Romæ tamen, magis quam in provinciis. Post Neronem Domitianus, ultimis imperii sui, idem tentavit. Ad quas postremas Domitiani persecutiones in his locis haud dubie alluditur. Neronis enim illam persecutionem in provinciis Romani Imperii æque ac Romæ arsisse, nec liquet, nec probabile est. Ad Domitiani itaque persecutionem hic manifeste alluditur. Quod argumento est, Apocalypsin hanc sub ipso editam esse. Ejusdem hujus Domitiani temporis manifestum habemus characterem in Joanne. Dicit enim exerte, *se accepisse hanc revelationem a Domino Jesu, cum ob confessionem veritatis evangelicæ ageret in insula Patmo*. Vocatque se Christianorum, illo tempore *afflictorum, socium in afflictione, regno, et patiente expectatione Jesu Christi*. Fuit igitur Joannes *in exilio*, causa veritatis relegatus in insulam Patmon. Id vero quo modo acciderit sub Claudio? Illum enim in Christianos in provinciis aut exilio aut cæde sæviisse, nullibi legitur. . . . Domitiani igitur hic, et nullius alius Imperatoris character est. Nero enim Christianos capitali supplicio Romæ affecit: sed Domitianus plures exilio, paucos morte punivit, ut certi testes sunt Dio et Eusebius, et pluribus prosecutus est Dodwellus. *Diss. xi. De Pauc. Mart. § xvii.* Quid cessamus itaque tam evidentibus probationibus convicti fidem adhibere traditioni Veterum apud Irenæum? *Vitring. in Apoc. Cap. i. ver. 2. p. 9. . . . 11.*

is by no means comparable." And then they go on: "We must add "to so constant a tradition other reasons, which farther shew, that the "Revelation was not writ, till after *Claudius*, and *Nero*. It appears from "the book itself, that there had been already churches for a consider- "able space of time in *Asia:* forasmuch as St. *John* in the name of Christ "reproves faults, that happen not but after a while. The church of "*Ephesus had left her first love*. That of *Sardis had a name to live, but* "*was dead*. The church of *Laodicea* was fallen into lukewarmness and "indifference. But the church of *Ephesus*, for instance, was not found- "ed by St. *Paul*, before the last years of *Claudius*. When in 61. or "62. St. *Paul* wrote to them from *Rome*, instead of reproving their "want of love, he commends their love and faith. ch. i. 15. 2. It ap- "pears from the Revelation, that the *Nicolaitans* made a sect, when this "book was writ, since they are expressly named: whereas they were "only foretold, and described in general terms by St. *Peter* in his second "epistle, writ after the year sixty, and in St. *Jude*'s about the time "of the destruction of *Jerusalem* by *Vespasian*. 3. It is evident from "divers places of the Revelation, that there had been an open per- "secution in the provinces. St. *John* himself had been banished into "*Patmos* for the testimonie of Jesus. The church of *Ephesus*, or it's "Bishop, is commended for their *labour and patience*, which seems to "imply persecution. This is still more manifest in the words directed "to the church of *Smyrna*. ch. ii. 9. *I know thy works, and tribulation.* "For the original word always denotes persecution, in the scriptures of "the New Testament: as it is also explained in the following verse. In "the thirteenth verse of the same chapter is mention made of a Martyr, "named *Antipas*, put to death at *Pergamus*. Though ancient ecclesiast- "tical historie gives us no information concerning this *Antipas*, it is ne- "vertheless certain, that according to all the rules of language, what is "here said, ought to be understood literally. . . . All that has been now "observed concerning the persecution, of which mention is made in the "first chapters of the Revelation, cannot relate to the time of *Claudius*, "who did not persecute the Christians, nor to the time of *Nero*, whose "persecution did not reach the provinces. And therefore it must relate "to *Domitian*, according to ecclesiastical tradition."

The visions therefore here recorded, and the publication of them in this book, must be assigned, so far as I can see, to the years of Christ 95. and 96. or 97.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Order of the Books of the New Teſtament.

I. *Their Order in ancient Authors.* II. *General Obſervations upon their Order.* III. *The Order of the ſeveral Parts of the N. T.* 1. *the Goſpels.* 2. *the Acts.* 3. *St. Paul's Epiſtles in general.* 4. *their Order ſeverally.* 5. *Of placing them in the Order of Time.* 6. *The Order of the Catholic Epiſtles.* 7. *The Revelation.*

Their Order in ancient Authors.

I. IN ſhewing the order of the books of the New Teſtament, I begin with a paſſage of *Euſebius*, in a chapter, which is entitled "Concerning the (*a*) divine ſcriptures, which are univerſally received, and thoſe which are not ſuch." "But, ſays he, it will be proper to enumerate here in a ſummarie way the (*b*) books of the New Teſtament, which have been already mentioned. And in the firſt place are to be ranked the ſacred four Goſpels. Then the book of the Acts of the Apoſtles. After that are to be reckoned the epiſtles of *Paul*. In the next place, that called the firſt epiſtle of *John*, and the [firſt] Epiſtle of *Peter*, are to be eſteemed authentic. After theſe is to be placed, if it be thought fit, the Revelation of *John*, about which we ſhall obſerve the different opinions at a proper ſeaſon. Of the controverted, but yet well known, [or approved by the moſt, or many:] are that called the Epiſtle of *James*, and that of *Jude*, and the ſecond of *Peter*, and the ſecond and third of *John*: whether they are writ by the Evangeliſt, or by another of that name."

This paſſage, as my readers may well remember, was tranſcribed by us (*c*) formerly. And here the order is very obſervable: the four Goſpels, the Acts, St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles, the two Catholic Epiſtles of St. *John*, and St. *Peter*, which were univerſally received, and then the books that were controverted, that is, not received, by all, though by many.

The ſame order ſeems to have been followed by that ancient writer *Irenæus*. For in the third book of his works againſt heretics, where he is confuting the *Valentinians*, he (*d*) in ſeveral chapters argues from the Goſpels of *Matthew*, *Mark*, *Luke*, and *John*. Then, in the twelfth chapter of that book, he largely quotes the book of the Acts. After which he conſiders the authority of the Apoſtle *Paul*, and quotes both him, and *Peter*.

In the Feſtal Epiſtle of *Athanaſius* the books of the New Teſtament are enumerated in this order. "The (*e*) four Goſpels, the Acts of the Apoſtles, the ſeven Catholic Epiſtles, the fourteen Epiſtles of the Apoſtle *Paul*,

(*a*) Περὶ τῶν ὁμολογουμένων θείων γραφῶν, καὶ τῶν μὴ τοιούτων. *H. E. l.* 3. *cap.* 25.

(*b*) — τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης γραφάς.

(*c*) *Vol. viii. p.* 96. *Ed. L.*

(*d*) *Iren. l.* 3. *cap. ix. x. xi.*

(*e*) *See Vol. viii. p.* 227. *Lard.*

Paul, and the Revelation." They ſtand exactly in the ſame order, in (*f*) the Synopſis aſcribed to him, though not compoſed till more than a hundred years after his time. The ſame is the order (*g*) of our *Alexandrian* manuſcript. So likewiſe in (*h*) *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem*: "the four Goſpels, the Acts of the Apoſtles, ſeven Catholic Epiſtles, and the fourteen Epiſtles of the Apoſtle *Paul*." He omits the Revelation. The ſame is the order of (*i*) the catalogue of the Council of *Laodicea*, omitting alſo the Revelation. So likewiſe in the (*k*) catalogue of *John Damaſcen*: "the four Goſpels, the Acts of the Apoſtles, the Catholic Epiſtles, fourteen Epiſtles of the Apoſtle *Paul*, and the Revelation." The ſame is the order of (*l*) *Leontius*. And in the *Syrian* catalogues as given by (*m*) *Ebedjeſu*: "the four Goſpels, the Acts, three Catholic Epiſtles, and the fourteen Epiſtles of *Paul*."

Rufin's order is "the (*n*) Goſpels, the Acts, *Paul*'s Epiſtles, the Catholic Epiſtles, and the Revelation." The ſame order is in (*o*) the catalogue of the third Council of *Carthage*. In *Gregorie Nazianzen* (*p*) alſo "the four Goſpels, the Acts, the fourteen Epiſtles of *Paul*, the Catholic Epiſtles." The Revelation is wanting. The ſame order is in the catalogue of (*q*) *Amphilochius*, with the Revelation at the end, mentioned as doubtful. In the Stichometrie (*r*) alſo of *Nicephorus*, Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, about the year 806. "the four Goſpels, the Acts, *Paul*'s fourteen Epiſtles, and the ſeven Catholic Epiſtles."

That is the order of *Euſebius*, and, probably, of *Irenæus*, likewiſe, as before ſhewn, conſequently, the moſt ancient. It is alſo the order, which is now generally received. And to me it appears to be the beſt.

In *Epiphanius* (*s*) the books of the New Teſtament are enumerated in this order: "the four ſacred Goſpels, the fourteen Epiſtles of the Apoſtle *Paul*, the Acts of the Apoſtles, the ſeven Catholic Epiſtles, and the Revelation."

I imagine, that this muſt have been the order of *Euthalius*. For (*t*) he is ſuppoſed to have firſt publiſhed an edition of *Paul*'s Epiſtles, and afterwards an edition of the Acts, and the Catholic Epiſtles, about the year 490. In his prologue to the Acts of the Apoſtles, addreſſed to *Athanaſius* then Biſhop of *Alexandria*, he ſays: "Having (*u*) formerly divided the Epiſtles of *Paul* into ſections, I have now done the like in the book of the Acts, and the ſeven Catholic Epiſtles." Hence I am led to argue, that this was his order: *Paul*'s Epiſtles, the Acts, and the Catholic Epiſtles.

Jerome's

(*f*) *The ſame*, *p.* 245. 246.
(*g*) *Vol. xi. p.* 239. 240.
(*h*) *Vol. viii. p.* 270. 271.
(*i*) *Vol. viii. p.* 292. 293.
(*k*) *Vol. xi. p.* 393.
(*l*) *Ib. p.* 381.
(*m*) *Vol. ix. p.* 216——218.
(*n*) *Vol. x. p.* 186. 187.
(*o*) *Ib. p.* 193. 194.
(*p*) *Vol. ix. p.* 133.
(*q*) *Vol. ix. p.* 147. 148.
(*r*) *Vol. xi. p.* 249.
(*s*) *Hær.* 76. *p.* 941. *cited Vol. viii. p.* 303. 304.
(*t*) *See Vol. xi. p.* 206. *See Lardner's Edit. for the above.*
(*u*) "Ἐναγχος τοίνυν, ὡς ἔφην, τὴν παυλου βίβλον ἀνεγνωκως, αὐτίκα δήτα, κ᾽ τήνδε τὰ των ἀπιστολικων πραξεων, ἅμα τῇ τῶν καθολικῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἐπδομαδι, πεισας, ἀξιῶς σα ωἐπομφα. *Euthal. ap. Zacagn. Monum. Vet. p.* 405.

Jerome's order, in his letter to *Paulinus*, is (*x*) "the four Goſpels, St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles, the Acts, the Catholic Epiſtles, and the Revelation." Which is very agreeable to the order of *Epiphanius*, and alſo of *Euthalius*, if I underſtand him aright. But in *Jerome*'s work of the interpretation of Hebrew Names the order is thus: "The (*y*) Goſpels of the Acts of the Apoſtles, the ſeven Catholic Epiſtles, the fourteen Epiſtles of *Paul*, and the Revelation." In the letter to *Læta* the order is, "the (*z*) Goſpels, the Acts, and the Epiſtles of the Apoſtles."

Auguſtin varies. In his work of the Chriſtian Doctrine the ſcriptures of the New Teſtament are rehearſed in this manner: "The (*a*) four books of the Goſpels, fourteen Epiſtles of the Apoſtle *Paul*, the ſeven Catholic Epiſtles, the Acts of the Apoſtles in one book, and the Revelation of *John* in one book." In another work: "The (*b*) Goſpels, the Epiſtles of the Apoſtles, [meaning *Paul*'s Epiſtles, and the Catholic Epiſtles,] the Acts of the Apoſtles, and the Revelation of *John*." In one of his works he quotes texts from the books of the New Teſtament in this order: firſt (*c*) from the Goſpels, next from ſeveral of the Catholic Epiſtles, then from almoſt all the Epiſtles of *Paul*, after that from the Revelation, and laſtly from the Acts of the Apoſtles.

In the catalogue of *Innocent* the firſt, Biſhop of *Rome*, this order is obſervable: "the (*d*) four Goſpels, St. *Paul*'s fourteen Epiſtles, ſeven Catholic Epiſtles, the Acts, and the Revelation." *Iſidore* of *Seville*, in his ſeveral works, has three or four catalogues of the books of the New Teſtament. In (*e*) all of them we ſee this order: "firſt the Goſpels, then the Epiſtles of the Apoſtle *Paul*, then the Catholic Epiſtles, after them the Acts, and then the Revelation." There were according to him, two parts or diviſions of the New Teſtament, one called the Goſpels or the Evangeliſts, the other the Apoſtles or the Epiſtles. And in this laſt part the book of the Acts was placed. The ſame is the order in the Complexions or ſhort Commentaries of *Caſſiodorus*: they (*f*) are upon St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles, the Catholic Epiſtles, the Acts of the Apoſtles, and the Revelation.

The three writers, alleged in this laſt paragraph, agree very much with *Auguſtin* in the two paſſages firſt cited from him in the preceding paragraph.

Chryſoſtom's order, in the Synopſis aſcribed to him, as formerly obſerved, is very ſingular: the (*g*) fourteen Epiſtles of the Apoſtle *Paul*, the four Goſpels, the book of the Acts, and three Catholic Epiſtles."

The catalogue of *Gelaſius* alſo is particular for the place of the Revelation. For he enumerates the books in this order: "the (*h*) four Goſpels, the Acts, St. *Paul*'s fourteen Epiſtles, the Revelation, and the Catholic Epiſtles."

I ſuppoſe, I ought not to omit the order of the books in the 85. Apoſtolical Canon, as it is called, which is this. "The (*i*) four Goſpels,

(*x*) *Cited Vol. x. p.* 76. 77.
(*y*) *Ib. p.* 80.
(*z*) *Ib. p.* 159.
(*a*) *Vol. x. p.* 211.
(*b*) *P.* 253.
(*c*) *P.* 257. 258.
(*d*) *Vol. xi. p.* 39. 40.
(*e*) *Vol. xi. p.* 373. 374.
(*f*) *See Vol. xi. p.* 311.
(*g*) *Vol. x. p.* 312. 313.
(*h*) *Vol. xi. p.* 225.
(*i*) *Vol. viii. p.* 402.

See Lardner's Edit. for the above.

pels, *Paul*'s fourteen Epiſtles, ſeven Catholic Epiſtles, two Epiſtles of *Clement*, the Conſtitution, the Acts of the Apoſtles."

I ſhall tranſcribe nothing more of this kind. They who are deſirous to ſee more examples, may conſult the alphabetical table at the end of the twelfth volume, in that article, *The New Teſtament*. Here is enough to be a foundation for ſuch remarks, as are proper to be made, relating to this point.

General obſervations upon their Order.

II. It is obvious to remark upon what we have now ſeen, that in the ſeveral ages of Chriſtianity, and in ſeveral parts of the world, there has been ſome variety in the diſpoſition of the books of the New Teſtament, in two particulars eſpecially. For in ſome catalogues St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles precede the Catholic Epiſtles, in others they follow them. And the book of the Acts is ſometimes placed next after the Goſpels, in other catalogues it follows all the Epiſtles.

Dr. *Mill*, who, in his Prolegomena, has an article concerning the order of the Books of the New Teſtament, with regard to the firſt particular, the placing in divers catalogues the Catholic Epiſtles before St. *Paul*'s, ſays: "that (*k*) poſſibly the Chriſtians of thoſe times ſuppoſed them to deſerve precedence, becauſe they were not directed to one church, or perſon only, as St. *Paul*'s are, but to Chriſtians in general, and many churches ſcattered over the world. Some might alſo think the Catholic Epiſtles entitled to precedence, becauſe they were writ by thoſe, who were Apoſtles before *Paul*, and had accompanied our Lord in his perſonal miniſtrie here on earth."

Mill likewiſe argues, that this was the moſt ancient order, becauſe it is that of the *Alexandrian*, and ſome other ancient manuſcripts. But I do not think that to be full proof. For *Euſebius* is older, and his order is the ſame as ours. The ſame order is in the catalogues of *Rufin*, the Council of *Carthage*, *Gregorie Nazianzen*, *Amphilochius*, and divers others, very probably older than any manuſcripts now in being. And in many other writers, likewiſe of great antiquity, St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles precede the Catholic Epiſtles. Whereby I am induced to think, this muſt have been the moſt ancient order.

The reaſon, why the book of the Acts was ſometimes placed after all the Epiſtles, ſome may think, was, becauſe it was not ſo generally received as the Goſpels, the thirteen Epiſtles of *Paul*, and ſome of the Catholic Epiſtles. Mr. *Weſtſtein* (*l*) hints at that reaſon. But I rather think,

(*k*) In epiſtolarum quidem diſpoſitione variatum eſt. In antiquiſſimis quos habemus manuſcriptis, etiam Alexandrino noſtro Paulinis præmiſſæ ſunt Catholicæ: eo quod hæ Judæis, per orbem quaquaverſum diſperſis, adeoque plurib.s eccleſiis inſcriptæ ſint: illæ vero ſingulis ſive eccleſiis, ſive etiam hominibus. Ne dicam, quod in iſthac diſpoſitione rationem forſan habuerint dignitatis Apoſtolorum, a quibus ſcriptæ ſunt: ut nempe Apoſtoli Judæorum, iique jam ab initio electi a Domino, ac cum eo per omne miniſterii ipſius tempus verſati, præponerentur Paulo, Apoſtolo Gentium, ac cui noviſſime omnium viſus erat. Poſtea autem Paulinæ poſitæ ſunt ante Catholicas. *Mill. Proleg. num.* 236.

See Lardner's Edit. for the above.

(*l*) Apud orthodoxos vero hic Actuum liber non videtur eodem loco fuiſſe habitus, quo reliqui N. T. libri. *Weſtein. N. T. Tom.* 2. *p.* 455.

think, that by ſome it was judged proper, that the Epiſtles of Apoſtles ſhould immediately follow the Goſpels, containing the hiſtorie of our Lord himſelf: and that the hiſtorie of the Apoſtles, and of their preaching, writ by an apoſtolical man, ſhould not precede, but rather follow their writings. For by *Euſebius*, as we have ſeen, the Book of the Acts of the Apoſtles is reckoned among ſcriptures univerſally acknowledged by Catholic Chriſtians. It is ſo conſidered likewiſe by (*m*) *Origen*. And indeed, that this has been all along an univerſally acknowledged ſacred book of the New Teſtament, appears from our collections from every age of chriſtianity from the beginning. See *Acts of the Apoſtles* in the alphabetical table of matters at the end of the twelfth volume.

Mr. *Wetſtein* (*n*) argues from the 85. Apoſtolical Canon, where the Acts of the Apoſtles are mentioned laſt. To which I anſwer, *firſt*, that the age, when thoſe Canons were compoſed, is uncertain. And *ſecondly*, that order may have been there choſen out of a regard to the common rules of modeſtie. For it is thus: "the (*o*) Goſpels, *Paul*'s Epiſtles, the Catholic Epiſtles, two Epiſtles of *Clement*, the Conſtitutions, and (*p*) the Acts of us the Apoſtles." When a man took upon himſelf the character of the Apoſtles, and expreſſed himſelf in that manner, it was natural enough to reckon the book, which contained the hiſtorie of their own actions, laſt of all. Surely, it is trifling to form an argument from that poſition in this canon. And Mr. *Wetſtein* might have obſerved, that in many catalogues, undoubtedly ancient, the Acts immediately follow the Goſpels: and that, not only in thoſe catalogues, where St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles have the precedence before the Catholic Epiſtles, but in divers others likewiſe, where the Catholic Epiſtles precede.

The Order of the ſeveral Parts of the N. T.

III. Having made theſe general obſervations, I now propoſe to conſider diſtinctly the order of the ſeveral parts of the New Teſtament: the Goſpels, the Acts, St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles, the Catholic Epiſtles, and the Revelation.

1. *The Goſpels.*

1. The order of the four Goſpels has generally been this, *Matthew*, *Mark*, *Luke*, *John*. This is their order in (*q*) *Irenæus*, (*r*) *Origen*, (*s*) *Euſebius*, in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorie, and in his ten Canons, as repreſented in his letter to *Carpian*, (*t*) *Athanaſius*, (*u*) the Council *of Laodicea*, (*x*) *Epiphanius*, (*y*) the 85. Apoſtolical Canon, (*z*) *Gregorie Nazianzen*, (*a*) *Amphilochius*, (*b*) the *Syrian* catalogue, (*c*) *Jerome*, (*d*) *Rufin*, (*e*) *Auguſtin*, (*f*) the *Alexandrian* manuſcript,

(*m*) *See ch.* 38. *num. viii. Vol.* 3. *p.* 245. 246. *Lardner's Edit.*

(*n*) In Can. Ap. 85. ordo librorum iſte reperitur: iv. Evangelia, Epiſtolæ Pauli xiv. Petri, Joannis, Jacobi, Judæ, Clementis duæ, Conſtitutiones, Acta. *Wetſt. ubi ſupr. p.* 455.

(*o*) *See Vol. viii. p.* 402.
(*p*) Καὶ πράξεις ἡμῶν τῶν ἀποστόλων.
(*q*) *Vol. i. p.* 353. 354.
(*r*) *Vol. iii. p.* 235. *and* 244.
(*s*) *Vol. viii. p.* 92.
(*t*) *Ib. p.* 227. *and ſee p.* 246.
(*u*) *Vol. viii. p.* 292.
(*x*) *Ib. p.* 305. 306.
(*y*) *Ib. p.* 402.
(*z*) *Vol. ix. p.* 133.
(*a*) *Ib. p.* 147.
(*b*) *Ib.* 216. 217.
(*c*) *Vol. x. p.* 76. 80. 83. 84.
(*d*) *Ib. p.* 186.
(*e*) *Ib. p.* 211.
(*f*) *Vol. xi. p.* 239. 240.

ſcript, (*g*) the Stichometrie of *Nicephorus*, (*h*) *Coſmas* of *Alexandria*, (*i*) *Junilius*, an African Biſhop, (*k*) *Iſidore* of *Seville*, (*l*) *Leontius* of *Conſtantinople*. And in like manner in all authors and catalogues in general, diſtinctly taken notice of in the ſeveral volumes of this work.

Nevertheleſs in conſidering the teſtimonie of *Tertullian* we thought we ſaw reaſon to apprehend, that (*m*) in his time, in the *African* churches at leaſt, the Goſpels were diſpoſed according to the quality of the writers: in the firſt place thoſe two, which were writ by Apoſtles, then the other two, writ by Apoſtolical men. This was inferred from ſome expreſſion in his (*n*) works. But perhaps the argument is not concluſive. However the four Goſpels are in the ſame order in (*o*) ſome *Latin* manuſcripts, ſtill in being, and alſo in (*p*) the *Cambridge* manuſcript, which is *Greek* and *Latin*: *Matthew*, *John*, *Luke*, *Mark*. But by Mr. *Wetſtein* we are aſſured, that (*q*) it is the only *Greek* manuſcript, in which the Evangeliſts are ſo diſpoſed. For certain the other order muſt have generally prevailed.

The Acts.

2. Concerning the Acts the queſtion is, in which part of the New Teſtament it was generally placed by the ancients: whether in the Evangelicon, or the Apoſtolicon. And undoubtedly, by thoſe who mention it after St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles, or after all the Epiſtles of the Apoſtles, it was placed in the later part. But, as we have ſeen, it is often mentioned by ancient writers next after the four Goſpels. Was it then reckoned a part of the Evangelicon, or of the Apoſtolicon? From ſome paſſages of *Tertullian* it was formerly argued by us, that (*r*) the book of the Acts was placed in the ſecond part of the New Teſtament, and at the begining of it. I would now add, that I think, the ſame may be argued from *Irenæus*, who (*s*) having alleged paſſages from the four Goſpels, proceeds to the Acts, and conſiders what he allegeth thence as the doctrine, particularly, of the Apoſtles. And *Mill* ſuppoſeth, that (*t*) in the moſt ancient times the Acts were placed with the Epiſtles, but before them, as the firſt book of that part. However, it is obſervable, that the *Cambridge* manuſcript has the Acts of the Apoſtles, though it has not the Epiſtles. But then *Mill* ſays, that (*u*) volume once

(*g*) *Ib. p.* 249. (*h*) *Ib. p.* 266. 267.
(*i*) *Ib. p.* 297. (*k*) *Ib. p.* 370.
(*l*) *Ib. p.* 381. (*m*) *See Vol. ii. p.* 633. 634.

See Lardner's Edit. for the above.

(*n*) Denique nobis fidem ex Apoſtolis Joannes et Matthæus inſinuant: ex Apoſtolicis Lucas et Marcus inſtaurant, iiſdem regulis exorſi. *Adv. Marcion. l.* 4. *cap.* 2. *p.* 503. *A. Vid. et ibid. cap.* 5. *p.* 505. *C. D.*

(*o*) *Vid. Joſeph. Blanchini Evangeliarium Quadruplex Latinæ Verſionis Antiquæ.*

(*p*) *Vid. Mill. Prolegom. num.* 1269.

(*q*) Vidit tamen, niſi admodum fallor, hunc ipſum Codicem Cantabrigienſem, qui unus et ſolus omnium Codicum Græce Scriptorum hunc ordinem ſervat. *Wetſtein. Prolegom. p.* 28.

(*r*) *Vol. ii. p.* 631. 632. *Ed. Lard.*

(*s*) *Vid. Iren. contr. Hær. l.* 3. *cap. xi. fin. et cap. xii. in.*

(*t*) Primo loco poſita ſunt Acta Apoſtolorum. . . . Subſecutæ ſunt Epiſtolæ indubitato Apoſtolicæ, quas corrogare undique liceret. *Proleg. num.* 195.

(*u*) Marci Evangelio ſuffixa eſt etiam notula, ſignificans, poſt illud proximo loco librum Actuum. Verum hæc eſt ſcribæ recentioris. Sequens enim volium, quod prima facie duodecim poſtremos verſus epiſtolæ tertiæ D. Joannis

once had the Epiſtles, as well as the Goſpels. And therefore, probably, the book of the Acts ſtood at the head of that part, which contained the Epiſtles. And for certain, I think, it beſt that the hiſtorical books of the New Teſtament ſhould appear together. Accordingly, as we have ſeen, the Acts do in many ancient catalogues immediately follow the Goſpels. And I wiſh, that Mr. *Wetſtein* had followed that order, which now prevails, and that he had not placed the Acts of the Apoſtles, as he has done, at the head of the Catholic Epiſtles, and after the Epiſtles of St. *Paul*.

St. Paul's Epiſtles in general.

3. In the catalogues lately alleged, we have ſeen St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles ſometimes preceding the catholic Epiſtles, at other times following them. Here the order, as ſeems to me, is of little conſequence. But I rather prefer our preſent order, which places St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles firſt: becauſe, excepting only the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, all of them have been all along univerſally acknowledged: whereas among the ſeven Catholic Epiſtles there are but two, which have not been at ſome times contradicted books. Moreover St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles immediately follow the hiſtorical books in *Euſebius*. Whence I am willing to infer, that it is the moſt ancient order.

Their Order ſeverally.

4. I muſt ſay ſomething about the order of St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles ſeverally: our order is that of his thirteen Epiſtles, which have been univerſally acknowledged, and then the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, about which there had been doubts in the minds of many for a good while.

Among the ancients there is ſome variety. To *the Romans*, *the Corinthians*, *the Galatians*, *the Epheſians*, *the Philippians*, *the Coloſſians*, *the Theſſalonians*, *Hebrews*, *Timothie*, *Titus*, *Philemon*. So (*x*) in the Feſtal Epiſtle of *Athanaſius*, and (*y*) in the Synopſis aſcribed to him, and (*z*) in the catalogue of the Council of *Laodicea*, and (*a*) in the *Alexandrian* manuſcript. In others may be found our preſent order, as (*b*) in the *iambic* poem of *Amphilochius*, the (*c*) *Syrian* catalogue in *Ebedjeſu*, (*d*) *Jerome*, in his article of St. *Paul*, (*e*) *Auguſtin* in his work of the Chriſtian Doctrine, (*f*) *Oecumenius*, and many others.

Epiphanius, obſerving how *Marcion* had diſturbed the order of St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles, ſays, that (*g*) in ſome editions of the New Teſtament, the epiſtle to the *Hebrews* was the fourteenth, in others the tenth, being placed before the two epiſtles to *Timothie*, and the epiſtles to *Titus*, and *Philemon*: and that (*h*) in all good copies the epiſtle to the *Romans* was the firſt, not that to the *Galatians*, as *Marcion* had diſpoſed them.

Theodoret

annis exhibet, alterâ primam partem capitis primi Actorum, clare indicat. Exemplar hoc jam olim, præter Evangelia et Acta, complexum fuiſſe Catholicas ſaltem Epiſtolas. *Mill. Proleg. num.* 1270.

(*x*) *See Vol. viii. p.* 227.
(*y*) *P.* 245.
(*z*) *P.* 292. 293.
(*a*) *Vol. xi. p.* 240.
(*b*) *Vol. ix. p.* 147.
(*c*) *Vol. ix. p.* 217. 218.
(*d*) *Vol. x. p.* 112.
(*e*) *Vol. x. p.* 211.
(*f*) *Vol. xi. p.* 411.
(*g*) *Hær.* 42. *p.* 373. *C.*

See Lardner's Edit. for the above.

(*h*) Πάντα δὲ τὰ ἀντίγραφα τὰ σῶα καὶ ἀληθῆ τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἔχουσι πρώτην, οὐχ' ὡς νῦν μαρκίων τὴν πρὸς γαλάτας ἔταξας πρώτην. *H.* 42. *p.* 373. *D.*

Theodoret (*i*) and Chryſoſtom (*k*) have particularly taken notice, that the epiſtle to the Romans was placed firſt, though it was not the firſt in the order of time.

Concerning the reaſon of that diſpoſition of the epiſtle to the Romans, Theodoret obſerves, "that it (*l*) had been placed firſt, as containing the "moſt full and exact repreſentation of the Chriſtian doctrine in all it's "branches. But ſome ſay, it had been ſo placed out of reſpect to the "city, to which it had been ſent, as preſiding over the whole world."

I have ſometimes thought, the firſt obſervation might have been applied to all St. Paul's Epiſtles, as the ground and reaſon of their ſituation. For the firſt five Epiſtles, that to the Romans, the two to the Corinthians, and the Epiſtles to the Galatians, and the Epheſians, are the largeſt of St. Paul's epiſtles. And all that follow are ſhorter, excepting the Epiſtle to the Hebrews, which has been placed after thoſe ſent to churches, or laſt of all, after thoſe likewiſe, which were ſent to particular perſons, becauſe it's genuinneſſe was not univerſally allowed of.

But the other, the dignity of the cities and people, to whom the epiſtles were ſent, has been more generally ſuppoſed to be the ground and reaſon of the order, in which they are placed. How this is repreſented by Mill, may appear in his own words, which (*m*) I place below.

I alſo ſhall ſhew this, as well as I can. Epiſtles to churches are placed firſt. Afterwards thoſe to particular perſons. The epiſtles to churches are placed very much according to the rank of the cities, or places to which they were ſent. The epiſtle to the Romans is placed firſt, becauſe Rome was the chief city of the Roman Empire. The two epiſtles to the Corinthians come next, becauſe Corinth was a large, and polite, and renowned city. Galatia was a country, in which were ſeveral churches, and therefore the epiſtle to them might be placed before others, writ to one church only. Nevertheleſs the epiſtles to the Romans and the Corinthians have been preferred, as is ſuppoſed, upon account of the great eminence of thoſe two cities. The epiſtle to the Epheſians follows next, becauſe Epheſus was the chief city of Aſia, ſtrictly ſo called. Afterwards follow the epiſtles to the Philippians, the Coloſſians, and the Theſſalonians. But how to account for this order, according to the method we here obſerve, I do not well know. Coloſſe indeed might be reckoned a city of inferior rank, and Philippi was a Roman colonie. But Theſſalonica was the chief city of Macedonia, in which

(*i*) *Vol.* x. *p.* 85. 86. *Edit. Lard.* (*k*) *Vol.* x. *p.* 331. *the ſame.*

(*l*) Προτετάχασι δὲ τὴν πρὸς ῥωμαίους, ὡς πανταχοῦ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν διδασκαλίαν, καὶ τὴν τῶν δογμάτων ἀκρίβειαν διὰ πλειόνων διδασκουσαν. Τινὲς δὲ φασιν, ὅτι καὶ τὴν πόλιν τιμῶντες, κ. λ. *Theod. Pr. in Ep. S. P. T.* 3. *p.* 6.

(*m*) In iis vero diſponendis (excepta una ad Hebræos, de qua mox) ſpectata eſt omnino dignitas eccleſiarum et hominum, quibus miſſæ ſunt. Epiſtola ad eccleſias Galatiæ, quæ erat integra provincia, merito præcedebat illas, quæ ad unam datæ erant civitatem, Laodiceam, Philippos, Coloſſenſes, Theſſalonicam. His tamen præponere viſum eſt epiſtolas ad Romanos et Corinthios, ob eminentem harum urbium dignitatem, qua provinciam iſtam ſuperare videbantur. Epiſtolas integris eccleſiis inſcriptas ſequuntur, quæ ad ſingulos homines datæ ſunt. *Proleg. num.* 237.

which Philippi ſtood. And if the epiſtles were diſpoſed according to the dignity of places, it is not eaſie to conceive, why the two epiſtles to the Theſſalonians were placed after thoſe to the Philippians and the Coloſſians. So that in this method, as ſeems to me, the order of the epiſtles is made out in but a lame and imperfect manner. And there may be reaſon to apprehend, that the brevity of the two epiſtles to the Theſſalonians, eſpecially of the ſecond, procured them this ſituation: though they are the firſt written epiſtles of our Apoſtle, and indeed the firſt writ of all the ſacred ſcriptures of the New Teſtament.

Among the epiſtles to particular perſons, thoſe to Timothie have the precedence, as he was a favourite diſciple of St. Paul, and thoſe epiſtles are the largeſt and fulleſt. The epiſtle to Titus comes next, as he was an Evangeliſt. And that to Philemon is laſt, as he was ſuppoſed by many to be only a private Chriſtian. Undoubtedly Titus was a perſon of greater eminence, and in a higher ſtation than Philemon. Moreover by many the deſign of that epiſtle was thought to be of no great importance.

The epiſtle to the Hebrews is fitly enough placed after the reſt, becauſe for a while it was doubted of, as before ſaid. I likewiſe think it to be the laſt written of all St. Paul's Epiſtles.

Of placing his Epiſtles in the Order of Time.

5. Some learned men, who have examined the chronologie of St. Paul's Epiſtles, have propoſed, that they ſhould be placed in our Bibles, according to the order of time. Dr. Wall, at the end of the preface to his Critical Notes upon the New Teſtament, has an argument to this purpoſe.

But *firſt*, it will be difficult to alter the order, which has been ſo long eſtabliſhed in all editions of the original Greek, and in all verſions. *Secondly*, the order of their times has not been yet ſettled. Many, I ſuppoſe, are of opinion, that Dr. Wall's order is not right. Muſt the order be altered again and again, to ſuit every one's phanſie? That would create a very troubleſome and diſagreeable confuſion.

I think, that the knowledge of the order, in which St. Paul's Epiſtles were writ, muſt be very entertaining, and uſefull. And I have done what is in my power to find it out. But I am far from deſiring, that they ſhould be placed, and bound up together, according to my calculations. Before an attempt of that kind is made, the order of time ſhould be ſettled, and determined to the general ſatisfaction of all learned and inquiſitive men. And judicious Chriſtians, who have ſtudied the chronological order of the writings of the New Teſtament, may have an advantage by it, though the books are continued in their preſent order.

The Catholic Epiſtles.

6. I ſay nothing here concerning the order of the ſeven Catholic Epiſtles, becauſe I have ſpoken to it ſufficiently in a (*n*) preceding chapter.

The Revelation.

7. Finally, the book of the Revelation is now placed the laſt of all, and has been generally ſo placed in former times, and very fitly, as (*o*) Mill ſays in his obſervations upon the order

(*n*) *See p.* 365.

(*o*) Agmen vero Novi Fœderis librorum claudit Apocalypſis. Quæ cum circa diverſum plane a reliquis verſetur argumentum, atque minus apte inter

order of the books of the New Teſtament, "it being prophetical of things to be hereafter fulfilled, and therefore of a different kind from the reſt: and having alſo near the end that remarkable clauſe, ch. xxii. 18. 19. containing a caution againſt adding to, or taking from it. Which may be applied to all the books of Scripture." To which might be added, that there are not wanting divers reaſons to think, it is the laſt written of all the books of the New Teſtament.

CHAP. XXIV.

That the Books of the New Teſtament, conſiſting of a Collection of ſacred Writings, in two Parts, one called Goſpel, or Goſpels, or Evangelicon, the other Epiſtles, or Apoſtle, or Apoſtles, or Apoſtolicon, were early known, read, and made uſe of by Chriſtians.

THAT the Goſpels, the Acts, and the Epiſtles of the New Teſtament, or divers of thoſe Epiſtles, were ſoon well known, much read, and collected together, may be argued from internal marks and characters, and from teſtimonie.

I. Internal marks and characters are ſuch as theſe.

1. It is obvious from the nature of the thing. Who compoſes and publiſhes any works, without deſiring to have them peruſed? It is very likely therefore, that the authors of the books of the New Teſtament, who were at the pains of writing hiſtories, or epiſtles, would take care, that they ſhould be known. The ſame zeal that prompted any man to write, would induce him to provide for the publication. The importance of the ſubject would juſtify a concern to ſpread the work. All muſt allow, that there never were, and that there cannot be, any writings, containing more important facts and principles. To ſuppoſe, that any of theſe writers were indifferent about the ſucceſſe and acceptance of what they had compoſed, is very abſurd and unreaſonable.

2. All the writings, of which the New Teſtament conſiſts, were addreſſed to ſome, who would ſet a great value on them, and would willingly recommend them to others. All the Epiſtles, and the Revelation, as is manifeſt, are ſent to Chriſtian ſocieties, or particular perſons. St. Luke's Goſpel, and the Acts, were ſent to the *moſt excellent*, or moſt noble Theophilus. St. John intended his Goſpel for ſome, whom he had in his eye. As appears from ch. xx. 30. 31. and from xxi. 24. 25. And it is very likely, that St. Matthew, and St. Mark alſo wrote for ſome, who

inter Evangelia et Epiſtolas media fuiſſet interpoſita, commodiſſime in fine omnium collocata fuit: quoniam tanquam liber propheticus futura reſpicit adhuc implenda: ac denique inſignem illam habet in calce clauſulam de non addendo quidpiam iſti prophetiæ, vel ab ea detrahendo: quâ etiam ad omnes N. T. libros accommodatâ, canonem univerſum veluti obſignare, convenientiſſimum videbatur. *Mill. Proleg. num.* 239.

who would gladly receive, and highly value their books, and get them copied for the uſe and ſatisfaction of others.

3. In ſeveral of the books of the New Teſtament directions are given, which would tend to make them well known. St. Paul at the end of his firſt epiſtle to the Theſſalonians, one of his firſt written epiſtles, enjoyns, *that it ſhould be read to all the holie brethren.* 1 Theſſ. v. 27. The ſame method, undoubtedly, was obſerved with regard to the ſecond epiſtle, ſent to the ſame Theſſalonians, and writ not long after. Probably, the ſame practice obtained in all the chriſtian churches, to which St. Paul afterwards ſent any epiſtle. And the Chriſtian people of other churches, beſide thoſe who had letters ſent to them, would be deſirous to ſee the epiſtles of their great Apoſtle, by whom they had been converted, and would therefore get them tranſcribed for their own uſe. At the end of the epiſtle to the Coloſſians, iv. 16. he directs: *And when this epiſtle is read among you, cauſe that it be read in the church of the Laodiceans, and that ye read the epiſtle from Laodicea*: meaning, probably, the epiſtle to the Epheſians, which was to come round to Coloſſe from Epheſus, by the way of Laodicea. The Apoſtle therefore was willing, and even deſirous, that his epiſtles ſhould be read by others, beſide thoſe to whom they were ſent, for the ſake of general edification. And can it be queſtioned, whether other Gentil churches in theſe parts, all which were of his own planting, would not thankfully embrace the encouragement hereby given them to look into his epiſtles, and get them tranſcribed, and read in their aſſemblies alſo?

4. St. Peter writes to this purpoſe in his ſecond epiſtle, which we may ſuppoſe to have been writ in the year 64. *And account, that the longſuffering of the Lord is ſalvation, even as our beloved brother Paul alſo, according to the wiſdom given to him, has written unto you. As alſo in all his epiſtles, ſpeaking of theſe things, in which there are ſome things hard to be underſtood. Which they that are unlearned and unſtable wreſt, as they do the other ſcriptures, unto their own deſtruction.* 2 Pet. iii. 15. 16.

Here are ſeveral things to be obſerved. *Firſt*, Peter ſpeaks of epiſtles of Paul ſent to the ſame Chriſtians, to whom himſelf was writing. *Secondly*, he ſpeaks of other epiſtles of Paul: *As alſo in all his epiſtles. Thirdly*, Peter therefore had a knowledge of ſeveral epiſtles of Paul, ſent to the Chriſtians of thoſe countreys, and likewiſe of divers others, which he intends in the phraſe, *all his epiſtles*. *Fourthly*, the Chriſtians, to whom Peter writes, were well acquainted with the epiſtles, which Paul had writ to them, and with the reſt of his epiſtles, or divers of them. *Fifthly*, it is ſuppoſed, and implied, that all, or at leaſt many of Paul's epiſtles, were well known, and much read. For Peter ſpeaks of ſome, whom he calls, *unlearned, and unſtable*, who wreſted Paul's *epiſtles*, or ſome things in them, *to their own deſtruction*. And very probably there were other readers of the ſame epiſtles, who improved them to their edification, and ſalvation.

It ſeems to me, that what Peter ſays here, affords reaſon to think, that at the time of writing this epiſtle, Paul's epiſtles, (moſt, or all of them,) were well known among Chriſtians, and that Peter had good evidence of it.

When Peter ſays: *as our beloved brother Paul has writ unto you:* ſome learned

learned men, Mill (*a*) in particular, have ſuppoſed, that thereby Peter intended the epiſtle to the Hebrews. But I think without reaſon, as Mr. Hallet (*b*) has largely ſhewn. St. Peter's epiſtles are addreſſed to *the ſtrangers ſcattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Aſia, and Bithynia.* It is not unlikely therefore, that St. Peter intends Paul's epiſtles to the Galatians, and the Epheſians, and the Coloſſians, all ſituated in thoſe countreys: and likewiſe the two epiſtles to Timothie, who reſided much at Epheſus, and muſt have received the epiſtles writ to him, when in that city, and the epiſtle to Philemon, who was of Coloſſe. And in the expreſſion, *all his epiſtles*, ſome others muſt be intended, and included: Such as the epiſtles to the Theſſalonians, the Corinthians, Romans, Philippians, Titus: ſo many, however, as the Apoſtle Peter was then acquainted with. Mill has obſerved paſſages in (*c*) the firſt epiſtle to the Theſſalonians, and in (*d*) the epiſtle to the Romans, and in (*e*) that to the Philippians: in which are *ſome of thoſe things hard to be underſtood*, to which St. Peter may be ſuppoſed to have an eye.

Theſe marks and characters there are in the books of the New Teſtament, which may induce us to believe, that they were ſoon diſperſed among Chriſtians, and well known to them.

II. This is alſo manifeſt from teſtimonie.

1. The accounts, which we find in the ancients, concerning the occaſions of the ſeveral goſpels, lead us to think, that they were ſoon ſpread abroad after they were writ. Matthew is ſaid to have writ his Goſpel at the requeſt of the believers in Judea: and Mark his, at the deſire of the Chriſtians at Rome, for the aſſiſtance of their memories. When therefore thoſe Goſpels had been written, divers copies would be ſoon taken, that the ends, for which they had been writ, might be anſwered. The ſeveral defective and imperfect accounts, which had been publiſhed of our Lord's words and works, induced St. Luke to write. And when his fuller and exacter account was publiſhed, it muſt have been attended to, and would be tranſcribed and communicated to many. Before St. John wrote, he had ſeen the other three Goſpels. And the Chriſtians in Aſia, where he reſided, were acquainted with them. Therefore they were well known and joyned together. And when his Goſpel was writ, undoubtedly it was added to them, and they were all joyned together in one volume for general uſe.

That the firſt three goſpels were well known in the world, before St. John wrote, is ſuppoſed by Euſebius of Ceſarea, who was well acquainted with the writings of Chriſtians before his time. Theſe are the words of that eminent man. Having ſpoken of St. Matthew's Goſpel, he goes on: "And (*f*) when Mark and Luke had publiſhed the Goſpels accord-
" ing to them, it is ſaid, that John, who all this while had preached by
" word of mouth, was induced to write for this reaſon. The three firſt
" written Goſpels being now delivered to all men, and to John himſelf,
" it

(*a*) *Prolegom. num.* 86.
(*b*) *See his Introduction to the Epiſtle to the Hebrews. p.* 21. *&c.*
(*c*) *Proleg. num.* 5. (*d*) *Ib. num.* 28. (*e*) *Ib. num.* 70.
(*f*) *See Vol. viii. p.* 92. *Lard. Edit.*

"it is ſaid, that he approved them." And what follows. Before this laſt Evangeliſt wrote, the *other three Goſpels had been delivered unto all men, and to John.* He therefore had ſeen them before, and they were in the hands of many people.

What has been now ſaid of the Goſpels, is applicable, in a great meaſure, to the Acts, and the Epiſtles of the *New Teſtament:* as may be perceived by all, without my enlarging any farther.

2. Ignatius, who was honoured with the crown of martyrdom about the year 107. does, in his epiſtles, uſe expreſſions, denoting (*g*) two codes, or collections, one of Goſpels, the other of Epiſtles of Apoſtles. Such volumes there were then, and may have been ſome good while before.

I ſhall here remind my readers of a few other like inſtances. In the epiſtle to Diognetus, certainly very ancient, and by ſome aſcribed to Juſtin Martyr, are theſe expreſſions: "The (*h*) fear of the Lord is celebrated, and the grace of the Prophets is known, the faith of the Goſpel is eſtabliſhed, and the tradition of the Apoſtles is kept." By theſe laſt expreſſions denoting, as is reaſonable to think, a volume of the Goſpels, and another of epiſtles of Apoſtles. Irenæus ſpeaks of the *Evangelic* and *Apoſtolic writings* in a paſſage, which will be alleged preſently. Tertullian ſpeaks (*i*) of "the ſayings of the Prophets, the Goſpels, and the Apoſtles." And in another place ſays: "This (*k*) I perceive both in the Goſpels, and the Apoſtles." I go no lower, my intention at preſent being only to allege a few writers of the earlieſt times.

3. As before ſhewn (*l*) from Euſebius, they who in the reign of Trajan, about the year 112. travelled abroad to teach the Chriſtian Religion in remote countreys, "took with them the ſcriptures of the divine Goſpels." Nor can there be any reaſon to doubt, that our Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorian here ſpeaks of the four Goſpels, ſo well known in his own time.

4. By Juſtin Martyr, about the year 140. in his account of the Chriſtian worſhip, which is in his Apologie to the Emperour and Senate of Rome, the whole world was aſſured, that (*m*) the Goſpels, which he calls *Memoirs of the Apoſtles, and their Companions*, were publicly read in the aſſemblies of Chriſtians every Lord's day.

Certainly, the Goſpels were then well known, and had been ſo for ſome while before.

5. Tatian, who flouriſhed ſome time before and after the year 170. compoſed

(*g*) *See Vol. i.* 177. . . . 180. *and* 188. *and likewiſe vol. xii. p.* 26. . . . 28. *and p.* 33. *Lard. Edit.*

(*h*) *See Vol. i. p.* 294. *or* 296. *The ſame.*

(*i*) Compendiis paucorum verborum, quot attinguntur edicta Prophetarum, Evangeliorum, Apoſtolorum? *De Oratione cap.* 9. *p.* 152. *C. quoted Vol. ii. p.* 629. *Lardner's Edit.*

(*k*) *See Vol. ii. p.* 630. 631. *Lardner's Edit.*

(*l*) *See Vol. i. p.* 232. *and Vol. xii. p.* 33. 34. *Lardner's Edit.*

(*m*) *See Vol. i. p.* 268. 269. *and Vol. xii. p.* 35. 36. *Lardner's Edit.*

compoſed a Harmonie of the four Goſpels. We (*n*) have full aſſurance of it. Is not this ſufficient evidence, that the Goſpels were then, and had been for a good while, generally known, and in common uſe? And does it not alſo afford reaſon to believe, that it was then, and had been for ſome while, an eſtabliſhed, or generally received opinion among Chriſtians, that there were four, and no more than four authentic memoirs or hiſtories of Jeſus Chriſt?

6. I forbear to allege any thing from Clement of Alexandria, Irenæus, or Tertullian, for ſhewing the notoriety of the books of the New Teſtament in early times, becauſe I now inſiſt only upon writers of the higheſt antiquity. But I ſhall take notice of ſome things, which we have in the accounts of the hereſies of the ſecond centurie.

However, that this argument may not be too prolix, I entirely paſs by Baſilides.

7. Valentin is placed by Cave (*o*) as flouriſhing about the year 120. By Baſnage (*p*) he is placed at the year 124. By Mill (*q*) between 123. and 127. And by Irenæus we are aſſured, "that (*r*) the Valentinians endeavored to ſupport their opinions from texts of the Evangelic and Apoſtolic ſcriptures," or of the Goſpels and Apoſtles, that is, both parts of the New Teſtament; "and that (*s*) they argued eſpecially from the Goſpel according to John."

And Tertullian allows, that (*t*) Valentin uſed the books of the New Teſtament entire, without altering them, as Marcion did.

Mr. Wetſtein ſays, the (*u*) Valentinians rejected the Acts of the Apoſtles. And he thinks, this appears from Irenæus. But to me it appears manifeſt from Irenæus, that they received the Acts. For in his confutation of them, in his third book againſt Hereſies, he (*x*) argues againſt them largely, firſt from the Goſpels, then from the book of the Acts, and laſtly from the epiſtles of Apoſtles. And Maſſuet, the learned Benedictin editor of Irenæus, allows, that (*y*) according to that ancient

(*n*) *See Vol. i. p.* 306. . . 308. *and ch.* 36. *Vol. iii. p.* 114. *&c. and Vol. xii. p.* 37. *Lardner's Edit.*

(*o*) *Hiſt. Lit. p.* 50. (*p*) *Ann.* 124. *num. vii.*

(*q*) *Proleg. num.* 265.

(*r*) Καὶ οὐ μόνον ἐκ τῶν εὐαγγελικῶν, καὶ τῶν ἀποστολικῶν πειρῶνται τὰς ἀποδείξεις ποιεῖσθαι. *Iren. l. i. c.* 3. *n.* 6. *p.* 17.

(*s*) Hi autem qui a Valentino ſunt, eo quod eſt ſecundum Joannem pleniſſime utentes, ad oſtenſionem conjugationum ſuarum, ex ipſo detegentur, nihil recte dicentes. *Id. l.* 3. *cap. xi. n.* 7. *p.* 190.

(*t*) Alius manu ſcripturas, alius ſenſus expoſitione intervertit. Neque enim ſi Valentinus integro inſtrumento uti videtur, non callidiore ingenio, quam Marcion manus intulit veritati. Marcion enim exerte et palam machæra, non ſtilo uſus eſt: quoniam ad materiam ſuam cædem ſcripturarum confecit. Valentinus autem pepercit: quoniam non ad materiam ſcripturas, ſed materiam ad ſcripturas, excogitavit. *De Præſc. Hær. cap.* 38. *p.* 246.

(*u*) Acta Apoſtolorum rejecerunt Valentiniani. Quod conſtat ex Irenæo. Hær. iii. 2. *Weſtſten. N. T. Tom.* 2. *p.* 455.

(*x*) *Vid. Iren. contr. Hær. l.* 3. *cap. xi. xii.*

(*y*) At ipſi Valentino nihil ſimile uſquam adſcribit Irenæus. Immo tum loco

cient writer, the Valentinians did not reject any books of the New Teſtament.

Irenæus, as we have juſt ſeen, ſays, that the Valentinians endeavored to ſupport their opinions *by the Evangelic and Apoſtolic Scriptures.* The Acts were included in this ſecond volume of the New Teſtament, according to the method of the ancient Chriſtians.

8. Heracleon, a learned Valentinian, is ſuppoſed by (z) Grabe to have been contemporarie with his maſter, Valentin, and to have appeared about the year 123. However, he might continue a good while after that. Baſnage (*a*) ſpeaks of him at the year 125. And Cave (*b*) placeth him at 126. They who are ſo pleaſed, may recollect what was ſaid of his age (*c*) formerly.

Heracleon ſeems to have writ commentaries upon ſeveral parts of the New Teſtament. Clement of Alexandria having quoted the words of Matth. x. 32. or Luke xii. 8. and of Luke xii. 11. 12. ſays: "Heracleon (*d*) explaining this place has theſe very words." Which I need not tranſcribe at preſent, though it be a valuable paſſage. There is in Clement (*e*) another ſhort paſſage of Heracleon's commentarie upon St. Luke.

Origen, in his commentarie upon St. John's Goſpel, often quotes Heracleon. The paſſages of Heracleon's commentarie upon that Goſpel, with Origen's remarks, are collected by (*f*) Grabe. And from him they have been placed by Maſſuet in his Appendix to Irenæus. The paſſages of Heracleon, quoted by Origen, are above forty in number, and ſome of them long.

Heracleon's commentaries upon the Goſpels of St. Luke, and St. John, are an early proof of the reſpect ſhewn to the books of the New Teſtament. And it may be reaſonable to think, that others beſide Heracleon, both catholics and heretics, publiſhed about the ſame time commentaries upon ſome of the books of the New Teſtament.

Origen (*g*) has at once given us Heracleon's obſervations upon Matt. viii. 12. and If. i. 2.

Heracleon likewiſe received St. Paul and his writings. For (*h*) he quotes,

loco mox citato, tum lib. 1. cap. viii. et ix. et alibi paſſim, ſatis ſignificat, Valentinianos ſibi coævos ſic canonem ſcripturarum novo Evangelio auxiſſe, ut nihil quidquam, nullum librum integrum, nullam ejuſdem partem, (quod Marcioni non ſemel exprobat,) ab eo abjeciſſent: ſed *vel parabolas Dominicas, vel dictiones Propheticas, aut ſermones Apoſtolicos*, ad hypotheſim ſuam aptare conatos, calumniam intuliſſe Scripturis. *Maſſuet. Diſſ. i. num. ix. p. xvii.*

(z) *Spicil. T. i. p.* 62. *T.* 2. *p.* 69. *et* 80.

(*a*) *Ann.* 125. *num. iii.*

(*b*) *H. L. f.* 53.

(*c*) *Vol. ii. p.* 539. *note* (E). *Lardner's Edit.*

(*d*) Τοῦτον ἐξηγούμενος τὸν τόπον ἡρακλέων. . . κατὰ λέξιν φησίν. . . *Strom. ep.* 4, *p.* 502. *A. . . D.*

(*e*) *Vid. Eclog. Proph. ap. Cl. Al. p.* 804. *D. et Grabe Spic. T.* 2. *p.* 85.

(*f*) *Spic. T.* 2. *p.* 85. . . 117.

(*g*) *Origen. Comm. in Joan. T.* 2. *p.* 256. *C. Huet.*

(*h*) . . . καθ' ὁ καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος διδάσκει, λέγων, λογικὴν λατρείαν τὴν τοιαύτην θεοσέβειαν. *Ap. Orig. ib. p.* 217. *E. et Grabe Spic. p.* 101.

quotes, as his, the begining of the twelfth chapter of the epiſtle to the Romans. Moreover Origen (*i*) has given us Heracleon's interpretation of 1 Cor. xv. 53. 54.

I might add here ſome other things. But this is ſufficient to ſhew, that in the very early days of Chriſtianity the books of the New Teſtament were well known, much uſed, and greatly reſpected.

9. Marcion about (*k*) the year 138. placed by ſome (*l*) ſooner, in 127. or 130. had, and probably, in imitation of other Chriſtians, a (*m*) Goſpel, and an Apoſtle, or an Evangelicon, and Apoſtolicon.

In the former, as is generally ſaid, was (*n*) St. Luke's Goſpel only, and that curtailed. But Mr. Lampe ſays, that (*o*) Marcion did not reject the other Goſpels, though he preferred St. Luke's. This he infers from a paſſage in Tertullian, which ſeems to ſhew, that Marcion did not reject St. Matthew's Goſpel.

I ſhall add another from Iſidore of Peluſium, where he ſays: "Take "(*p*) the Goſpel [or the Evangelicon] of Marcion, and you will pre- "ſently ſee at the very begining a proof of their impudence. For they "have left out our Lord's genealogie, from David and Abraham. And "if

(*i*) *Ap. Orig. ib. p.* 255. *D. et Grabe. p.* 110.

(*k*) *Vid. Pagi Ann.* 144. *n. iii. et Aſſeman. Bib. Or. T. i. p.* 389. *not.* (4.)

(*l*) *Vid. Cav. H. L. p.* 54. *&c. S. Baſnag. ann.* 131. *iii. . . v.* 133. *iv. Mill. Prol. num.* 306. 307.

(*m*) *Adamant.* Ἀπὸ ποίων γραφῶν δεῖξαι τᾶυτα ἐυαγγίλλη; *Marc.* Ἀπὸ τῦ Ευαγγελίε κ) τῦ Απόςολ. *Dial. contr. Marcion. Sect.* 2. *p.* 54. *Baſil.* 1674. *p.* 821. *D. T. i. Bened. Vid. et Epiph. H.* 42. *n. ix.*

(*n*) Et ſuper hæc, id quod eſt ſecundum Lucam Evangelium circumcidens. *Iren. l.* 1, *cap.* 27. 2. *al. cap.* 29.

Nam ex iis Commentatoribus, quos habemus, Lucam videtur Marcion elegiſſe, quem cæderet. *Tertull. adv. Marc, l.* 4. *cap.* 2, *p.* 503. *Vid. et Epiph. Hær.* 42. *n. ix.*

(*o*) Verum hinc quoque plus elicitur, quam voluit Marcion. Non enim aſſerere Marcion auſus eſt, Evangelia, quæ extra Lucam habemus, eſſe conficta et falſo Evangeliſtis ſuppoſita. Nemo Patrum antiquiorum hujus criminis Marcionem accuſavit. Id tantum voluit, Lucæ Evangelium, ductu Pauli conſcriptum, reliquis Evangeliis præferendum eſſe. . . . Clariſſima hæc eſſe puto. Et quod prætenſionem interpolationis attinet, hujus inſigne ſtatim cap. 7. [libr. 4. contr. Marc.] exemplum affertur: *Ceterum et loco et illuminationis opere ſecundum prædicationem occurrentibus Chriſto, jam eum Prophetam incipimus agnoſcere, oſtendentem in primo ingreſſu veniſſe ſe, non ut Legem et Prophetas diſſolveret, ſed ut potens adimpleret. Hoc enim Marcion, ut additum eraſit.* Cum enim hæc verba Matthæi v. 17. inveniantur, hinc inferimus, Marcionem Evangelium Matthæi non ſimpliciter negaſſe, ſed quæcunque erroribus ejus non patrocinabantur, pro lubitu eraſiſſe. Atque ita proculdubio etiam cum reliquis Evangeliſtis egit. *Lampe Proleg, ad Joan. Evang. l.* 2. *cap.* 1. *n. iv. p.* 136. 137.

(*p*) Εἰ προίσχεται ὁ τῆς μαρκίωνος συνήγορος βλασφημίας, τὸ παρ' ἐκείνοις ἀνομαζόμενον ἐυαγγέλιον λαβὼν ἀναγνωθι, καὶ ἐυθέως ἐν πρωοιμίῳ τὴν ἀτοπίαν. Αὐτὴν γὰρ τὴν κατάγνωσιν ἐπὶ χρεῖσὸν ἀπὸ δαβὶδ καὶ ἀβραὰμ γενεαλογίαν ἀπέτεμεν. Καὶ μικρὸν ὑςερὸν πρωιὰν ἄλλην ὑφει κακόηθειαν. Ἀμείψαντες γὰρ τὴν τῦ κυρίε φωνὴν, Οὐκ ἦλθον, λέγοντος, καταλῦσαι, τὸν νόμον, ἢ τὰς πρωφήτας, ἐποίησαν· Δοκεῖτε ὅτι ἦλθον πληρῶσαι τὸν νόμον, ἢ τὰς πρωφήτας; Ἦλθον καταλῦσαι, ἀλλ' ὐ πληρῶσαι. *Iſid. Pel. l. i. ep.* 371.

" if you proceed a little farther, you will ſee another inſtance of their " wickedneſſe, in altering our Lord's words. *I came not*, ſays he, *to* " *deſtroy the Law, or the Prophets.* But they have made it thus: *Think* " *ye, that I came to fulfill the Law, or the Prophets? I am come to deſtroy,* " *nor to fulfil.*" Matt. v. 17.

It might be alſo argued from the Dialogue againſt the Marcionites, that they uſed St. Matthew's Goſpel. But I forbear to allege any places in particular.

So that it may be reckoned probable, that Marcion did not reject any of the four Goſpels. But undoubtedly he made alterations in them, agreeable to his own particular opinions, under a pretenſe, that (*q*) they had been corrupted by ſome before his time.

Perhaps (*r*) Marcion filled up St. Luke's Goſpel out of the reſt, taking from them ſuch things as ſuited his purpoſe. Tertullian ſays, that (*s*) his Goſpel, or Evangelicon, had no title. That may have been the reaſon of it. And we can hence conclude, that in very ancient times, among the Catholics, the four Goſpels were entitled, and inſcribed with the names of the ſeveral Evangeliſts. Which (*t*) has been denied, or doubted of by ſome.

Marcion had alſo an Apoſtolicon. In this were ten Epiſtles only of St. Paul, and thoſe diminiſhed, at leaſt ſome of them. Their order according to him, as we are informed by (*u*) Epiphanius, was this: the epiſtle to the Galatians, the firſt and ſecond to the Corinthians, to the Romans, the firſt and ſecond to the Theſſalonians, to the Epheſians, the Coloſſians, Philemon, the Philippians.

He received not any other epiſtles of St. Paul. It is ſuppoſed likewiſe, that he rejected the Catholic Epiſtles, and the Revelation. Whether he received the Acts of the Apoſtles, I cannot ſay certainly: though (*x*) ſome learned men think, he did not receive them. But then it ſhould be obſerved by us, that (*y*) the Marcionite Apoſtolicon was reckoned very defective by the catholic Chriſtians.

And

(*q*) *Vid. Tertull. adv. Marcion. l.* 4. *cap.* 4.

(*r*) Occurrit primo loco Marcion et Marcionitæ, qui corruperunt libros N. T. reſectis omnibus iis, quæ Judaicæ religioni favere putabant, et contracto toto N. T. in duos codices, quorum priorem vocabant Evangelium, ex Lucâ maximam partem conflatum, et ſubinde ex reliquis Evangeliſtis integratum. *Weſt. Proleg. N. T. Tom. i. p.* 79.

(*s*) Contra Marcion Evangelio, ſcilicet ſuo, nullum aſcribit auctorem: quaſi non licuerit illi titulum quoque adfingere, cui nefas non fuit ipſum corpus evertere. Et poſſem hic jam gradum figere, non agnoſcendum contendens opus, quod non erigat frontem, quod nullam conſtantiam præferat, nullam fidem repromittat de plenitudine tituli, et profeſſione debita auctoris. *Contr. Marc. l.* 4. *cap.* 2.

(*t*) *Vid. Mill. Prol. num.* 347.

(*u*) *Hær.* 42. *num. ix. et alibi.*

(*x*) Acta Apoſtolorum rejecerunt Marcionitæ. . . . Tertullianus adv. Marcionem lib. v. cap. 2. *Si ex hoc congruunt Paulo Apoſtolorum Acta, cur ea reſpuatis, jam apparet. Weſt. N. T. Tom.* 2. *p.* 455.

(*y*) Προένεγκε τὸ ἀποστολικόν σου, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα περικεκομμένον ἐστί. *Dialog. adv. Marcion. ſect. i. p.* 8. *Baſil. p.* 806. *T. i. Bened.*

And it may be inferred from the accounts, which we have in the beſt writers of the moſt early ages, that Marcion was the moſt arbitrarie, and moſt licencious of all the ancient heretics, in his judgement concerning the Scriptures that ſhould be received, and in his manner of treating ſuch as were received by him. So that his opinion can be no prejudice to the genuinneſſe, or the notoriety of any of thoſe books of the New Teſtament, which were received by the catholics, and indeed by moſt heretics likewiſe.

I ſhall place below (*z*) a remarkable paſſage of Irenæus, where he ſays: "Marcion and his followers curtail the Scriptures with great aſſurance, rejecting ſome entirely, and diminiſhing the Goſpel according to Luke, and the Epiſtles of Paul, affirming thoſe parts of them alone to be genuine, which they have preſerved. . . All others, who are puffed up with the ſcience falſly ſo called, receive the Scriptures, whilſt they pervert them by wrong interpretations."

In another place he ſays, "that (*a*) Marcion alone had openly dared to curtail the Scriptures." And my readers can eaſily recollect, how (*b*) ſeverely Tertullian cenſures Marcion (*c*) for altering the text of the Scriptures, *openly employing a knife*, as he ſays, *not a ſtile*, to render them agreeable to his erroneous opinions.

However, I think, here is full proof, that the books of the New Teſtament were well known in Marcion's time, and before him: and that they were collected together in two parts, or volumes, an Evangelicon and Apoſtolicon. He and other Chriſtians had a Goſpel and an Apoſtle. But theirs were fuller than his.

10. We might, perhaps, not unprofitably recollect here thoſe (*d*) paſſages of Euſebius of Ceſarea, where he ſpeaks of the ſcriptures of the New Teſtament: ſome of which were univerſally received, others were contradicted: divers of which laſt, nevertheleſs, were received by many. The univerſally received by the founder part of Chriſtians were the four Goſpels, the Acts of the Apoſtles, thirteen epiſtles of Paul, one of Peter, one of John. It may be reckoned not unlikely, that all theſe had been from ancient time inſerted by moſt Chriſtians in their two volumes of the Goſpel and Apoſtle. And, probably, divers of the other books, called controverted, or contradicted, were joyned with the reſt in the volumes of a good number of Chriſtians.

III. There

(*z*) Unde et Marcion, et qui ab eo ſunt, ad intercidendas converſi ſunt Scripturas, quaſdam quidem in totum non cognoſcentes, ſecundum Lucam autem Evangelium, et Epiſtolas Pauli decurtantes, hæc ſola legitima eſſe dicunt, quæ ipſi minoraverunt. . . Reliqui vero omnes falſo ſcientiæ nomine inflati Scripturas quidem confitentur, interpretationes vero convertunt. *Iren. adv. Hær. l. 3. cap. xii. n. 12. p. 198. b. Maſſuet.*

(*a*) Sed huic quidem, quoniam et ſolus manifeſte auſus eſt circumcidere Scripturas, &c. *Iren. l. i. cap. 27. n. 4. p. 106. ai. cap. 29. Vid. ib. num. 2.*

(*b*) *See Vol. ii. p. 625. Lard. Edit.*

(*c*) Marcion enim exerte et palam machæra, non ſtilo uſus eſt: quoniam ad materiam ſuam cædem Scripturarum confecit. *De Præſcr. Hær. cap. 38. p. 246. C.*

(*d*) *See Vol. viii. p. 90. . . 105. Lardner's Ed.*

III. There are ſome obſervations of Mr. Henry Dodwell concerning the late forming of the canon of the New Teſtament, which cannot be eaſily overlooked, and ſeem to require ſome notice in this place.

1. He ſays, "that (*e*) the canon of the ſacred books was not determined, nor what number of them ſhould be of authority in points of faith, before the time of the Emperour Trajan, who began his reign in the year of Chriſt 98."

Anſw. If hereby be meant all the books of our preſent canon, this may be true. But then it is a trifling propoſition. For ſome of them were not writ, or have been ſuppoſed by many not to have been writ, till near the end of the firſt centurie. How then could they be ſooner made a part of ſacred ſcripture? or how could they be placed in the number of books, eſteemed to be the rule of faith? But the firſt three Goſpels, of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, and poſſibly the fourth likewiſe, St. John's, and many of the Epiſtles of the New Teſtament, were well known before the reign of Trajan, even as ſoon as they were writ. And wherever they were known, and by whomſoever they were received, they were reckoned a part of the rule of faith.

2. The ſame learned man ſays likewiſe: "the (*f*) canonical ſcriptures of the New Teſtament lay hid in the cabinets of particular churches, and private perſons, till the reign of Trajan, and perhaps till the reign of Adrian."

But I preſume, we have juſt now ſufficiently ſhewn the falſhood of this, and that the Goſpels, and other books of the New Teſtament, were writ and publiſhed with a deſign to be read, and made uſe of, and that they were ſoon divulged abroad, and not purpoſely hid by any.

3. Farther, ſays Mr. *Dodwell:* "The (*g*) epiſtles of Paul were well known ſoon after they were writ. His many travels, and the mark of his hand at the end of them occaſioned this."

We readily acknowledge it. It is very true. We think alſo, that the Goſpels, the Acts, and other books of the New Teſtament, were well known ſoon after they were writ: and that in a ſhort ſpace of time many copies were taken of them, and thus they were divulged abroad. The firſt three Goſpels were well known to St. John, and to many others, before he wrote his Goſpel. Which muſt have been writ before the end

(*e*) Atqui certe ante illam epocham, quam dixi, Trajani, nondum conſtitutus eſt librorum ſacrorum canon, nec receptus aliquis in eccleſia catholica librorum certus numerus, quos deinde adhibere oportuerit in ſacris fidei cauſſis dijudicandis, nec rejecti hæreticorum pſeudepigraphi, monitive fideles, ut ab eorum uſu deinde caverent. *Dodw. Diſſ. Iren. i. num.* 39. *in. p.* 67.

(*f*) Latitabant enim uſque ad recentiora illa ſeu Trajani, ſeu etiam fortaſſe Hadriani tempora, in privatarum eccleſiarum, ſeu etiam hominum ſcriniis, ſcripta illa canonica, ne ad eccleſiæ catholicæ notitiam pervenirent. *Ibid. num.* 38. *p.* 66.

(*g*) Sequuntur Epiſtolæ Paulinæ, quas a prima uſque ſcriptione celeberrimas fecere ipſius Apoſtoli tam crebræ peregrinationes, et nota ejus in omni epiſtola manus. . . Proinde meminit eorum et Petrus, meminit S. Clemens, meminit Ignatius, et Polycarpus. *Ibid. num.* 41. *p.* 73.

end of the firſt centurie, and, probably, a good while before the end of it.

4. The ſame learned writer, ſpeaking of the apoſtolical fathers, Clement of Rome, Barnabas, Hermas, Ignatius, Polycarp, ſays, they (*h*) ſeveral times quote apocryphal books. And he ſo expreſſeth himſelf, as if he intended to affirm this of all of them.

To which I muſt anſwer, that ſo far as I am able to perceive, after a careful examination, there are not any quotations of apocryphal books in any of the apoſtolical fathers. They who are deſirous of farther ſatisfaction therein, are referred to their ſeveral chapters in the firſt volume of this work, and to (*i*) ſome additional obſervations in the Recapitulation, which is in the twelfth volume.

5. Once more. The ſame learned writer ſays, "that (*k*) before the reign of Trajan the pſeudepigraphal books of heretics had not been rejected. Nor had the faithfull been cautioned, not to make uſe of them."

Which appears to me an obſervation of little, or no importance. If thoſe pſeudepigraphal books were not in being before the reign of Trajan, how ſhould they be rejected before that time? That they were not ſooner in being, has been (*l*) ſufficiently ſhewn. They are the productions of heretics, who aroſe in the ſecond centurie: who aſſerted two principles, had a diſadvantageous opinion of marriage, and denied the real humanity of our Saviour. In that ſecond centurie many pſeudepigraphal Goſpels, Acts, Travels, or Circuits of Apoſtles were compoſed. Which were afterwards made uſe of by the Manicheans, the Priſcillianiſts, and ſome others.

But thoſe pſeudepigraphal books of heretics never were joyned with the genuine writings of the Apoſtles and Evangeliſts. They were always diſtinguiſhed from them, and were eſteemed by all catholic Chriſtians in general to be of little value, and no authority. As appears from our collections out of ancient authors, and particularly from the accounts given of thoſe books by (*m*) the learned Biſhop of Ceſarea, at the beginning of the fourth centurie.

(*h*) Habemus hodieque horum temporum ſcriptores eccleſiaſticos luculentiſſimos, Clementem Romanum, Barnabam, Hermam, Ignatium, Polycarpum... Sed et apocrypha adhibent iidem aliquoties, quæ certum eſt in hodiernis non haberi Evangeliis. *Ib. n.* 39. *p.* 67.

(*i*) *See Vol. xii. p.* 33. *and* 158. *&c. Lardner's Edit.*

(*k*) *See before. p.* 428, *note* (*e*). *The ſame.*

(*l*) *Vol. xii. p.* 164. . . 167. *The ſame.*

(*m*) *See Vol. viii. p.* 98. . . . 100. *and Vol. xii. p.* 158. . . . 160. *The ſame.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XXV.

The Queſtion conſidered, whether any ſacred Books of the New Teſtament have been loſt.

THERE is a queſtion, which has been propoſed by ſome learned men: *Whether any ſacred books of the New Teſtament, or any epiſtles of Apoſtles and Evangeliſts, writ by divine inſpiration, have been loſt?* And ſome have taken the affirmative, particularly, (*a*) Mr. John Ens, and (*b*) Mr. C. M. Pfaff, in a work, publiſhed by him in the early part of his life. Herman Witſius likewiſe (*c*) has argued on the ſame ſide in ſeveral of his works.

I. Here, in the firſt place, I obſerve, that ſome ſuppoſitions have been made, and propoſitions laid down by learned men, which may form a prejudice in favour of the affirmative ſide of the queſtion, but afford no proof. Such things ſhould not be advanced by fair diſputants.

As *firſt*, that (*d*) the Apoſtles of Chriſt were ever readie to ſerve all the exigences of the Church. Which is very true. And yet it does not follow, that any epiſtles, or other writings, were compoſed by them for the general uſe of Chriſtians, beſide thoſe which we have. And, *ſecondly*, that (*e*) it is unlikely, that all the apoſtles of Chriſt ſhould have writ

(*a*) Et certe, pace et incolumi amicitia diſſentientium id dictum ſit, affirmativa nobis eligi debere videtur ſententia, et concedi, quod multi divini libri perierint. *Joh. Ens Bibliotheca Sacra. cap.* 4. §. *iv. p.* 19. *Amſt.* 1710.

Itaque hoc miſſo, inſpiciamus et rite perpendamus, quin probationi inſerviat, ad evincendum, quod Apoſtoli plura exararint ſcripta vere θεόπνευςα et divina, quam nunc exſtant. *Id. ib. §. vi. p.* 22.

(*b*) *Chr. Matth. Pfaffi Diſſertatio Critica de genuinis Librorum N. T. Lectionibus. p.* 46. . . 48. *Amſt.* 1709.

(*c*) Coccejus aſſeveranter dicit, Judam præter hanc epiſtolam non ſcripſiſſe, neque neceſſe habuiſſe ſcribere, neque a Spiritu Sancto impulſum fuiſſe ut ſcriberet. Id mihi non videtur certum, imo nec probabile. Apoſtoli enim quum univerſalis Eccleſiæ doctores et directores eſſent, et corpore ubique præſentes eſſe non poſſent, et frequenter ſine dubio ab eccleſiis conſulerentur, neceſſe habuerunt frequenter ſcribere. . . . Non autem magis opus fuit omnes Apoſtolorum epiſtolas ſuperſtites manere, quam omnes ſermones Chriſti. Sufficiunt quos habemus, ad perfectum canonem. *Witſ. Comment. in Ep. S. Jud.* §. *xii. p.* 463. *Vid. Id. De Vita Pauli Apoſtoli. ſect.* 7. *n. xi. ſect.* 8. *n. xxi. et ſect.* 12. *n. xvi.*

(*d*) Prima obſervatio eſt, quod alacres et paratiſſimi fuerint Apoſtoli ad omnia conferenda, quæ uſui et utilitati Eccleſiæ inſervire poterant. *Ens ubi ſupra §. xx. p.* 35.

(*e*) Porro adtendamus, ſecundo, quod quatuordecim habeamus epiſtolas a ſolo Paulo conſcriptas, et judicet unuſquiſque, an ſibi probabile videatur, Bartholomæum, Thomam, Jacobum Alphæi, Andream, Philippum, et Simonem Zelotem, quorum nulla habemus ſcripta, ne unicam quidem ad Eccleſiæ ædificationem epiſtolam ſcripſiſſe, atque Jacobum et Judam unicam tantum, Petrum duas, et Johannem tres exaraſſe: quum Paulus toties ſcripſerit. *Ens ib. §. xxiii. p.* 38.

writ no more letters, than now remain: as it is alſo, that (*f*) Paul ſhould have writ no more than fourteen epiſtles. Theſe, and ſuch like obſervations, though adopted by (*g*) Witſius, as well as ſome others, I chooſe to diſmiſs without a particular diſcuſſion, as they contain not any real argument.

A man, who thinks of our Lord's great character, and the unparalleled excellence of his diſcourſes, and the great number of his miraculous works, and that he had twelve Apoſtles, and ſeventy other diſciples, employed by him, all zealous for the honour of their Maſter, and the good of his people, might be diſpoſed to ſay: Certainly, there were many Goſpels, or authentic hiſtories of his life, writ before the deſtruction of Jeruſalem. And yet, if there is any credit to be given to eccleſiaſtical hiſtorie, when John was deſired to write his Goſpel, about the time of that event, or after it; there were brought to him no more than three Goſpels, to be confirmed by him, or to have ſome additions made to them. One of which only had been writ by an Apoſtle, even Matthew's. And it is the concurrent teſtimonie of all Chriſtian Antiquity, that there were but four Goſpels, writ by Apoſtles, and Apoſtolical men. And yet we have no reaſon to ſay, that the true intereſt of mankind has not been duly conſulted.

II. I obſerve, *ſecondly:* It is generally allowed by learned men, and by (*h*) Mr. Ens, and (*i*) Witſius, that the epiſtles to the Theſſalonians are among the firſt of St. Paul's epiſtles, that remain, or were written by him. And I think, that the concluſion of the firſt epiſtle to the Theſſalonians ſuggeſts a very probable argument, that it is the firſt epiſtle, which was writ by him with divine and apoſtolical authority for the edification of Chriſtians. The words intended by me, are thoſe of 1 Theſſ. v. 27. *I charge you by the Lord, that this epiſtle be read unto all the holie brethren.* This, as (*k*) was formerly obſerved, I take to be the firſt inſtance of enjoyning the reading of a Chriſtian writing in their religious aſſemblies, as a part of their worſhip. Chriſtian people had before now, very probably, read in that manner the books of the Old Teſtament. St. Paul, who knew the fulneſſe of the apoſtolical inſpiration, aſſerts his authority, and requires, that the ſame reſpect ſhould be now ſhewn to his epiſtle, and

(*f*) Immo nec illud veritatis ſpeciem habet, ipſum Paulum non plures quam quatuordecim epiſtolas ſcripſiſſe. Quod tertio obſervari velim. *Id.* §. *xxv. p.* 41.

(*g*) Nullus equidem dubito, quin Apoſtoli omnes pro ſingulari ſuâ diligentiâ frequentiſſimas literas ad eccleſias curæ ſuæ commiſſas dederint: quibus præſentes ſemper adeſſe non licebat, et quibus multa tamen identidem habebant inculcanda. *Witſ. De Vita Pauli. ſect.* 7. *num. xi. p.* 98.

Laudanda profecto Dei benignitas eſt, quod ex tot Paulinis epiſtolis, quæ perierunt, hanc tamen, [*ad Philem.*] mole exiguam, et de re domeſtica agentem, ſuperare voluerit. *Id. ib. ſect.* 12. *num. xvi.*

(*h*) *Ens ubi ſupra.* §. *xxviii. p.* 45.

(*i*) At nobis de Paulinis Epiſtolis nunc eſt agendum: quarum quæ ſuperſunt primas eſſe conſtat utramque ad Theſſalonicenſes, Corinthi, ut initio dixi, ſcriptas. *Ubi ſupra ſect.* 7. *num. xii. p.* 99.

(*k*) *See before p.* 236.

and that it ſhould be publicly read among them for their general edification. If any ſuch thing had been done before, there would not have been occaſion for ſo much earneſtneſſe, as is expreſſed in this direction. This epiſtle is ſuppoſed to have been writ in the year 52. conſequently, not till near twenty years after our Lord's aſcenſion. If this be the firſt epiſtle of Paul, writ with apoſtolical authority; there were no ſacred writings of his of a more ancient date to be loſt. And his other remaining epiſtles are as many, as could be reaſonably expected.

III. There are many conſiderations, tending to ſatisfy us, that no ſacred writings of the Apoſtles of Chriſt are loſt.

1. The four Goſpels, which we have, were writ (*l*) for the ſake of thoſe, who certainly would receive them with reſpect, keep them with care, and recommend them to others. And if any other ſuch authentic hiſtories of Jeſus Chriſt had been writ by Apoſtles, or Apoſtolical Men, they would have been received, and preſerved in the like manner, and would not have been loſt.

2. We can perceive from the teſtimonie of divers ancient Chriſtian writers, that (*m*) the book of the Acts, which we ſtill have, was the only authentic hiſtorie of the preaching of the Apoſtles after our Lord's aſcenſion, which they had in their hands, or had heard of. Conſequently, there was no other ſuch hiſtorie to be loſt.

3. The epiſtles of Paul, James, Peter, John, Jude, were ſent to churches, people, or particular perſons, who would ſhew them great regard, when received, and would carefully preſerve them, and readily communicate them to others, that they might take copies of them, and make uſe of them, for their eſtabliſhment in religion and virtue. If thoſe Apoſtles had writ other epiſtles, and if other Apoſtles had ſent epiſtles to churches planted by them, or to particular perſons, their diſciples, or Chriſtian friends, the caſe would have been much the ſame. Thoſe epiſtles would have been eſteemed, preſerved, and frequently copied, and could not eaſily have been loſt.

4. Moreover, the Apoſtles and Evangeliſts, who drew up any writings for the inſtruction, or confirmation of Chriſtian people, muſt have been carefull of them. The ſame principle of Zeal for the doctrine taught by them, and for the welfare of Chriſtian people, which induced them, amidſt their many labours, fatigues, and difficulties, to compoſe any writings, would lead them to take due care, that they ſhould anſwer the ends, for which they were compoſed. Proofs of ſuch care we evidently diſcern in divers of the epiſtles of Apoſtles, which we have. A like care, probably, was taken of the reſt, and would be taken of epiſtles writ by any other Apoſtles. They would be ſent by fit meſſengers, and be faithfully delivered. And they might be accompanied with ſome proper directions, ſuch as we find in ſeveral of St. Paul's epiſtles: as that in the firſt epiſtle to the Theſſalonians, requiring it to be read to all the brethren: and that in the epiſtle to the Coloſſians iv. 16. that it ſhould be read

(*l*) *See Vol. viii. p.* 124. 125. *Lardner's Edit.*

(*m*) *See, particularly, Vol. i. p.* 363. 364. *Vol. ii. p.* 589. *Vol. x. p.* 238. 239. 323. 326. *Vol. xi. p.* 382. *Lardner's Edit.*

read first among themselves, and then sent to the church of the *Laodiceans*: and that they likewise should read the epistle that would be brought to them from *Laodicea*.

All which considerations must induce us to think, that no sacred writings of Apostles, composed for the instruction and edification of Christian people, their friends, and converts, could be easily lost.

IV. There are no sufficient reasons to believe, that any sacred writings of the New Testament have been lost. Let us however see what they are. For divers difficulties have been thought of.

1. St. *Paul* says (*n*) 2 Thess. ii. 1. 2. *Now we beseech you, brethren, . . . that ye be not soon shaken in mind, or be troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter, as from us, as that the day of Christ is at hand.*

These words, as I apprehend, afford not any proof, that St. *Paul* wrote more epistles to the *Thessalonians* than those which we have. For a person who had never writ one letter before, might use such expressions, if he had any ground to suspect, that some men were disposed to forge letters in his name.

2. 2 Thess. iii. 17. (*o*) *The salutation of Paul with my own hand. Which is the token in every epistle. So I write.*

But I think, he might say this, though it were the very first epistle writ by him: provided he thought, that he should have occasion to write more, and had reason to suspect, that there were some men, who might be disposed to falsify his name. Nor does it follow, that he afterwards wrote any more epistles to the *Thessalonians*. However, he could not be certain, that he should not have occasion to write to them again. And he might judge it to be very likely that he should write more letters, either to them, or to others. This declaration, then, was a proper mark, which might be of use to the *Thessalonians*, and to others, and a security against all impositions of that kind.

3. 2 Cor. x. 9. 10. 11. *That I may not seem, as if I would terrify you by letters. For his letters, say they, are weighty and powerful, but his bodily presence is weak, and his speech contemptible. Let such an one think this, that such as we are in word by letters, when we are absent, such will we be also in deed, when we are present.*

Hence it is argued, that (*p*) the Apostle had before now writ more than one, even several letters, to the *Corinthians*.

(*n*) Atqui hujus rei nullum fuisset periculum, nulla monendi necessitas, nisi varias acceperunt Thessalonicenses epistolas a Paulo missas. Qui enim unam ac alteram solummodo ad ecclesias scribebat epistolas, illius nomen falsæ epistolæ ad ecclesias datæ non facile mentiri poterat. *J. Ens, ubi supr.* § *xxix. p.* 46.

(*o*) Illud idem iterum agnoscit Apostolus statim allegato cap. iii. 17. dato signo epistolis suis peculiari, quo nullæ epistolæ a se missæ carent. . . . Se dicit γράφειν, *scribere*. Quod paucis admodum epistolis vix congruum videtur: præsertim quando dicit, ἣ ἐστιν σημεῖον, ut salutatio propria manu sit signum ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ, *in quacumque epistola*. . . . Quid erat periculi, quod datis epistolis committeretur fallacia, si nullas præter et post hasce duas ad illos daret epistolas? *Id. ib.* § *xxx. p.* 46. 47.

(*p*) Cum duobus illis ex epist. ad Thessalonicenses locis conferam Pauli dictum ad Corinthios. 2. x. 9. 10. 11. . . . Quibus verbis Apostolus statuit, quod non unam epistolam, sed plures ad Corinthios scripserit. *Id. ibid.* § *xxxiii. p.* 49.

To which I anſwer. It is very common to ſpeak of one epiſtle in the plural number, as all know. And St. *Paul* might well write, as he here does, though he had as yet ſent but one letter to thoſe to whom he is writing. And from ſo long a letter, as is the firſt to the *Corinthians*, men might form a good judgment concerning his manner of writing letters, though they had ſeen no other.

4. 1 Cor. v. 9. *I wrote unto you in an epiſtle, not to company with fornicators.*

Hence it is argued that (*q*) St. *Paul* had writ an epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, before he wrote the firſt of thoſe two which we have. Conſequently, here is proof of the loſs of a ſacred writing, which would have been canonical, if extant.

And it muſt be acknowledged, that ſeveral (*r*) learned men have concluded as much from this text. Others however ſee not here any ſuch proof. And on this ſide have argued (*s*) *Whitby*, and (*t*) others. And I think, it is of no ſmall weight, that ſeveral ancient writers underſtood the Apoſtle to ſay: *I have writ to you in this epiſtle.* So (*u*) *Theodoret*, (*x*) *Theophylact*, and (*y*) *Photius* in *Oecumenius*. They ſuppoſe that the Apoſtle here refers to ſomewhat before ſaid by him in this ſame epiſtle, and in this very chapter, ver. 2. or 6. 7.

And that hereby is meant this epiſtle, ſeems to me very evident. That interpretation ſuits the words. And there are divers other places, where the ſame phraſe is, and muſt be ſo rendered. Rom. xvi. 22. *I, Tertius, who wrote this epiſtle.* Ὁ γράψας τὴν ἐπιστολήν. 1 Theſſ. v. 27. I charge you by the Lord, that this epiſtle *be read unto all the holy brethren,* ἀναγνωσθῆναι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν πᾶσι τοῖς ἁγίοις. And 1 Theſſ. iv. 6. *That no man go beyond, and defraud his brother in any matter:* or *in this matter.* μὴ ὑπερβαίνειν καὶ πλεονέκτειν ἐν τῷ πράγματι τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτῆ (A).

Fabricius

(*q*) Inter illas eſt epiſtola quædam . . . ad Corinthios ſcripta ante illam quæ nobis prima eſt, de qua Apoſtolus: Ἔγραψα ὑμῖν ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ, *ſcripſi vobis in epiſtola.* 1 Cor. v. 9. *Ens, ib.* § *xxxiii. p.* 51.

(*r*) Ex quibus verbis hoc concludo, ante hanc ad Corinthios epiſtolam aliam extitiſſe, ubi Paulus a converſatione cum fornicatoribus eos dehortatus fuerit. *C. M. Pfaff. ubi ſupr. p.* 46.

Hinc autem apparet, aliam ante hanc a Paulo ſcriptam fuiſſe epiſtolam ad Corinthios, quæ poſt interciderit. *Eſſius in loc. H. Witſ. de Vit. Paul. Ap. ſect.* 8. *n. xxi. Mill. Prolegom. n.* 8.

(*s*) *See him upon the place.*

(*t*) *Wolf. Curæ in loc. Fabric. Cod. Apocr. N. T. p.* 918. *&c.*

(*u*) Οὐκ ἐν ἄλλῃ, ἀλλ' ἐν ταύτῃ. Πρὸ βραχέων γὰρ ἔφη· Οὐκ οἴδατε, ὅτι μικρὰ ζύμη ὅλον τὸ φύραμα ζυμοῖ; *Theod. in loc.*

(*x*) Ἐν ποίᾳ ἐπιστολῇ; Ἐν αὐτῇ ταύτῃ. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εἶπεν ἀνωτέρω, ὅτι ἐκκαθάρατε τὴν παλαιὰν ζύμην, τὸν πορνεύκοτα, ὡς δεδήλωται, αἰνιττόμενος, διὰ τί ἐδήλωτο τὸ μὴ συναμίγνυσθαι πόρνοις· ἴσως ὑπενόησαν ἂν ὅτι πάντων τῶν πορνων, καὶ τῶν παρ' ἕλλησι χωρίζεσθαι δεῖ. Ἑρμηνέυει τοινυν περὶ ποίων παρῆγγειλε. *Theoph. in loc.*

(*y*) Πὲ ἔγραψεν; Ἐν ὅῖ; λέγει, καὶ οὐχὶ μᾶλλον ἐπενθήσατε, κ. λ. . . . Καὶ πάλιν ἐκκαθάρατε τὴν παλαιὰν ζύμην. κ. λ. . . . Τοῖς πόρνοις τῆ κόσμε τύτε.] Ἵνα μὴ νομίσωσι, ὀφείλειν καὶ τοῖς τῶν ἑλλήνων πόρνοις μὴ συναμίγνυσθαι, ὅπερ ἦν ἀδύνατον τοῖς πόλιν οἰκῆσι, διορθῶται αὐτό. *Apud. Oecum. in loc.*

(A) I might refer to many other texts of Scripture, and to paſſages of other writers.

Fabricius ſays, the (z) words, *I have writ unto you*, may be underſtood as equivalent to, *I do write*. And it may be remembered, that (*a*) ſome while ago I quoted an ancient writer, who gives this interpretation. "*I* (*b*) *have writ unto you*, that is, I write." And intending, I think, ſomewhat to be afterwards ſaid by the Apoſtle in this epiſtle. Which appears to me to be right. Many like inſtances might be alleged. I ſhall put in the margin ſome paſſages (*c*) from *A. Gellius*, where it is ſaid: "I have ſubjoined the words of *Varro*; that is, I ſhall ſubjoin them. In another place: "I have tranſcribed the words of *Plutarch*." And in like manner often, when the words of an author had not yet been tranſcribed, but were to be tranſcribed ſoon after.

In *John* iv. 38. our Lord ſays to the diſciples: *I ſent you to reap that whereon ye have beſtowed no labour*. Nevertheleſs the diſciples had not yet been ſent forth by him. But knowing what he deſigned to do, and alſo knowing beforehand what would be the circumſtances of their miſſion, he ſays to them: "When I ſhall ſend you to preach the goſpel, you will find the caſe to be as I now repreſent it."

In like manner St. *Paul* having in his mind the whole plan of the epiſtle which he was writing, and conſidering ſome directions which he ſhould give in the remaining part of the epiſtle, ſays: *I have writ unto you*. If it be aſked, where are thoſe directions? I anſwer: I think they are in the tenth chapter of this epiſtle, where the Apoſtle cautions againſt idolatry, and dangerous temptations to it, and againſt doing what might be underſtood to be religious communion with idols and idolaters. Theſe things, I apprehend, the Apoſtle then had in his mind.

What he ſays therefore here in ch. v. 9. 10. 11. is to this purpoſe: "I ſhall in this epiſtle deliver ſome cautions againſt a dangerous and offenſive intimacy with idolaters. But when I do ſo, it is not my inten-

writers. Matth. xxvi. 8. ἕως τῆς σήμερον. xxviii. 15. . . . μέχρι τῆς σήμερον. . . . Apoc. i. 3. καὶ οἱ ἀκούοντες τὸν λόγους τῆς προφητείας, id eſt, ταυτῆς προφητείας, quomodo accepit Latinus. *Grot. in loc.* So *Liban.* ep. 1174. p. 558. Ἐμελλε μὲν καὶ μὴ δόντος μοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν. κ. λ. Etiamſi ego has literas non ſcripſiſſem. . . . ep. 1177. p. 559. Καὶ μὴν κακεῖνο δῆλον, ὅτι μειζονος ἀπολάυσει τῆς παρὰ σοῦ προνοίας, μετὰ τὴν ἐπιστολήν. poſt traditas has literas.

(z) Poſſunt etiam verba, ἔγραψα ὑμῖν, reddi, *ſcribo vobis*, &c. *Bib. Gr. l.* 4. *cap. v. tom.* 3. *p.* 154.

(*a*) *See vol. xi. p.* 182. *See there likewiſe, p.* 51. *See Lardner's edit.*

(*b*) *Scripſi vobis.*] Pro ſcribo. Vel ideo præteritum dicit, quia cum legeretur, tempus ſcribendi præteritum eſſet. *Sedul. Comm. in loc. Ap. P. P. Lugd. t.* 6. *p.* 540. *C.*

(*c*) Verba Varronis ſubjeci. *A. Gell. Noct. Att. l.* 2. *cap.* 20.

Propterea verba Attei Capitonis ex quinto Librorum, quos de Pontificio Jure compoſuit, ſcripſi. *Ib. l.* 4. *cap.* 6.

Verba ipſa Plutarchi, quoniam res inopinata eſt, ſubſcripſi. *Ib. cap.* 12.

Ex quo libro plura verba adſcripſimus, ut ſimul ibidem quid ipſe inter res geſtas et annales eſſe dixerit, oſtenderemus. *Ib. l.* 5. *cap.* 18.

Ipſa autem verba Chryſippi, quantum valui, memoriâ adſcripſi. . . . In libro enim περὶ προνοίας quarto dicit. . . . *Ib. l.* 6. *cap.* 2.

tion to prohibit all civil commerce with Gentile people, *who are fornicators, or covetous, or extortioners, or idolaters.* For at that rate you could not live in the world. But here I am ſpeaking of ſuch as are profeſſed Chriſtians. *And I have now written unto you*, that is, I now charge you, and require it of you: *If any man, called a brother*, a profeſſed Chriſtian, *be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or an extortioner, with ſuch an one, no not to eat:* that is, not to have any converſation with him." Compare 2 Theſſ. iii. 14. 15.

That appears to me the moſt probable account of this text. But if any heſitate about the reference to a place, that follows in the remaining part of the epiſtle; I ſtill hope, I may inſiſt upon it, that ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ, which we have rendered *in an epiſtle*, does and muſt ſignify, *in this epiſtle.*

5. 2 Pet. iii. 15. 16. *And account, that the long ſuffering of God is ſalvation: even as our beloved brother Paul alſo, according to the wiſdom given unto him, has written unto you.*

Hence it is argued, that (*d*) St. *Paul* wrote ſeveral letters to the diſperſed Jews, which are now loſt. I anſwer that this argument depends upon the ſuppoſition, that the epiſtles of St. *Peter* were ſent to believing Jews. Which is far from being certain. It is more probable, as was (*e*) formerly ſhewn, that St. *Peter*'s epiſtles were ſent to believing Gentiles in *Pontus*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, *Aſia*, and *Bithynia*, or to all Chriſtians in general in thoſe countries. To which Chriſtians *Paul* had indeed ſent ſeveral letters. To them were ſent his epiſtle to the *Galatians*, the *Epheſians*, the *Coloſſians*. To which might be added his two epiſtles to *Timothy*, then reſiding at *Epheſus*, the chief city of *Aſia*. To theſe, and other epiſtles of the Apoſtle *Paul*, St. *Peter* might refer. Nor can I ſee any reaſon at all to doubt, whether the epiſtles of *Paul*, intended by St. *Peter*, are not ſtill in being.

6. 3 John, ver. 9. *I wrote unto the church.* Hence (*f*) ſome have argued, that St. *John* wrote an epiſtle to the church, where *Diotrephes* affected to have pre-eminence, which is now loſt.

Indeed this text has exerciſed the thoughts of many critics, as may be ſeen in *Wolfii Curæ*. However the words may be tranſlated thus: *I had writ*, or *I would have writ to the church.* This verſion has been approved by (*g*) ſome. And to me it appears very right. If this interpretation be admitted, there is no reaſon to conclude, that (*h*) any writing of St. *John* has been loſt.

7. It

(*d*) S. Petrus 2. ep. iii. 15. 16. plures literas ad diſperſos Habræos allegat, quæ jam dudum periere. Neque enim, uti Millius putavit, f. x. col. 2. heic citatur epiſtola ad Hebræos, quæ exſtat, &c. *Pfaff. ubi ſupra. p.* 47. *Conf. Ens, ubi ſupra*, § *xxxvi. xxxvii. p.* 53. 54.

(*e*) *See before, p.* 448, *&c.*

(*f*) Eodem modo et literæ S. Joannis ad Eccleſiam in quâ Diotrephes ὁ φιλοπρωτεύων erat, ſcriptæ, et 3. Joh. ver. 9. memoratæ, periere. *Pfaff. ib. p.* 47.

(*g*) *See Whitby upon the place, and Dr. Benſon. And ſee before, p.* 475, *note* (*x*).

(*h*) "Some would from hence gather, that St. *John* wrote an epiſtle which is now loſt. But the primitive Chriſtians were not ſo careleſs about preſerving the apoſtolic writings. There is not the leaſt hint among the ancients,

7. It is argued, that (*i*) *Polycarp*, writing to the *Philippians*, expreſſeth himſelf as if he thought St. *Paul* had writ to them more epiſtles than one.

To which it is eaſy to anſwer, that though the word be in the plural number, one epiſtle only might be meant. *Secondly*, it is not improbable, that *Polycarp* intended the epiſtle to the *Philippians*, and alſo the two epiſtles of *Paul* to the *Theſſalonians*, who were in the ſame province of *Macedonia*, as was ſhewn (*k*) formerly. Indeed this objection is ſo obviated by what was ſaid, when we largely conſidered the teſtimony of *Polycarp* to the New Teſtament, that I think nothing more needs to be added here.

V. In treating this ſubject Mr. *Ens* could not help thinking of thoſe paſſages of *Origen*, and *Euſebius*, where they ſpeak of the Apoſtles not being ſolicitous to write many volumes. Which paſſages were taken notice of by us (*l*) long ago. He endeavours to evade the proper concluſion to be thence drawn. But he owns that (*m*) the ancients had no knowledge of thoſe writings of the Apoſtles, which he and ſome others have imagined to be loſt. And he thinks it almoſt miraculous, or however a very wonderful diſpenſation of Providence, that they ſhould ſo ſoon periſh, as to be unknown to the ancients, as well as to us.

But does not that ſhew, that this whole argument is frivolous and inſignificant? For plauſible ſpeculations cannot be valid againſt fact and evidence. If the primitive Chriſtians knew not of any apoſtolical writings, beſide thoſe which have been tranſmitted to us; it is very probable, there were none.

cients, that there ever was ſuch an epiſtle. And the Apoſtle's words in this place are fairly capable of another interpretation." . . . *Dr. Benſon upon the place, p.* 703.

(*i*) Memorat quoque Polycarpus in literis ad Philippenſes, S. Paulum non unam ſed plures ad eos ἐπιστολὰς abſentem ſcripſiſſe. *Pfaff. ib. p.* 47. *Conf. Ens, p.* 51. . . . 56.

(*k*) *See Vol. i. p.* 201. . . 203. *or p.* 204. 205. *See Lardner's edit.*

(*l*) *See Vol. iii. p.* 235, 236. *and Vol. viii. p.* 91, 92. *ibid.*

(*m*) Fateor ingenuè, vix concipi poteſt, unde tam citò tanta fuerit inter veteres ignorantia de eo, quod Apoſtoli multo plura ſcripſerint quam quidem illorum et noſtras pervenit ad manus. Fateor, vix concipi poteſt, ubi tam profundè latere potuerint ſcripta illa apoſtolica, ut omnium fugerint oculos. Aſt divina hic mihi admiranda ac adoranda videtur providentia, quæ ad tempus data ſcripta, dum aliorum quæ permanerent in vitæ canonem perpetuum nondum eſſet in eccleſiis copia, deinde protinus e medio tolli voluerit. *Ens, ibid.* § *li. p.* 68.

A Plan of the Times and Places of writing the four Gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles.

Gospels, &c.	Place.	A. D.
St. Matthew's.	Judea, or near it.	about 64.
St. Mark's.	Rome.	. . . 64.
St. Luke's.	Greece.	. . . 63. or . . . 64.
St. John's.	Ephesus.	. . . 68.
The Acts of the Apostles.	Greece.	. . . 63. or . . 64.

A Scheme of the Times, Places, and Occasions of writing the Gospels, according to Dr. Owen's *Account.*

Gospels.	Place.	A. D.
St. Matthew's.	Jerusalem.	about 38.
	For the use of the Jewish Converts.	
St. Luke's.	Corinth.	about 53.
	For the use of the Gentile Converts.	
St. Mark's.	Rome.	about 63.
	For the use of Christians at large.	
St. John's.	Ephesus.	ab ou .
	To confute the Cerinthian and other Heresies.	

A Table of St. Paul's Epistles, in the common Order, with the Places where, and the Times when, they were writ.

Epistles.	Place.	A. D
Romans.	Corinth.	about February 58.
1 Corinthians.	Ephesus.	beginning of 56.
2 Corinthians.	Macedonia.	about October 57.
Galatians.	Corinth, or Ephesus.	near the end of 52. or the beginning of 53.
Ephesians.	Rome.	about April 61.
Philippians.	Rome.	before the end of 62.
Colossians.	Rome.	before the end of 62.
1 Thessalonians. 2 Thessalonians.	Corinth.	52.
1 Timothy.	Macedonia.	56.
2 Timothy.	Rome.	about May 61.
Titus.	Macedonia, or near it.	before the end of 56.
Philemon.	Rome.	before the end of 62.
Hebrews.	Rome, or Italy.	in the spring of 63.

A Table

A Table of St. Paul's Epistles, in the Order of Time, with the Places where, and the Times when, they were writ.

Epistles.	Places.		A. D.
1 Thessalonians. 2 Thessalonians.	Corinth.		52.
Galatians.	Corinth, or Ephesus.	near the end of or the beginning of	52. 53.
1 Corinthians.	Ephesus.	the beginning of	56.
2 Timothy.	Macedonia.		56.
Titus.	Macedonia, or near it.	before the end of	56.
2 Corinthians.	Macedonia.	about October	57.
Romans.	Corinth.	about February	58.
Ephesians.	Rome.	about April	61.
2 Timothy.	Rome.	about May	61.
Philippians.	Rome.	before the end of	62.
Colossians	Rome.	before the end of	62.
Philemon.	Rome.	before the end of	62.
Hebrews.	Rome, or Italy.	In the spring of	63.

A Table of the seven Catholic Epistles, and the Revelation, with the Places where, and the Times when, they were writ.

Epistles, &c.	Places.	A. D.
The Epistle of St. James.	Judea.	61. or the beginning of 62.
The two Epistles of St. Peter.	Rome.	64.
St. John's first Epistle.	Ephesus.	about 80.
His second and third Epistles.	Ephesus.	between 80. and 90.
The Epistle of St. Jude.	Unknown.	64. or 65.
The Revelation of St. John.	Patmos, or Ephesus.	95. or 96.

Tabula Chronologica Librorum N. T. *juxta* J. Millium, *ab* J. Alberto Fabricio *concinnata; jam verò correctior.*

A. D. 52. Claud. 12. 1 & 2 *Ep. ad Thessalonicenses*, Corinthi, Act. xviii. 5. cum Timotheus & Silas illuc reversi essent, 1 Thess. iii. 6. Has respicit Petrus 2 Ep. iii. 16.

A. D. 57. Neronis 3. 1 *Ep. ad Cor.* ante festum Paschale, 1 Cor. v. 8. Act. xix. 21. cum Ephesum cogitaret antequam Hierosolymam ascendisset, et ante iter in Macedoniam, 1 Cor. xvi. 3, 4, 5.

2 *Ep. ad Cor.* sub extremum anni, c. xii. 2. Act. xix. 23. Philippis, per Titum & Lucan, uti habet subscriptio.

A. D 58. Neronis 4. Initio Martii, *Ep. ad Romanos*, Act. xx. 2, 3. scripta Corinthi, cum mox Hierosolymam petiturus esset, Rom. xv. 25.

Ep. ad Galatas, c. ii. 10. in itinere Hierosolymam versus, fortassis Troade.

Tacit.

A. D. 60. Neronis 6.	*Jacobi Minoris* epistola encyclica, scripta Hierosolymis ante urbis excidium c. v. 1. tempore persecutionis c. ii. 6. uno vel altero anno ante Jacobi martyrium, quod circa A. C. 62. pertulit.
A. D. 61. Neronis 7.	1 *Petri*, ex Babylone, scil. Roma, scripta, c. v. 13. Quidni vero ex regione Babylonica, seu Mesopotamia? quo fit ut viciniores recto ordine salutet, ut Col. iv. 13. Apoc. i. 11. *Wetstein.* *Evang. Matthæi*, cum Paulus prima vice Romam venisset.
A. D 62. Neronis 8.	*Ep. ad Philippenses*, Act. xx. 3. Romæ sub finem primæ captivitatis Pauli, missa per Epaphroditum, qui subsidium pecuniarium Paulo a Philippensibus attulerat, & qui, Phil. iv. 3. videtur denotari per *socium germanum.*
A. D. 62. Neronis 8.	*Ep. ad Ephesios*, [*Laodicenses*,] Romæ per Tychicum. *ad Colossenses*, per Tychicum & Onesimum, statim post priorem obsignatam. *ad Philemonem*, Romæ per Onesimum.
A. D. 63. Neronis 9.	*Ep. ad Hebræos* Christianos Romæ degentes, c. xiii. 19. post Jacobum martyrio affectum, A. C. 62. Ex Italia per Timotheum cum Paulus Romæ e carcere dimissus esset. Unde, c. xiii. 23, 24. Itali Romanos, non ignoti ignotos, salutant; & brevi se rediturum sperat. *Wetstein.* *Marci Evang.* Romæ, post Petri & Pauli ex ea urbe discessum.
A. D. 64. Neronis 10.	*Lucæ Evang.* & *Acta Apost.* quæ sub finem Pauli priorum vinculorum Romæ desinunt. *Ep. ad Titum*, ante hyemem, scripta Colossis post iter per Italiæ oras susceptum.
A. D. 65. Neronis 11.	1 *Ep. ad Tim.* Philippis, ut videtur.
A. D. 67. Neronis 13.	2 *Ep. ad Tim.* ante hyemem, Romæ, in posterioribus vinculis, post apologiam primam, c. iv. 16. cum jam tempus mortis instaret, c. iv. 6. 2 *Ep. Petri*, paulo ante martyrium, c. i. 14. quod accidit Romæ A. C. 68.
A. D. 90. Domit. 9.	*Ep. Judæ*, [A. D. 71. vel 72. ut visum Dodwello, p. 25. ad Irenæum:] Certè post secundam Petri, quam respicit.
A. D. 91. vel 92. Domit. 10. vel 11.	*Tres Ep. Joannis*, Ephesi scriptæ.
A. D. 96. Domit. 15.	*Joannis Apocalypsis*, in Patmo.
A. D. 97. Nervæ 1.	*Joannis Evang.* Ephesi, cum a Nerva ab exilio revertendi copia facta esset. Vide Irenæum, iii. 1.

END OF VOLUME SECOND.

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